

HO NOR

**TIMES STORE-HOVSE**

CONTAINING  
*The learned Collections, & Judicious Readings, and memorable Observations of sundry worthy Personages, English, French, Italian, Spanish, &c. vpon diuers Subiects as will appeare by the seuerall heades in the page following; all of them no lesse usefull then*

*delightfull*

PAX

NOBILITAS

**WHERVNTO**  
*is annexed:*  
*A speciall Treatise of that kind of NOBILITY which Soverayne GRACE, and fauor, and Contryes Customes, haue made merly POLITICALL and peculiarly CIVILL (neuer so distinctly handled before).*

*Vol. II.*  
**LONDON.**  
Printed by WILLIAM IAGGARD  
1619.

LIBERTAS

*Renold Elfrink de Gulp*



# The Contents.

## The first Booke.



**E** the Ancient Gauls, their Original, Lawes, Customs, and Ceremonies. The Disciplines of their Druides or Priestles, to the younger people.

Also of their Bards, Poets, Sarronides, Enbages, & profession of Languages, with other manners used amongst them, as well in warre as in peace, and how they have continued and changed since.

## The second Booke.

**O**f the New Gauls, now called the French, their manhood, valor, and successful fortunes from their beginning.

The greatest of their Kings, their many battels, and famous victories.

Of the names of Kings and Emperour: as also of the Originall of Royalty.

The Enticell of Ramema.

Of the learned women, called the Sybils.

The seven wonders of the World.

Famous military Orations both of Romaines and Iewes.

The Battaille of Nouara, &c.

## The third Booke.

**T**he originall of the Switzers.

The manner of Government observed in all their severall Cantons.

What Confederates they have, both in generall and particular.

Likewise of their warres and Battailles.

## The fourth Booke.

**O**f the Kingdom and Court of Spaine, with the Lawes, Customs, and manners of the Nation. Also the division and situation of the said country.

Concerning the kingdom of Portugall, the beginning, continuance, and present estate thereof, with the Lawes, Customs, and administration of Justice therein observed.

Of the Kingdom of Naples, the Antiquities, Lawes, and Customs thereof.

The Originall of the Salique Law, the first Authors and inventors thereof.

The Originall of the Normans.

The first planting of the Vine, and prohibition of wine among the ancient Romaines.

Examples by Birds, Flies, and other Creatures, for the leading of a veritious life.

The Originall of Triumphs: why they were first granted, and what a Triumph is.

Of the Crowns and other recompences given by the Romaines to noble deserving Soldiers, &c.

## The fifth Booke.

**O**f the Nobility of England, Politicall and Civil.

The Rites and Ceremonies used in the Creation of Barons by Charter.

The Kings Charter for the creating of a Viscount.

The Charter Royall for the creation of an Earl, a Marquesse, Archbionesse, as also of a Duke, and the manner of creating them: being all lively represented in their severall habites, by Figures cut in Brasse.

The Kings Charter for creating the Prince of Wales.

The Crowning of the King, as well in former times, as now.

The order of the Parliament pompe.

The manner of wearing blood &c stained.

The Order of the Knights of the Garter, by who instituted, when, and how.

The Collegiate Society of Heralds.

## The sixth Booke.

**O**f the Commonwealth of the Gennes or Genewaycs, with the Government and administration of Justice there used.

An excellent Relation, concerning the estate, Religion, and Common-wealth, which was observed among the Iewes.

Of their three Sects, (viz:) the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and Essians: their Originall & manner of life.

Of their three Families: The first being the posterity of Ielus: The second, the Almonians: & the third, Antipater the Idumæan of Ascalon: with a clearing of doubts in divers Authors.

Of Ceremonies used by the Romaines, before they moved any warre, &c.

## The seventh Booke.

**T**he Common-wealth of Luca, with their Lawes and Constitutions.

Of divers accidents, serving as diuining Auguries in elder times, whereby to iudge of things to happen.

Against

414

1754. 16

167

Not well

1675

Library Book no. 1112  
Cham. 6. 1675

## The Contents.

Against the permission of Duells, or single Combats.

A true module of Government in any Common-wealth, derived from the communistic of Bees.

The three Conquests of England by the Saxons, Danes, and Normanes.

The three famous battailes of Gaza, Grand Caver, and at Nylus.

The first invention of wearing Rings, with the virtues and properties remaining in precious stones.

Of the Septuagint, or 70. Translations of the Olde Testament, out of Hebrew into Greeke.

The admirable virtues and properties of the Ant.

A briefe survey concerning the Netherlands, divided into 17. Provinces, with a breuie of the Earles and Princes there reigning, from Thierry the first Earle of Holland and Zeland, to this instant time.

### The eight Booke.

Of the Venetians, and the manner of their pollicie.

The foundation of Venice.

The lines and memorable acts of their Dukes and Princes.

Of Gun-shot, and other fiery Engines.

Of Physicke and Physitions.

Of the seven Sages of Greece.

The first foundation of Ierusalem, what fortunes befell it from time to time, and what Kings reigned there.

Of the twelue Months in the yeare, as also of ancient and moderne figures represented by them, with diuers other miseries beside.

### The ninth Booke.

Concerning the Countrey of Moscouia or Russia, and of the severall commodities which the land yeeldeth.

The Linage and descent of the Russian Empe-

peror, his Enshlement and Inauguration.

His manner of Government, Parliaments, Laws, Customs, Warres, &c.

His power for warre and Military Discipline.

What Orders, Rites, Sacraments and Ceremonies are observed in the Moscouian Church.

Of poysons given to kill at a certaine day, whether they can do it, or no.

Of erroneous and vile opinions, yet beleaved for sound truths.

What language they shall speak, that never heard any speech.

That a man or woman borne deaf, is necessarie dumb also; and he that is borne among dumbe people.

What the reason is of a childes being so tardie in knowing how to speake.

### The tenth Booke.

The Kingdome of Ireland, the Originall of it, and how.

By whom it hath bene inhabited and Governed from the beginning.

How thosi parts and Countreies, commonly called The New World, were first found.

The excellencie and dignitie of Marriage.

Of the Doctors of Sorbonne, and their first Originall.

The reason why some princes and Common-wealths have prospered in the time of Warre, and runne to ruine in peacefull dayes.

Of those qualities and behaviours necessarily required to be in a Prince.

That the eldest sonne ought alwaies to be advanced and preferred before the younger.

Concerning the great Monarchy of the Cæsars or Romanes.

Of the Bezars stone.

A learned Tract, concerning the generation of Pearles.

With many other excellens and memorable discourses.

FINIS.

ΑΡΧΑΙΟ-ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ.

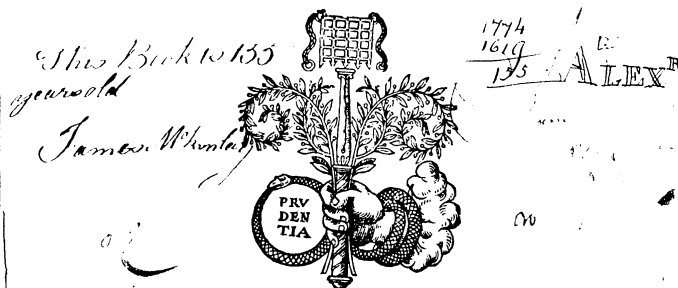
CONTAINING,

Ten following Bookes to the former

# TREASVRIE OF AVNCIENT AND MODERNE TIMES.

Being the Learned Collections, Iudicious Readings,  
and Memorable Obseruations: Not onely Diuine, Morall, and  
Philosophicall; But also Poeticall, Martiall, Politicall,  
Historicall, Astrologicall, &c.

Translated out of that Worthy Spanish Gentleman, PEDRO MEXIA, And  
M. FRANCESCO SANSOVINO, that Famous Italian: As also, of  
those Honourable Frenchmen, Anthony du Verdier, Lord of Vauprimaz:  
Loys Guyon, Sieur de la Nauche, Counsellour vnto the King:  
Claudius Gruget, Parisian, &c.



LONDON  
Printed by WILLIAM IAGGARD, 1619.

*This Book is 150 yearold*  
*to be had of the*



To the most Noble and Twin-like paire;  
*of truly Honourable and compleat perfection, Sir PHILLIP*  
 HERBERT, Knight of the Bath to our dread Soueraigne  
 King IAMES, at his Royall Coronation; Lord Baron of  
 Sherland, Earle of Monimgomery, and Companion in the  
 vnpareld and famous Fellowship, of the  
 Order of the Garter.

*As also, To the truly vertuous and Noble Countesse his Wife,*  
*the Lady Susan, Daughter to the right Honourable Edward Vere, Earle of Oxen-*  
*ford, Viscount Bulbec, Lord Sandford and of Badlesmere:*  
*and Lord High Chamberlaine of*  
*England, &c.*



The first Vo-  
 lume of this  
 Treatise,  
 published a-  
 bout 5. yeares  
 since.

Orthily might I bee con-  
 demned of arrogancie,  
 (most Noble Lord & La-  
 dy) because, hauing past  
 the Pikes in a peece of the  
 selfe-same seruice (follow-  
 ed with fauour and kinde  
 acceptation) I should  
 therefore presume vpon  
 the like successe: know-  
 ing the inconstant nature  
 of Times, that as they al-  
 ter, so do mens humours  
 & dispositions with them.  
 For, that which carrieth

liking and allowance to day, falles into loathing and contempt to-  
 morrow; Opinions being more varius in the case of Bookes, then  
 are the Arguments whereon they discourse, because carping curio-  
 sity will haue his censure. But, as the Last for *Hercules*, was not fa-  
 shioned to fit euerie foote, nor his Lyons skinne to be worne by any  
 base Lout; euen so the sublimities of true iudgement (in matters of  
 such industrious and painfull labor) should be left to the Learned;

Ignorance will  
 alwayes be  
 bold vpon the  
 learnedest la-  
 bour.

## The Epistle Dedicatorie.

not to euery course and mechanicke conceite, capeable of nothing, but of such occasions as are suteable to his owne condition.

I haue read of the great Riuer *Euphrates*, which ebbereth and floweth seuen times a day, and with such violence; that it carrieth Ships vpon it with full sayle, directly against the winde. Seuen times in an houre ebbereth and floweth rath Opinion, in the torrent of indiscreet and troublefome apprehension: carrying Criticke calummie, and squint-eyed detraction, mainly against the winde of Wisedome and Iudgement; because their braines are no better ballast, nor their capacity of further reach or exteindre.

\*A narrow sea  
betweene the  
Hauen Aulis  
of Boetia, and  
Euboea.

Hesiod. in Lib.  
3. cap. 7.

And yet, if the saying of *Hesiod* be true; *That nothing can bee more pleasing, then variety, which is the soules cheefest solace*: Then (not fearing folly, but speaking to peerelesse Noble nature) giue mee leaue to tell you, that there can hardly bee any especiall subiect imagined, but one Argument or other heere meeteth with it. From Sacred Diuinity (the most solide and supream of all other) through all other Artes and Sciences whatsoever, euen to any lowly, and the meane-  
Comparing all  
the Volumes  
together.  
nest (worthy) profession; here is some notable marke or Monument thereof (if it be either Ancient or Moderne) stored vp in this Treasure, for future Ages to delight in, and to receiue no meane benefite thereby.

Then (Honourable Lord and Ladie) all these blessings beeing Yours (as also my selfe, in endlesse dutie and seruice) when any subiect of great, graue, and serious consideration (as of Nations, Monarchies, Kingdomes, and People, in their Originall, Rising or Declining, by Warres, Dissentions, Combuitions, or otherwise in the like occurrences) shall seeme troublefome or tedious to you: walke on but a little further, & then you may enter into a spacious Forrest, affording all choise of pleasing Game, either for Hawking, Hunting, Fishing, Fowling, or any other Noble exercise beside.

When those Forrest pleasures shall faint you (as all delights dull, by too much continuance) an Orchard standes wide open to welcome you, richly abounding in the fairest Frutages: not to feed the Eye onely, but likewise to refresh the Heart, inuiting you to plucke where, and while you please, and to bestow how, and when you list: because they are all yours, and whosoever else shall taste of them, do enioy such freedome but by your fauor.

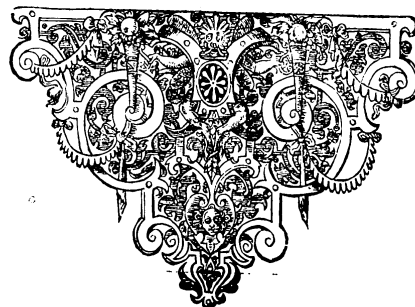
There is one especiall recreation more (Gracious Madam) which remaineth soly to your selfe, and such as may enter by your admittance; in a goodly large Garden, abounding with all kind of the fairest Flowers, that open with the cheerfull mornings Sun, and shut againe at his sad departure, all sweet, and all soueraigne. And, because Ladies of elder times (as many haue had the like delight in our more Moderne daies) were singularly skilfull in Physick and Chirurgery: there is not a vacant place in the whole Garden, but it is fitly furnished

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

shed euerie where; the verie common walkes (euen as if they were Bride-like strewed by hand) are covered with the choicest Simples, purest distillatorie Plants, and wholesome Herbes of euerie Vertue: for which, the Garden was purposely founded, and not for fruitlesse idle vanity.

And were you all alone, without companie, and by your selfe, yet can you not so continue there: For, you may meete with a faire Beuey of Queenes and Ladies, at diuers turnings as you walke, and euerie one will tell you the Historie of her life and fortune (rare examples of Vertue and Honor) as themselves can best, truly & plainly discourse vnto you. Some other also you shall see, sadly sitting vnder Eughe & Cipresse trees, with Garlands of those leaues wreathed about their heads, sighing out their diuers disasters: whom your Noble nature cannot choose but commiserate; as greeuing to see a scratch in a cleare skin, and a bodie beautified by Nature, to be blemished by vnkinde Destiny.

From manie remote Kingdomes and Countries (where naturally they spake those feuerall Languages) are all these variable pleasures come hither, onely to kisse your Noble hands. It was no mean infelicitee for them, to find no fitter a Tutor, that might haue taught them to speake more eloquent English; which (indeede) also was my fault, seeing none else would tie themselves to so hard a Taske. But howsoever it may prooue, your rich iudgements, and all-sufficient ability in the Languages, as also my weakenesse, will (I hope) bury all defects in your fauor, & beare out from scandall my willing endeouour, that I may finish the other (yet remaining) eleuen Bookes behinde, to perfect so rich and rare a Treasure.





## The Printer to the Reader.

**S**ome few yeares past, I intended the whole Worke of *Pedro Mexia*, with some other Authours on the like Arguments of variety. I then published nine Bookes, with intention to haue made them vp fifteen, for the first Volume: but being prevented by sicknesse, I finished but the first nine Bookes; and finding the good acceptance of them, I haue aduentured now on ten Bookes more, of the like Ancient and Moderne Times: sauing only, some particular Heads but lightly touched, are now (by the same Authors) more at large illustrated. And may this finde equall fauour vnto the former (without any harsh censure, or vnkinde discouragement:) the other eleuen Bookes shall follow with all conuenient speede, to finish vp so faire a Treasury.

*Farewell.*

## A Table of the Authours Names, that alledge and approoue the seuerall Arguments, contained in this Booke.

<p><b>S.</b>  <i>Morose</i>  <i>Augustine.</i>  <i>Anselme</i>  <i>Anselmus</i>  <i>Adon. Epif.</i>  <i>Vienna</i>  <i>Aristotle</i>  <i>Ammianus Marcellinus</i>  <i>Anzenaar.</i>  <i>Appianus</i>  <i>Agathias</i>  <i>Alcibiades</i>  <i>Annius</i>  <i>Arrianus</i>  <i>Albericus Strasburg</i>  <i>Auicenna</i>  <i>Averroes</i>  <i>Atanasius</i>  <i>Antonius Sabellius</i>  <i>Archytas Tarentinus</i>  <i>Antoninus</i>  <i>Annius de Viterbo</i>  <i>Annales Constantinop.</i>  <i>Annales Treuicenfis</i>  <i>Anor de Bel. Affric.</i>  <i>Arnoldus Lipsius</i>  <i>Adrianus Imperat.</i>  <i>Aymonius</i>  <i>Aluinius</i>  <i>Agapetus</i>  <i>Aulus Gellius</i>  <i>Agrippinus</i>  <i>Elivianus</i>  <i>Eneas Sylvius</i>  <i>Eschylus</i>  <i>Eschines</i>  <i>Emilius Victor</i>  <i>Etius</i>  <i>Elia Lampriidius</i>  <i>Emilius Macer</i>  <i>Esperatus</i>  <i>Athenicus</i>  <i>Asinius Pollio</i>  <i>Apuleius Pansifis</i>  <i>Alexander Alexandrinus</i>  <i>Alexand. Aphrodisiensis</i>  <i>Apolonius Thyaneus</i>  <i>Alphraganius</i>  <i>Anthony du Lebric</i>  <i>Aristander</i>  <i>Antonius Nebricenfis</i>  <i>Albertus Magnus</i>  <i>Aristomachus</i>  <i>Achilles Statius</i>  <i>Auer. Duke</i></p>	<p><i>Aristophanes</i>  <i>Andronicus Athenensis.</i>  <i>Anfonius Lombardus</i>  <i>Aretine</i>  <i>Acamathius</i>  <i>Antoninus Syl.</i>  <i>Alphonius Rex Hisp.</i>  <i>Attalus</i>  <i>Accurtius</i>  <i>Azzo</i>  <i>Alexand. Trallianus</i>  <i>Athena Capito</i>  <i>Aconius Padianus</i>  <i>Appianus Alexandrinus</i>  <i>Archilocho</i>  <i>Arnoldus Ferronius</i>  <i>Amatus</i>  <i>Aristarchus</i>  <i>Antoninus Arch. Floren.</i>  <i>Antiphones</i>  <i>Anaximander</i>  <i>Albericus Crantzius</i>  <i>Alexand. Guaguinus</i>  <i>Anaximenes</i>  <i>Abbas Siculus</i>  <i>Almadalus Arab.</i>  <i>Augurellus</i>  <i>Anthenor</i>  <i>Annales I. Stow</i>  <i>Altharius</i>  <i>Aurea Historia</i>  <i>Alferius Meneuensis</i>  <i>Alfredus Benerlacenfis</i>  <i>Adam Merimont b</i>  <i>Alliances genealogiques des</i>  <i>Rois &amp; Princes de France</i>  <i>Annales de Aquitaine</i>  <i>Annales de Bourgogne</i>  <i>Annales du France.</i>  <i>Annales rerum Flandricarum.</i></p>	<p><i>Belforrest</i>  <i>Baptista Fulgotius</i>  <i>Blondus</i>  <i>Bartholomeus</i>  <i>Boetius</i>  <i>Boccace</i>  <i>Bosfinus</i>  <i>Barthol. Picenus</i>  <i>Bartholus</i>  <i>Berenus</i>  <i>Barthol. Dardanus</i>  <i>Beronius</i>  <i>Baptista Ignatius</i>  <i>Belonius</i>  <i>Bodinus</i>  <i>Bozins</i>  <i>Bachi Archifus</i>  <i>Eucholcerus</i>  <i>Balthazar Castillanois.</i>  <i>Barth. Scerimus</i>  <i>B. Westmerus</i></p>	<p><i>Cheremonius</i>  <i>Chronerus Pol.</i>  <i>Cassiodorus</i>  <i>Cornelius Mess.</i>  <i>Cratinus</i>  <i>Cleppius Alexand.</i>  <i>Crantzius</i>  <i>Colophonius</i>  <i>Comus Balthazar</i>  <i>Celins (alcuign).</i>  <i>Cyprianus</i></p>
			<b>D</b>
			<p><i>Dion</i>  <i>Dicarchus</i>  <i>Diodorus Siculus</i>  <i>Dionis. Halicarn.</i>  <i>Dionis. Areopag.</i>  <i>Diogenes Laertius</i>  <i>Dioscorides</i>  <i>Demosthenes</i>  <i>Demetrius</i>  <i>Dioctes</i>  <i>Diogenes Cynic.</i>  <i>Damascone</i>  <i>D. Pedro Epif. Leon</i>  <i>Demetrius Alexand</i>  <i>Dn Bartus</i>  <i>Distis Cretenfis</i>  <i>Dares Phrygius</i>  <i>Damas. Sigierus</i>  <i>Dionis. Lycinus</i>  <i>Donatus</i>  <i>Dionis. Cusianus.</i></p>
			<b>E</b>
			<p><i>Eumenius</i>  <i>Ephorus</i>  <i>Ecdatius</i>  <i>Eusebius</i>  <i>Eucherius</i>  <i>Eumenides</i>  <i>Epiphanius</i>  <i>Estlinus de Garibay</i>  <i>Egbertus</i>  <i>Ennodius</i>  <i>Chalcidius</i>  <i>Celins Rhodiginus.</i>  <i>Landinus Victor</i>  <i>Charles de Molin</i>  <i>Comment. Cesar</i>  <i>Constantinus Cesar</i>  <i>Calmatiens.</i></p>

### The Authors Names.

<p><b>E</b></p> <p><b>Ebbinus</b>  <b>Euclides</b>  <b>Elpacus</b>  <b>Enanthes</b>  <b>Epicurus</b>  <b>Empedocles</b>  <b>Erasmus Rot.</b>  <b>Effatus</b>  <b>Eginus</b>  <b>Empolimus</b>  <b>Elpagnus</b>  <b>Eupolis</b>  <b>Epif.</b> Tyriensis  <b>P. Ereb.</b> de Rep. Ind.  <b>Egnatus</b>  <b>Engrius</b>  <b>Ennius</b>  <b>Etien Pasquier</b>  <b>Epictetus</b>  <b>Euchrid.</b> Eras.  <b>Epicharmus</b></p>	<p><b>H</b></p> <p><b>S. Hierom.</b>  <b>Hijf.</b> Af. Gallan.  <b>Homer</b>  <b>Herodotus</b>  <b>Hortius</b>  <b>Hermanus</b>  <b>Hiodorus</b>  <b>Heracides Ponticus</b>  <b>Hermolau Barbar.</b>  <b>Hugo de S. Victor</b>  <b>Hierocles</b>  <b>Heliconensis</b>  <b>Hippocrates</b>  <b>Hippocraton</b>  <b>Hijf.</b> Di. illamont  <b>Horodanus</b>  <b>Horace</b>  <b>Hermes Trismegist.</b>  <b>Hermocrates</b>  <b>Hesychus Tattus</b>  <b>Heracitus</b>  <b>Heracides</b>  <b>Hen. Huntingdon</b>  <b>Hijf.</b> Poland  <b>Hallian.</b> Chron.  <b>Hail</b>  <b>Holinshed</b>  <b>Hofienfis</b>  <b>Hermippus</b>  <b>Herophilus</b>  <b>Huncmarus</b>  <b>Hier. Oforius</b>  <b>Hircabaldus</b>  <b>Houllier</b>  <b>Hephifition Grec.</b>  <b>Hicladorus</b>  <b>Huly ben Razel.</b>  <b>Hier. Conflagio</b></p>	<p><b>I</b></p> <p><b>Julius Pollux</b>  <b>Jul. Caf.</b> Comment.  <b>Innocentius Papa.</b>  <b>Iolephus</b>  <b>Iunenall</b>  <b>Julius Florus</b>  <b>Julius Secundus</b>  <b>Iufine</b></p>	<p><b>Joan. Ferulidus</b>  <b>Joan. de Imola</b>  <b>Julius Capitolinus</b>  <b>Jo. de Sacrobago</b>  <b>Jo. Lincolenfis</b>  <b>Jo. Agricolaus</b>  <b>Jo. Bale</b>  <b>Julius Frontinus</b>  <b>Idorus</b>  <b>Iamblichus</b>  <b>Ingniphus</b>  <b>Julius Felagus</b>  <b>Inftituatus</b>  <b>Ifaac Rab.</b>  <b>Jo. Roufe</b>  <b>Julian Imperat.</b>  <b>Iufim.</b> Martyr  <b>Jo. Secus</b>  <b>Jo. Alexandrinus</b>  <b>Julius Firmicus</b>  <b>Jo. de Mont Royalis</b>  <b>Jo. Diodorus</b>  <b>Ifcum</b>  <b>Jo. Math. Turrinus</b>  <b>Jo. Ulfau</b>  <b>Jo. Saxonus</b>  <b>Jo. Silvius Arch. Hijfal.</b>  <b>Ifocrates</b>  <b>Irenaeus</b>  <b>Jo. Cagreane</b>  <b>Iornandus</b>  <b>Jo. Alonachus</b>  <b>Jacques Bofius</b>  <b>Jo. Damafcenus</b>  <b>Jo. Bupiff. Eganus</b>  <b>Jo. de Montaigne</b>  <b>Jacques de Maguncia</b>  <b>Jo. Boccace</b>  <b>Joachim Oudanus</b>  <b>Joel. Met. Alexand.</b>  <b>Jobert. Med. Gal.</b>  <b>Jo. Camertes</b>  <b>Jo. Carion</b>  <b>Jo. Cantacruzenus</b>  <b>Jo. Fernelius</b>  <b>Ifaac. Indacius</b>  <b>Iouianus Pontanus</b>  <b>Jo. Lajleu</b>  <b>Jacobus Fakel</b>  <b>Jo. Annus.</b></p>	<p><b>L</b></p> <p><b>Lucian</b>  <b>Lucius Frutius</b>  <b>Leo Imperat.</b>  <b>Lucius Plotus</b>  <b>Latinus Pacatus</b>  <b>Lucane</b>  <b>Lactant. Firmianus</b>  <b>Lupus Epifc.</b> Troi  <b>Liberidus</b>  <b>Lodowicus Vinus</b>  <b>Leo affricanus</b></p>	<p><b>M</b></p> <p><b>Marcius Aper</b>  <b>Marcellus</b>  <b>Marcius Virro</b>  <b>Molina Hift.</b>  <b>Martinius Scipio</b>  <b>Martianus Capellus</b>  <b>Martin de Bellay</b>  <b>Macrobius</b>  <b>Martianus Scotus</b>  <b>Martialis</b>  <b>Martius</b>  <b>Meffala Angurinus</b>  <b>Meitrodorus</b>  <b>Marcus Aurelius</b>  <b>Meftichinus</b>  <b>Meitrodatus</b>  <b>Meffala Cornutus</b>  <b>Maccebatell</b>  <b>Mofes Bar. Cepha</b>  <b>Martinius Phirinus</b>  <b>Martinius Palmerius</b>  <b>Martinius</b>  <b>Marcus Mandius</b>  <b>Marcus Paulus</b>  <b>Metaphenes</b>  <b>Mathew Paris</b>  <b>Mamechus</b>  <b>Miffius</b>  <b>Mathew Weftminft</b>  <b>Maffier</b>  <b>Marcus Valerius</b>  <b>Mithobolus</b>  <b>Moifneus de Villacousus</b>  <b>Marcus Damafcenus</b>  <b>Mofeus</b>  <b>Moifneus de la Nove</b>  <b>Mefius</b></p>
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*Nes.*

### The Authors Names.

<p> <i>Dif. Angelo Catho.</i>  <i>Marcellus</i>  <i>Mer, Gul, Bel.</i>    N    <i>Nodgerius</i>  <i>Nazararius</i>  <i>Neuius</i>  <i>Nauclerius</i>  <i>Nico. Boyerius</i>  <i>Niceph. Gregorius</i>  <i>Nico. de Lyra</i>  <i>Nigidius</i>  <i>Nico Secundinus</i>  <i>Nicauder</i>  <i>Nico. Monardus</i>  <i>Nico. Roffius</i>  <i>Nicotus Coniatus</i>  <i>Numerius Pythag.</i>  <i>Nico. de Cufa</i>  <i>Nico. Atyreptic.</i>    O    <i>Ozorius</i>  <i>Oppius</i>  <i>Opiatus</i>  <i>Ouid</i>  <i>Omphrius</i>  <i>Orofinus</i>  <i>Oronius Phineus</i>  <i>Orpheus</i>  <i>Otho Aechipif.</i>  <i>Otradius</i>  <i>Olavius Diagenus</i>  <i>Olavius Arc. Ufpal.</i>    P    <i>Paulianus</i>  <i>Procopius</i>  <i>Paulus Polonius</i>  <i>Paulus Diaconus</i>  <i>Prolomius</i>  <i>Pontius Paulinus</i>  <i>Phaedrius</i>  <i>Proffer</i>  <i>Pub. Ter. Varro</i>  <i>Pharomius</i>  <i>Petrarche</i>  <i>Polybius</i>  <i>Plato</i>  <i>Plutarch</i>  <i>Pliny</i>  <i>Pomponius Mela</i>  <i>Phadrus</i>  <i>Poffidius</i>  <i>Petrus Lombardus</i>  <i>Petrus Abaelard.</i>  <i>Philoftratus</i>  <i>Petrus Bellinus</i>  <i>Petrus Jacob.</i>  <i>Paul. de Mefridiu</i> </p>	<p> <i>Paul. Ionius</i>  <i>Phel. Commives</i>  <i>Pilonius</i>  <i>Paul. Orofinus</i>  <i>Platonia</i>  <i>Pet. Martyr</i>  <i>Pedro Mexia</i>  <i>Paul. de Amillius</i>  <i>Phlegonius Grec.</i>  <i>Paul. de Caffro</i>  <i>Politianus</i>  <i>Pindarus</i>  <i>Paul. Agemetus</i>  <i>Pet. Gellius</i>  <i>P. C. Radianus</i>  <i>Phonius Secundus</i>  <i>Pittacus</i>  <i>Parmentides</i>  <i>Polydor Virgil</i>  <i>Petofyris</i>  <i>Pedro de Albano</i>  <i>Pachymertius</i>  <i>Phel. Melanconbon.</i>  <i>Pepidius</i>  <i>Praxagoras</i>  <i>Proculeius</i>  <i>Philemon</i>  <i>Philo Indai</i>  <i>Pet. Olierius</i>  <i>Pet. Comifor</i>  <i>Pet. Crinitus</i>  <i>Porphyrius</i>  <i>Philippides</i>  <i>Pythagoras</i>  <i>Propercius</i>  <i>Panfanus</i>  <i>Pius 2. Papa</i>  <i>Pomponius Latius</i>  <i>Perfens</i>  <i>Pontanus</i>  <i>Pet. de Alacu</i>  <i>Policrates</i>  <i>Pegafius</i>  <i>Pontin. Perunius</i>  <i>Platearius</i>  <i>Probus</i>  <i>Palemon</i>  <i>Paul. de Nola</i>  <i>Pomp. Lerna Libert</i>  <i>Plautus</i>  <i>Pridaxius</i>  <i>Pogonius</i>  <i>Popinertus</i>    Q    <i>Quintilian</i>  <i>Quintus Curtius</i>  <i>Quint. Septimius</i>    R    <i>Ronsard</i> </p>	<p> <i>Rufic</i>  <i>Rutil. Numation</i>  <i>Ritius</i>  <i>Roder. Ximenes</i>  <i>Rabanus</i>  <i>Rog. Houedon</i>  <i>Rabbi Isaac</i>  <i>Rogierius</i>  <i>Rupertus</i>  <i>Ruffinus</i>  <i>Ripb. Volateran.</i>  <i>Rogno Cbron.</i>  <i>Rabbi Helu</i>  <i>Roder. Toletan.</i>  <i>Rondeletius</i>  <i>Rencelin</i>  <i>Rablaus</i>    S    <i>Suetonius Tranquil.</i>  <i>Solinus Polybift.</i>  <i>Surianus</i>  <i>Saluf</i>  <i>Saluianus</i>  <i>Sernius</i>  <i>Symmachus</i>  <i>Scaliger</i>  <i>Sigonius</i>  <i>Stephanus</i>  <i>Suagerius</i>  <i>Strabo</i>  <i>Socrates</i>  <i>Sidonius Apollonar</i>  <i>Sieur de Tonville</i>  <i>Seneca</i>  <i>Synadas</i>  <i>Syllus Italicus</i>  <i>Seleius Bassius</i>  <i>Solon</i>  <i>Sophocles</i>  <i>Sebast. Munfter.</i>  <i>Scopas</i>  <i>Sim. Simonem</i>  <i>Stofernus</i>  <i>Sannazar</i>  <i>Simonides Mellis.</i>  <i>Sabellicus</i>  <i>Spartianus</i>  <i>Strius</i>  <i>Seuthis</i>  <i>Serapion</i>  <i>Sextus Aurelius</i>  <i>Saxo. Grammat.</i>  <i>Sieur de Pybrac.</i>  <i>Sext. Pompeius</i>  <i>Stobens</i>  <i>Schonerus</i>  <i>Serenus</i>  <i>Sigif. de Herbest.</i>  <i>Stoeferus</i>  <i>Suefius</i>  <i>Sammonicus</i>    T    <i>Trebellius Pollio</i> </p>	<p> <i>Theophriftus</i>  <i>Trogus Pompeius</i>  <i>Titus Luuius</i>  <i>Timagenes</i>  <i>Thomaz Aquinas</i>  <i>Theodofius</i>  <i>Tertullian</i>  <i>Themistocles</i>  <i>Theopompus</i>  <i>Tabuberius</i>  <i>Tatellus</i>  <i>Toninus</i>  <i>Tibullus</i>  <i>Thales Milefius</i>  <i>Theod. Gaza</i>  <i>Timocrates</i>  <i>Tibaltinus</i>  <i>Tranquillus</i>  <i>Theocritus</i>  <i>Theodorot</i>  <i>Theophriftus</i>  <i>Tindarus</i>  <i>Theod. B. Blander</i>  <i>Thucydides</i>  <i>Tyrteneus</i>  <i>Tibius</i>  <i>Theophrates</i>  <i>Terencius</i>  <i>Theodotus</i>  <i>Themistius</i>  <i>Thomas More</i>  <i>Turcog. Hift. Atwood.</i>    V    <i>Virgill</i>  <i>Varronius</i>  <i>Vopifcus</i>  <i>Varro</i>  <i>Valerius Max.</i>  <i>Velleius Patercul.</i>  <i>Vincencius Lyrantef.</i>  <i>Vallurius</i>  <i>Venerab. Beda</i>  <i>Vegesius</i>  <i>Valer. Flaccus</i>  <i>Volaterranus</i>  <i>Viparianus</i>  <i>Valentius Barrucinus.</i>    Z    <i>Zenophon</i>  <i>Zenocrates</i>  <i>Zonarius</i>  <i>Zozimus</i>  <i>Zeno</i>  <i>Zuricinus</i>  <i>Zarnanochegus.</i> </p>
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# THE TREASVRIE of Ancient and Moderne TIMES.

## THE FIRST BOOKE.

Of the ancient Countrey of Gaule, now called France; what Lawes, Customs, Ceremonies, and other manners were used among the people of that Nation in their first Original: and how (since then) they have continued.

### An Introduction to the whole Discourse.



**I**N ancient times, the Countrey of Gaule was enclosed within the limits of the Rhein, of the Alpes, of the Mediterranean sea, of the Pyrenean Mountains, and of the Ocean sea. But after that the Gaules had passed the Alpes; all the Countrey which was from the Mountains, so farre as the river \* *Rubicon*, along by the coast of the *Apennines*, and so vp into the high Sea (which at this day is called the Gulfe of *Venice*) took the name of Gaule: as *Galatia* did the like, after that wee had subdued some people of *Asia*. That Gaule then which is in *Europe*, being halfe parted by the Alpes, is diuided into two parts; the one on the higher side of the Mountaines, and the other beyond. That which is on the further side, yet concerning vs, was called by the Romanes \* *Togata*: as *Romane*, in regard of

the habit of the Romanes, being commonly called a Gowne, and which they then did vsually weare. That on the hither side, was (by themselves) named properly *Braccata* (by a certain fashion of garment then worne by them, termed *Breaches*) and partly \* *Comata*, in regard that the haire on their heads was verie bushy. *Braccata* in the time of *Julius Caesar*, had his extendure from the Alpes, so farre as *Rhone* or \* *Rhodanus* bending towards the Pyrenean Mountaines, where were comprized the *Volca*, *Armoreanes*, *Rhutheni* or *Rhynteni*, and *Heluctians*, as it is to be seen in the seuenth Book of *Cæsars* Commentaries. This country was one while called *Prouence*, and then againe *Narbonne*, after the name of *Narbon*, then the chiefe and capitall Citie of the country. In *Comata* dwelt the Aquitans, which are they of *Cuene*, even from the Pyrenean Mountaines, so farre as the river \* *Garon*, on the hither side whereof are the Celts, inhabiting so farre as the Rivers of *Sena* and *Marna*. All the rest of the country extending toward the North, is possessed by the Belgians.

Now the search would bee very great, and hard to be performed by any man, that would

The first limits of Gaule

\*A River in Italy, rising out of *Apennini*, and running betweene *Armenium* and *Romani* into the Adriatique Sea.

The 3. diuisions of Gaul.

\*Togata, called also *Citerior*, & new Lombardy.

\*Braccata, containing *Narbo*, *Prouence*, or *Diaulphice*.

\*Comata, comprehending *Belgica*, *Belgica*, and *Aquitania*. \*A River rising out of the Alpes.

*Jul. Cæs. in Comment. lib. 7.*

*Prouence* called *Narbon*.

\*A river passing *Celica* from *Aquitania*.

The Authors speakes in his owne defence concerning his purpose in this History.

would (with a certaine history of all the times) set downe the fashions, manners, and customes which the ancient *Gaules* had held and obserued, vntill the daies of *Iulius Caesar* and their nouell qualities from those dayes to ours. But such as can content themselves with that diligence, which generally may be deliuered by the proofes of good and sufficient Authours, worthy of faith and sound credit; perhaps shall finde their expectation well fitted, both with honest pleasure and profite in their reading. And with this intention am I determined to make (namely) a collection out of many writers, that haue carefully employed their paines, concerning the manners and behaviour of the *Gauls*, according as matters might be remembered, in such diversity of distant places. And first, we will select out the most Ancient: as *Plato* can bring out purpose to full effect, and as our endeuer shall nothing be wanting; we will as diligently seeke for the more customes.

*Caesar* hath comprehended a certaine forme and semblance of *Gaul* in her ancient dayes; especially in the first booke of his Commentaries, of the warre in *Gaul*: albeith he hath sowne many other things throughout his Bookes: which I haue collected here and there, and from infinite places in other Authours, so that the whole may serue to encrease and fully illustrate the course of our purpose; wee may the more reasonably accomplish that which shall serue to make knowne our full aime and scope. Neuerthelesse, I am not to learne, that the *Greekes* which haue followed *Caesar*, were it that they vnderstood not the Latine tongue, or were it through carelesnesse and negligence; haue declared in many places, that they scarcely vnderstande the matters contained in his Commentaries. Wherefore we will first of all imitate *Caesar*, as the most great and singular Author and master of our history: and then pursue others, according as they haue borrowed any thing of him, or as they serue to make the whole subiect vnderstood.

But in regard that the principall parts of *Great Britaine*, as also of Germany, haue bene seized by the *Gauls*, as that appear in due time and place; and forasmuch as there hath bene great resembelance of the Britaines and Germanes with the Gaules,

as will bee declared by that which *Caesar* hath written; I imagined with my selfe, that it would very conueniently sute with our purpose, to compare such fashions as carried any coherence in these Nations. Considering that *Caesar* thought it fit, to compare the customes of *Gaul*, with them of Germany. And *Strabo*, perceiving the Germanes to be called to by the Romanes, as true brethren to the *Gauls*, by resembelance of their manner of liuing, when he wrote the fashions and customes of the ancient *Gaules*, he reproued them, and began with the Germanes. But although that *Tacitus* hath sayd, That they were named Germanes, by an appellation proper to their Nation, and such as they pleased to stile themselves; yet notwithstanding, howsoever at first they receiued that name, there may be discerned in the great Germany, or (for our better vnderstanding) a Fraternity, both in behaviour and customes, answerable one vnto another.

For our better beginning then, we will conclude on certaine kindes of manners, to the end, that each thing may be carried as may be most conuenient. *Plato* sayeth, There are three principall parts in the body of Man, wherein are lodged the three principall powers of the soule; Concupiscence in the Liuer, Anger in the Heart, and Reason in the Head, as in a Citadell. In like manner, there are three severall kindes of vertues that do command & gouerne them: Sobriety or Temperance, to ouerway Concupiscence in the Liuer; Courage, against Anger in the Heart; and Wisdome, in thinking and iudging with Reason. The common consent & agreement of all which, is the faithfull dutie of each one, euen as it were with diuers voices, & worthily may be called Iustice. *Caesar* and *Diodorus*, *Thucydides*, *Strabo*, and others, who are as interpreters of *Caesar*, do declare many things of the *Gauls*; & if I would haue set down at large in my Discourse, according as they are written by them: I should rehearse one and the same matter too many times. Wherefore I will rather imitate their intention in each place, then bee constrained to alledge their multiplicity of words.

CHAP.

## CHAP. I.

*Of the Temperance in eating and drinking used among the Gaules: as also of their Marriages and single condition of life.*



Enter the on the behalfe of Temperance, wee might speake of their abstinence in eating and drinking, reſort to women, their manner of speech, their modeſty in Garments and lodging; their ſportes, delights and aſſiſtance, which they afford to one another in ſuch things as they haue. Concerning the eating and drinking of the ancient Gaules, the liued for the moſt part (according to *Diodorus* and *Strabo*) on white meats, and diuers kinds of ſheſh, & principally on Porke freſh and ſalted. They vſed to haue ſtanding by their fires, pottes full of boyled ſheſh, and ſpits well loaden with roaſted ſheſh; the better part whereof they would giue to men of worth, to doe them honor: as *Homer* writes, That the Grecian Captains did to *Alex*, when he had won the victory againſt *Hector* body to body. *Caesar* granteth the ſelfe ſame manner of life to the Brittaines, and to the Germanes. The Brittaines (ſaith he) which dwell furtheſt vp into the Countrey, the moſt part of them do not ſowe any corne but liue onely vpon milke and ſheſh. Neuertheleſſe, they hold in deteſtation (by what religious opinion I know not) to taſte of an Hare, of an Hen or Chicken, and of a Goole. Hee ſaith alſo the very ſame in his ſeuenth booke, ſpeaking of the Germanes; That they do not addit them ſelues to any kinde of labour, and that their very greateſt nourishment is vpon white meats, cheefe and ſheſh. But *Tacitus* hath written much more amply concerning the manner of life amongſt the Germanes. Each mother (ſaith hee) doth nurſe her child with her owne beſt, and neuer truſteth it in the hands of their ſeruants, or other Nurſes. Thou canſt not know the Maſter from the Varlet, by any kinde of more delicate feeding. They liue nakedly and ſlovenly, euen amongſt their Heards or droues of Cattle; & lying vpon the ground, vntill ſuch time as age

doth ſet apart ſuch as are Maſters, & vertue doeth enough and make them to bee knowne. Their viands are ſimply dreſſed or prepared, being of wilde fruits, ſometimes of freſh Veniſon, or curded milke, without any dainty cooking or dreſſing. So much for their manner of eating.

As for their drinke, that amongſt the *Gaules*, and termed *Zythum*: This (ſaith *Diodorus*) was made of barley and water, hauing paſſed thorow diuers honycombs. *Tacitus* writeth almoſt the very ſame of the Germanes. They make a drinke (ſaith he) of water, mingled both with barley & wheate, diſguiſed into ſome reſemblance of wine. They which dwell on the Sea-coaſts, do buy wine. The moſt part of the *Gaules* (as *Diodorus* & *Strabo* doe both write) vſed to ſitte on the ground and to eat their food, ſitting on the ſkinnes of Dogges or of volues: being ſerued with earthen veſſels, which were ſtrong and muſtue, and wrought about with branches of flowers; and they were alwayes attended and ſerued by their young children. In like manner *Tacitus* recordeth, That the Germanes ſo ſoone as they were awake and riſen (which they vſed not to do till it was day) they laued and waſhed themſelues, with warme water, becauſe winter continued in their region for the moſt part of the yeare; and at coming forth of the bathe, they went vnto their fooode, each one hauing his table and ſeat alone by himſelfe. Thus then was their ancient and rude ſimplicity, which cauſed the Germanes to be ſo big membered and corpulent, wherewith *Tacitus* ſeemeth to maruell greatly. And thence likewiſe enſued the ſelfe ſame greatneſſe of bodye which was among the *Gaules*, who for their huge corpulency, and regarding onely their owne bigneſſe of ſtature, held the ſmaller conſtitution of the Romanes in contempt, as may be ſcene in the 2. booke of the wars in *Gaul*.

But *Plato* reprehendeth the *Gaules* for their intemperance and drunkenneſſe with wine; and *Diodorus* writeth the very ſame. They affected wine ſo exceſſively, that when the Merchants brought it to them, they dranke it wholly new as it was; and then becomming drunk, by hauing taken ouermuch, they lay downe to ſleepe, or behaued themſelues like mad men. And this was the reaſon that many of the Ita-

Tul. Caes. in com. lib. 6.

Diodorus other good Authors compared with Caesar.

Errors in Greeke Authors that followed Caesar.

Caesar followed as Father of the history.

The cheefe place is in Great Britaine and Germany possided by the Gaules.

Tul. Caes. in com. lib. 6. Strabo in lib. 3.

Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 3.

Reſemblance in customes and manners, betweene the Gaules and Germanes.

Plato in lib. 1. de leg. 2.

Three cheefe parts in mans bodie.

Three especiall kindes of vertues which doe gouerne the powers of the soule.

Diodorus, Thucydides, Strabo, and others in reſpecte of Caesar.

The Authour beginneth with Temperance.

The eating &amp; drinking of the Ancient Gaules Diodorus in lib. 4 Strabo in lib. 2

Homer in lib. 4

Iulius Caesar in comment. lib. 6 Of the Germanes.

Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 3. cap. 1.

Of Mothers Nurſing their owne childre

The drinke vſed by the ancient Gaules Diodorus in lib. 4 (saith Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 3.

Diodorus in lib. 4 Strabo in lib. 3.

Their manner of eating their meate.

Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 3. Of washing their body in warme water.

The reaſon of corpulency &amp; big ſtature of the Germanes and Gaules.

Intemperance and drunkenneſſe amongſt the Gaules.



Italian Marchants brought wine to the Gaules.

lian Merchants for the gaine which they got both by sea and land; brought wine in great plenty thither, and for a small vessel of wine, receyved (in exchange) foure times the value. And the same Authour not onely blameth their drunkenness, but also the quarrells which accompanied this excess. They observed (saith he) as a custome, at their feeding, for the least debate of words, to rise presently from the Table, and defie one another to the combat, hazarding their lives without any discretion. Thus you see how the Greeks have reprooved the ancient Gaules; and *Tacitus* calleth the Germanes their Brethren in the same vice, accusing them equally to bee drunkards and quarrellers. They vfed not (saith he) any such temperance against thirst. For they held it no dishonor, to spend the whole day and night in drinking, so they might bee suffered to drinke their fill, furnishing them with so much as they would haue; you shold find them no lesse easie to bee conquered by their vices, then by armes. The quarrells which rose very often among them, as among people subiect to Wine, was no sooner mingled with injuries of the mouth; but (for the most part) did end with blowes by the sword, to the expence of their blood, yea of their liues. Such was the blame which the Germanes receiued by making no more account of so bad a custome; euen as if this vice had bene no vice among them, or did any way shame them.

An Order amongst the Gaules against this badde custome.

But the Gaules vfed themselves in better manner: for by a publicke ordinance this vile behauiour (in particular persons) was verie greuously and rigorously punished. Let vs heare then from *Caesar* the cause of the magnanimity of the Gaules; which was, by knowing how to keep themselves from this disorderly kinde of life. The most magnanimous of all (saith he in his first Booke, speaking of the Belgians, Celts, and Aquitanes) are the Belgians, because they are furthest off in the country, which is carefully husbanded, and strangers doe but seldome trafficke with them, to bring them that which serueth to no other end but to effeminate their courages.

Most valiant & fierce people about Germany.

In the same book speaking of the Neruians, as of the most courageous of all the Belgians, he saith; *Caesar* making enquiry

of them, what might be their naturall disposition and manners, hee found, That Merchants did not trafficke with them, & that they would not suffer (by any means) that wine should be brought among them, or any thing that serued for delicacy. For they held (as an infallible opinion) that such things were the cause of abating their courage, & that their native vertue would thereby be much weakened. Whereby we may perceiue, that the intemperance of some particular men, was condemned by a generall and publicke decree; and that sobriety & temperate carriage was greatly respected and honored in those parts. *Strabo* sayeth, That by the perswasion of *Cennus*, a graue and wise man, the Getes rent and pluckt vp all the Vines in their country, yet vfed some wine in the time of their childrens nursing. But our Ancestors did much better, because they would neuer permit or suffer, that any Vine should be planted among them, or wine to be brought them from any other place. Wherefore *Dionysius* had good reason to say, that in his time there came no vyvine at all into *Gaulle Comata*.

*Caesar* in his fourth Booke, maketh the *Sueues*, a people of Germany, equal in temperance to the *Neruians* that were in Gaulle. For they would not suffer that any wine should be brought into their countrey, because they were perswaded, that it made men lazie, effeminate, and vnapt to endure any labor. Thus we may obserue then, what was their sobriety in eating and drinking, wherein their greater part of vertue is commended; for abstinence from lewd and wanton women. And albeit that *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Bardeanes*, according as *Eusebius* reporteth; being all of them Grecian Authours, haue reproved this vice as frequent and common among the Gaules, and which is as innated (if credite may bee giuen to *Aristotle*) in warlike actions; whereby the fable was fained, of conioyning *Venus* with *God Mars*: yet notwithstanding, *Caesar* speaketh nothing therof, but giueth great commendation to the Germanes for their temperance, contrary to them that haue written otherwise of them.

Such as haue continued in virgin estate the longest while among them, and without the knowledge of any other but their owne body, receiued the very greatest respect

Wine & wantonness means the hindrance of manly courage

*Strabo* in lib. 3 Of the Getes

No vines planted amongst the Gaules.

*Di dar* in lib. 4

*Iul. Caesar* in comment. lib. 4 Sueues, but being on Barbaria, Mallana the river Rhine, & the Alps.

An Historiographer of Babylon *Euseb* in his Hist. lib. 1 & 8

*Arist* in lib. 4 de Anim cap. 9

Of such as continued longest in virgin estate of life.

*Herod* in *Top* Of the nature of Children.

The younger men amongst the Germanes.

Young men children equall they fathered together

*Iulius Caesar* in comment. lib. 6

Orders observed amongst the Gaules.

Of suspicion concerning the husbands death.

The doctrine of the Philosophers concerning the husbands power.

spect and praise. For they held it as a most villanous thing to haue knowledge of a woman, before the age of twenty yeeres. In all which time they did not hide themselves, but bathed daily together in the riuers. And this is the reason rendered by *Herodotus*, speaking of the nature of children, wherefore haire commeth much sooner to some then it doth to others: because the vse of *Venus* maketh the flesh more loose and flabby, and openeth the skinn, which affordeth the easier passage to the haire; contrarywise, such Children as are gelded, haue neuer any haire at all. *Tacitus* hath not omitted the selfsame attribution of praise to the Germanes. Young men are long time before they haue any knowledge of women: and that is an especial reason why they lose no part of their youthfull strength, and therefore make no hast at all of parting with their virgin condition. Young Laddes, and such (of like stature) as are gelded, do make triall of their agility together, and their children do (commonly) partake of their Parents strength.

Marriages do appertaine to the rule of the same vertue: but *Caesar* hath not written carefully how the Gaules obserued it. The husband (saith hee) laide downe the valew of so much goodes, as his wife brought with her, and a iust account being taken thereof, the whole stocke was put together. The party that furnished, employed the others portion, with the reuenues of all that had past. The husbands are masters and commanders of their wives liues, and also of their Childrens. When any Father of a Family (of note) dyeth, the next of the kindred do assemble together, and if any suspicion be conceived concerning his death: the Wife is committed to tortures, as they doe their slaves, and if she prouoe to be conuincid; after they haue tormented her with fire, and all other kinds of paines, they put her to death. This law may seeme hard, that giueth the husband such like power over the wife and children, as he hath over his slaves. For, according as the Philosophers haue taught vs: the father of the family giueth command to his wife & children, as vnto free persons. Yet this is not all as one kinde of command: for hee giueth command to his wife as to one of the same Commonwealth, & to his chil-

dren as a King. The Law truly may appeare to be hard, and yet it is *Roman*, euen the like as *Romans* made, Ordaining; That the sonne should bee in his fathers power all his life; and that the father may chastise, beate, put him to any busines in the field, sell, or kill him. The same King also appointed, That a man might punish his wife, if she had drunke any wine. *Caesar* speaketh all this in his sixth booke: and in his fifth hee declareth diuers other fashions of behauiour in marriages, speaking of the Brittaines.

Ten or twelue together (saith he) do hold their wines in common, and principally brethren with their brethren, and fathers with their daughters. And such as are born of them, are auouched for children of them that haue epoused their mothers, being yet maids. So much also he relateth of the English. But *Tacitus* writing of the Germanes, giueth them most noble commendation in this point. The wife (saith hee) neuer offereth anie dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife. The parents, cousins, & kindred are present therat, and allow of all presents passing between them. And they are no presents deuised for delicacie or delight of women, nor to repaire a new intended marriage: but they are a gift of Oxen yoked, a horse bridled and furnished, & a Buckler or Target, with a sword and Iaueline. For these presents the husband taketh his wife; who likewise (on her owne behalfe) presenteth him with some weapons of warre. This is the great marriage bond, these are accounted sacred mysteries, & these are the coniugall gods that they hold in reuerence.

And to the end that the wife may not thinke her selfe exempted from vntuous desseignes, nor the hazards of warre: from the very beginning of her marriage she is continually aduertised, that she is thus received and taken to be her husbands companion in all paines and dangers, and that (be it either peace or warre) shee must of necessity runne the same fortune. And these are plainly signified vnto her by the coupled Oxen, the furnished horse, and warlike weapons. She receiueueth what she is to bestow on her children after that she hath worthily and holily nursed them vp: & such as are of most forward disposition the Father hath care of, that they may re-

*Seneca* Lawe of power in fathers.

Of confusion of marriage amongst the Brittaines.

*Conuelius Tacitus*, vbi supra, In praise of the Germans.

Presents giue vnto the new married Husband.

Aduertisements to the wife from the day of her marriage.

Mysterious significations to the Wife.

Education of  
their children

semble (in good quality) others of their lineage. And then they live, keeping their chastity well defended; not being corrupted by any occasions, nor the light of wanton pastimes, or being present at Feasts or banquets.

Women punished by their  
husbands for  
adultery

There are very few adulteries committed in so great a Nation; for the punishment thereof is very speedy, and the husband may lawfully do it. After hee hath shaven and stript her naked, the husband bringeth her forth of his house, in the presence of all his and her neerest Kindred, and beatech her with a bastinado thorow all the streets; for there is no allowance

No pardon  
granted for  
adultery.

of any pardon after that a wife hath blemished her honor; and neither her beauty, youth, or riches can afterward winne her another husband. Vices serve not there to be laughed and jested at: & one may well say, That (there) is such a world, as neither permiteth the doing or indulging of any dissoluteness. Those Commonwealths are the best ordered, wherein is such permission, that the Maides onely finde themselves husbands, and marriage consisteth in mutuall accord (for a long while) in good hope, and that the Bride may have her hearts desire. For in this case she taketh her husband as one & the selfsame body, and one life is allowed by them both: because they can have no contrary thoughts, neither they desire any way wandering, but their affections doe so sympathize, as not in either to husband or wife, but to the sanctity of marriage. It is helde as a very great offence, to procure the death of any of their children, or of their kindred: And there good customes do beare more sway, than good Lawes and Ordinances doe elsewhere. Hitherto haue wee continued the writing of *Tacitus*, concerning the Germanes marriages.

Vices not  
jested at.

*Diodorus* reprehendeth the Gaules for a certaine kinde of disordered behaviour in their speaking, saying: They vse a short kinde of speech, somewhat hard to be vnderstood, and without any deliberation; speaking great store of doubtfull things, yet deliuering many bragging and vaunting words; much to commend themselves and in the contempt of others. They are threatners and bad speakers, and full of ouerweening. This vanity of theirs hath likewise beene reprooued by *Strabo* in lib.

Commenda-  
tion of mar-  
riage making.Against mur-  
thering of  
Children or  
Kindred.*Diodorus* in lib. 4  
The manner  
of speaking a-  
mongst the  
Gaules.

3. And *Caesar* speaketh thereof in his fourth Booke, and is also to be proued by diuers examples in his other books. Such is that whereof hee speaketh in his first booke, of *Draucanus* the Heluetian, who highly extolled and vaunted the vertue of the Heluetians, and reproached the diffidence of the Romanes, admonishing *Caesar* by menaces to beware of any further attemptings; for feare, least the place where the Romanes miscarried, by a further losse of their people, after the foiling of their whole Army, should take name thereby, and so remaine as a memorie of their disgrace.

Such also was *Ariouistus*, King of the Germanes, who answering little or nothing to matters which *Caesar* demanded of him; spake wonders of his owne valour, and that he neuer buckled with any man, but he was ruined. And *Caesar* might come to fight whensoever he pleased, but he should learne of the Germanes, that they were a people neuer vanquished, and skilfull enough in actions of armes. *Vercingetorix* also vaunted in his oration, that hee would make a League with all the Gaules, and then all the world durst not make head against them. This is sufficient concerning this matter; I come now to speake of the care which they had of their owne persons.

## CHAP. II.

*How the Gaules used to wear their Haire; and what kinde of garments they used, with the painting of their bodies, their Coimes, &c.*



*Diodorus*, speaking of the Gaules, sayeth; Albeit, that naturally they haue goodly lockes of hayre, yet doe they helpe the naturall colour thereof, by an in-

strument properly deuised for that purpose. They twine and twist their busbie lockes together, and tuffe them to hang dangling downe, even from the forehead to the necke: so that they resemble Satyres, and young vnshorne boyes. They haue practised by Art, to make their haire

*Jul. Caesar* in lib. 7.*Diodorus* the Heluetian bragget.*Ariouistus* K. of the Germanes.*Jul. Caesar* in lib. 1.*Diodorus* in lib. 4  
*How the Gaules used to wear their haire.**Cornel. Tacitus* in *Agrippa*.  
*How the Sueues did wear their haire.**Of the Lords amongst the Sueues**Diodorus* in lib. 5  
*How the Gaules wore their beards, and some of their apparel.**The reason of calling Gaule Braccata.**Strabo* in lib. 4*Titus Livius* lib. 2. cap. 1  
*Diodorus* in lib. 5.  
*Jul. Caesar* in lib. 1.  
*Of the ancient Britones.*

thicke and hard, that little difference appeareth betwene theirs and the haire of a horte. *Tacitus* speaketh (wel-neede) the same of the *Sueues*, a people of Germany. But the especiall note of that Nation is, that they turne their haire crosse or ouerthwart, and then binde or trusse it vp in a knot. In this manner are the *Sueues* known among all the other Germanes, and free-men of the Countrey from slaues. Some of the *Sueues* do wear their haire long, and bristling backward with a bending downe, and so they go till they bee hoary or white; and then (oftentimes) they binde it together on the crowne of the head. The Lords are no more respectiue of their own persons, and yet without any proud or bad intention: For it is not done in regard that they affect or couet to be affected, but they doe onely fo decke themselves, to appeare the more fierce and terrible vnto their enemies, when occasion calleth them forth to warre.

*Diodorus* proceedeth on in this manner, concerning the behaviour of the Gaules. Some of them (saith he) doe vse to shaueth their beards, but others do wear them of some length. The Gentlemen do cutte short the haire on their cheekes, & suffer their beards to grow to such length, as it will couer all their bodie. They wear also a kinde of garment, which is all hairie, to seme the more dreadfull and terrible, consisting of diuers colours, and teamed by them *Braccates*. They haue long skirted iackets or Cassockes, rewed or streaked, being of the very courest Cloath, which they vse for winter, and the most simple or slenderest for summer. *Diodorus* speaketh thus of the *Braccates*, as the reason whereby the Romanes called that part of Gaule *Braccata*, and by which garment the same Authour affirmeth, That the Gaules were more terrible to beholde.

*Strabo* likewise writeth in his fourth booke concerning their haire, their Cassockes, their rude and hairy garments, their long high breeches, & their short open cloaks which hardly couered halfe theyr Buttocks. All these Authours do agree together, as touching the haire of the Gaules and Germanes, and to be of a redde colour, according as *Titus Livius*, and *Diodorus* haue written. *Caesar* speaking of the of ancient Britany, writeth thus. They do

all paint themselves with an herb, called by them *Gallum*, which causeth a blewish, or azure colour: and this made them very dreadfull to looke on, when they went to any fight. Moreouer, they wore their lockes of haire very long; shauing off all their other haire except that on the head, and on the vpper lip.

*Diodorus* pursuing his purpose concerning the Gaules, figureth them forth (as it were with golde) in this manner. The whole Countrey of Gaule is without the mettall called Siluer: but nature hath giuen it gold, without any labor or cunning endeavour. For, in regard that the most part of the Riuer haue their courses verie troublesome, vneasie in pasing, & wheeling or circling in wide compasse: the waters which descend from the hilles and mountains, by dispering themselves abroad in the valleys, do scatter a sand on the fields, which is mingled with golde.

Afterwardes, kneading or tweaking the clods together, wherein they digerne the golde to shine, and permitting them to become hard: they then break them in peeces, and when they haue washed it in water, and the earth is quite taken away, they hurle the rest into a furnace, and so melt it in that manner. When they haue thus moulten and drawne out the golde pure and cleane, the women and men do adorne themselves therewith: for they wear it in rings on their fingers, and in bracelets about their armes, and in Carcanets on their brests, & in chaines about their neckes, and about their middles as golden girdles. *Polybius* also maketh mention in his second booke, of their Chaines and Bracelets. And *Strabo* in his 4. booke speaketh of their Mines of gold, whereof the cheefest are in the Countrey of *Tarbellos*; and hee attributeth this Ornament only vnto such as were in honor and dignitie.

But *Caesar* and *Tacitus* do speake of another manner of want or poeerty (of this magnificence) amongst the Germanes. They vse (saith *Caesar*) skimes in their garments, and short cloakes made of furred skins, hauing the greater part of their body naked. But *Tacitus* speaketh more amply, concerning the whole manner of the Germanes, writing thus. I doubt whether the gods were fauourable to them or quirt: contrary, because they denied them the

*The Herbs: Wade, vied by Dyets.**Diodorus* in lib. 5  
*No flower in all the countrey of Gaule, but gold naturally**How they gather their gold amongst the Gaules, & adorne themselves therewith**Polybius* in lib. 2*Strabo* in lib. 4*The countrey of Gallioigne, neere to the Pyrenean Mountaines.**Jul. Caesar* in *Com. lib. 7**Corn. Tacitus* in lib. 6. c. 3.*No Golde or Siluer amongst the Germanes.*

Vessels of Sil-  
uer held in no  
more account  
then the like  
made of earth

The *Serrati* &  
*Begitwer* re-  
mains among  
the ancient  
Romans.

The common  
wearing habit  
of the Ger-  
manes.

They were  
daint of wild  
beasts, and of  
fishes.

What gar-  
ments the wo-  
men did wear.

the mettals of gold and silver. Notwith-  
standing, I will not set it downe assured-  
ly, but that there may bee some veine of  
gold or silver in Germany: yet who (at  
any time) hath made search for it? They  
have no such affection thereto, as to ap-  
ply it to any service. Some vessels of silver  
have bene found amongst them (which  
have bene giuen to their Ambassadors, or  
to their Princes) and yet to be held in no  
more esteeme or reckoning, then those  
that are made of earth. Neuertheles, they  
that dwell much neerer to vs, in regard  
that they haue trafficked with our people:  
do make more esteeme of gold and sil-  
uer, allowing and commending some  
peecces of our monies. They that liue fur-  
ther off in the Countrey, doe deale more  
simply, and (according to the most an-  
cient manner) make their traffike by ex-  
change. They receive the old mony, and  
such as they haue had longest knowledge  
of, as the *Serrati* and *kigati*. They loue  
the coin of silver better then that of gold;  
not that they beare therto any particular  
affection, but because the silver money is  
easier for them in buying things com-  
mon, and of smallest price. The vidual ha-  
bit or garment to them all, is a long skirted  
lacket or Caskocke which they fasten  
together with a buckle, but (for want  
therof) with a great pin. The rest of the  
body is not couered with any thing, and  
they sit the most part of the day vpon the  
hearth, somewhat neere to the fire. Such  
as are of greatest wealth, doe differ from  
the other in their garments, which are not  
so ample or large as those of the *Sarmat-  
es*, or of the Parthians: but iustly fitted  
to the body, and such as maketh apparant  
shew of euery member. They wear the skins  
of wild beasts, and such as dwell neere  
to the riuers, are most curious of their ha-  
bit: but they of more remote abiding, vse  
no great curiositie, as being least carefull  
what they weare, because they liue so far  
from strangers. When they haue made  
choise of their beasts skinned, they do the  
like of fishes, taking such as are the great-  
est, or as the Ocean and most vnknowne  
Seas do yeeld, and fullest of spots, and so  
they sowe them together. The Women  
are no otherwise habited then the men:  
but that the women are oftner couered  
with a garment of linnen, inter-woven  
with a scarlet colour. They care for no

fleeces on the height of their armes, but  
are naked downe from the very shoulders  
and part of the breast (neerest adioyning)  
is as nakedly discovered. Thus you see the  
gayest brauery of the Gaules; & how sim-  
ple the Germans are in their garments: it  
remaineth now that we say somewhat of  
their houses and dwellings.

## CHAP. III.

Of the houses and dwellings of the Gaules;  
their Townes and villages, and of what  
manner they were.



He habitations of the Gaules  
(according as *Strabo* sayth)  
are wide and spacious, made  
of earth and planchers of  
wood, & couered with strong  
reeds arched on the top together in form  
of a vault: for so *Cæsar* in the first booke of  
the Gaules warres saith. That the Lod-  
gings of *Q. Cicero* in the fields, were cou-  
ered with straw and reeds, according to  
the manner of the Gaules. And in his sixth  
booke he sheweth, that the more part of  
the Manner houses appertaining to the  
gentlemen Gaules, were in the woods, or  
on the riuers. Speaking of the house of  
*Ambiorix*, which was altogether enight  
with woods, *As were wel nere all* (sayth he)  
*the houses of the Gaules are, who to shun the  
heate, do dwell in woods, and neere to riuers.*  
*Cæsar* deliuereth plainly, that the A-  
quitaines, Celts and first Belgians, had their  
Cities and Townes enclosed both with  
walles and ditches: but it may be doubted  
whether the like prouision was vsed a-  
mong the Gaules further off, and those  
were neerest to the North; as the *A Mori-  
ni*, *b Aduatiques*, *c Menapians*, and *d Ebu-  
rones*.

*Cæsar* declareth, That the most part of  
these Belgians, are descended of the Ger-  
manes, and saith, that the Germanes had  
not their Townes and Villages made af-  
ter our manner: as may bee obserued by  
that which *Tacitus* hath written accord-  
ing to the custome which they had in  
his time. It is sufficiently known (saith he)  
that the German people dwell nor in any  
Townes.

Of their hou-  
ses, lodgings,  
& dwellings.  
*Strabo* in Lib. 4

In *Cæsar* com.  
Lib. 5.

Lib. 6.

Of their first  
Cities and  
Townes.

a People a-  
bout Turaine  
by the Rhine  
Ocean.

b Of Narbonne  
in France.

c Inhabiting  
both sides of  
Rhine, west  
towards the Ocean.

d Of the coun-  
try beyond  
the Rhine, beyond  
the Ocean, *Tacit.*  
in Lib. 5.

The manner of  
their building  
among the  
Germanes.

Their Causes  
and storehou-  
ses of Corne  
vnder ground

In *Cæsar* in  
com. Lib. 6.

Of towns be-  
longing to the  
Belgians

Of the Mori-  
ni, that made  
war, contrary  
to all the o-  
ther Gaules.

Townes, neither that they could endure  
to haue their houses neere vnto one ano-  
ther. They dwell distant or apart, scatter-  
ingly, where either riuers, fieldes, or  
woods do best content them. Their Vil-  
lages are not after our fashion: for their  
houses do not touch or ioyne neere each  
other. Euery one leaueth a great wide  
distance or compasse about his dwelling;  
either to auoid the disastrous fortunes of  
fire, or else because they know not how to  
build better. They vse neither Morter nor  
Tiles: but the matter which doeth them  
service, is very rude, and is not prepared  
either for beauty or pleasure. They pla-  
ster some places much more respectfully,  
with a kinde of earth so cleane & shining,  
as it seemeth to contend with painting, &  
portraictures of colours. They were wont  
to make causes vnder the ground, and co-  
uered them with thicke clods of dung, to  
withdraw themselves thither in the win-  
ter time, and therein also to hide their  
Corne, because in such places, the colde  
weather had not so great power, & when  
they withdrew themselves into the thickest  
of nothing, but what hee found readily  
discovered. As for that which was thus  
hidden or buried, Theeues not knowing  
thereof, would bestow the lesse paines &  
search, in further enquiry after it. *Cæsar*  
speaketh (almost) as much of the Britains.  
They rearm'd it a Towne (saith he) when  
they had enclosed some tufty wood with  
ditches and pales; whereinto they were  
wont to retire themselves, to shunne the  
courses of their enemies. And whereas  
*Cæsar* speaketh sometimes of certaine  
Townes of the *Suenes*: in mine opinion,  
hee is so to be vnderstood.

Returpe we now to the townes of the  
Belgians, which are vp higher in the co-  
stie, and heere my question is: Whether  
they had any such Townes as the Britains  
or no? We will first of all speake of the  
*A Morini*, who (according as *Cæsar* writeth)  
beganne to make war, but in a quite con-  
trary manner then the other Gaules. For  
they hauing heard, that the very greatest  
Nations which had hazarded battel, were  
quite defeated and conquered: withdrew  
themselves & their goods into the stron-  
gest places, which were great and long  
forrests, encompassed with fenny or mar-  
thy grounds. *Cæsar* being come vnto the  
entrance of some such forrest, and hauing

concluded there to fortifie his campe: as  
the *iomanes* were seriously employed a-  
bout their busines; the enemy (of whom  
they had no doubt at all) sallied forth vpon  
them vnprovided, at most places of  
the wood, and charged the *Romans* very  
sharply. Heereupon, they betooke them  
to their Armes, and repulsed them backe  
into the wood, and hauing slaine a great  
number of them, pursued them thorough  
many vnease places, yet with very little  
losse of their people. The next day fol-  
lowing, *Cæsar* determined to fell down the  
Forrest, and suspending least some harme  
might be done by the Plankers to Soldi-  
ers unarmed: he cauted all the trees which  
were leuene downe, to be made as ram-  
piers against the enemy, and to serue as  
defences on either side.

Hauing made a great spacious coun-  
trei (in few dayes) by incredible dili-  
gence, after that the Romaines had made  
themselves Maisters of the cattle & bag-  
gage which was in the rereward; they  
withdrew themselves into the thickest of  
the Forrest. *Cæsar* speaketh this of the  
wood of the *A Morini*, which serued them  
as a Towne or Village. And the yeare af-  
ter, in regard of the drought which had  
dried vp all the Marishes (as it was to be seene  
in his fourth booke) they hauing no more  
refuges to flye vnto as they had the yeare  
before, were (almost all of them) subdued  
by *Labienus*. In these two warres, hee maketh  
no mention of any other Townes,  
then of woods and marishes.

The like is affirmed of the *Menapians*,  
in those Countreies where the Romaine  
Legions were brought, vnder the conduct  
of *Fabius* and *Cotta*, as it is set downe also  
in his fourth booke. They made spoyle in  
the fields, destroyed the Corne, fet the  
houses on fire; and all this happened, be-  
cause the *Menapians* had hid themselves  
in the thickest Forrests. Afterward *Cæsar*  
himselfe came to them with five legions.  
But they (as *Cæsar* saith) not hauing ga-  
thered any forces together, trusting only  
in the security of the place, withdrew  
themselves into the woods and marishes,  
and carried thither their goods also. *Cæsar*  
hauing diuided his powers with *C. Fa-  
bius*, who was his Lieutenant, and *M. Cras-  
sus* Treasurer of his wars, and hauing  
also sodainly prouided bridges for pas-  
sage, gaue them assault three severall  
wayes.

The Morini  
set vpon the  
Romans and  
were repulsed

*Cæsar* & his  
men pursue  
the Morini  
to the Forrest

In *Cæsar* in  
com. lib. 4.

Of the Men-  
apians.  
In *Cæsar* in  
com. lib. 4.

The stratagem  
of *Cæsar* a-  
gainst the *Me-  
napians*, tho-  
rough their  
owne negli-  
gence.

ways, and burning their houses and villages, made himself Master of a great number of men and cattle. The *Menapians* seeing themselves in this distress, were constrained to send Ambassadors, humbly to entreat peace. In this place also there is no name of any village, or pregnant appearance that there were any, but such as we have already spoken of.

By due observation of this discourse, perhaps the villages of the *Neruians* will appear to be even the like. The *Neruians* (this speaketh *Cæsar* in his second booke) from all antiquity, not having any power of horsemen (for even to this day they do not add to their mindes thereto, but all the strength which they have, consisteth only in footmen) to the end they may impeach and withstand the horsemen of their neighbours, if they make any inroad upon them, to rob and spoile them, cutting downe young trees that had shot forth strong branches, they twined them together, and interweaving briars and thorns among them, they wrought them so artificially, that these hedges or fences served them as a wall; wherein not only a man could not enter, but also he was unable to see or discern any thing.

The pollicie defence of the *Neruians* against horsemen of their neighbours or other enemies

The *Neruians* had no walled townes or villages of defence.

In the same warre of the *Neruians*, the women, & such as (in regard of their age) were not serviceable for bearing armes, had never any Village or Town for their safety, which was engirt with wals; but in such a place where there was no coming or entrance for an Army, because of the marshy grounds, which were the only hinderance.

Now, in this first warre against the *Neruians*, we may plainly perceive that they had not any Towne enclosed with wals; and we may well credit it by that which is in the sixth booke. For *Cæsar* having assembled foure Legions with all possible diligence, entred (in wares) into the Country of the *Neruians*, and before they could either draw their strength together, or tell how to save themselves: after hee had surprized a great number of men, and herds of Cattle, and dispersed the booty to his Soldiers; he layde waste their fields, and compelled them to yeeld and deliver him hostages. This passage likewise of the *Neruians*, yeeldeth great coniecture, that they had no other towns

or villages in those times, but like them of the *Britaines*.

It may appeare also, that the *Adriatices* (by that which *Cæsar* writeth in his second booke) have had the like townes. Having forsaken (saith he) all their townes and Castles, they brought all their goods into a village, which was wonderfully strong by naturall situation. For, having (on all sides about it) huge rocks & down-falles of exceeding height, it had but one onely comming to it, which was hanging or descending downward, yet in a swete and gentle manner, being in breadth no more than two hundred foote. This way or passage they had fortified with a double wall, of very great height, & the same was strengthened in many places with mighty huge stones, and sharpe-pointed beames or pyles. Heere *Cæsar* describeth nothing but a wall onely, and on one side of the Towne. And the like may be easily prooved in the Nation of the *Eburones*: who are also called *Germanes* by *Cæsar* in his second booke. These men, under the conduct of King *Ambiorix*, had overcome *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, with fiftene Companies, neere to *Atuqna*, as it is set downe in the fifth booke. *Cæsar* who had never received a greater iniurie, determined to be reuenged for this losse, and vterly to abolish and ruinate the nation of the *Eburones*, as we may reade in the 6. booke. Therefore he sent *Basillus* on before with the whole band of horse, and leaving a legion for guard of the baggage, he divided the other nine into three Regiments, to overrunne and make spoile of the whole Country. He caused *Labienus* to march with three Legions along by the Ocean, toward that part which ioyneth vnto the *Menapians*. Hee sent *Trebonius* with the same number of Legions, to sacke that Country which was neere to the *Adriatices*. Himselfe, accompanied with the three other Legions, stayed to go toward the river *Sabis*, and the utmost parts of the Forrest of *Ardene*.

The *Eburones* not having any certaine Army, neither garrison, or any Towne wherein they might defend themselves by Armes, and the whole popularity being scattered every where abroad, retired themselves to such places as were obscure valleys, or wilde and savage, or where the moorish Fennes made a troublesome

Of the *Adriatices*.  
1st. *Cæsar* in Com. lib. 2

A strong fortified town of the *Adriatices*.

Of the *Eburones*.  
1st. *Cæsar* in Com. lib. 2.

*Cæsar*'s determination for reuenge upon the *Eburones*.

The several Legions committed to *Labienus* and *Trebonius*.

A wood goodly in length, reaching from the river *Rhine*, to the City of *Tourmay*.

The great desire of *Cæsar*, to be reuenged on the *Eburones* for the losse and damage that he sustained.

1st. *Cæsar* in Com. lib. 8.

Of the *Bellovaci* or *Bellovaci*.

\* Thought now to be the Towne *Tullisburgum* in low Germany.

Of sports and recreations amongst the *Germanes*.

access to them; that presented them with some imaginary hope, that thus they might defend and save themselves. *Cæsar* in this fiery heat of reuenge, perceiving the great danger which might ensue, by having thus separated his Legionaries; called all the neere-neighbouring Cities (in hope of booty) to come and make pillage of the *Eburones*, to the end, that the race and name of them might be vterly confounded. And because he could not (as yet) appease his thirsting soule by such spoile as he had made, which indeed was very great, he put himselfe once more on his way, to give further vexation to his enemies, assembling in finite troopes of people from all the Townes & neere adjoining parts, and so sent them outward by sundry ways. They burned all the villages, and every house that they could finde standing. These fellome desire of vengeance (as is to be seen in his eighth booke) enflamed him the third time, and the less waste he made: neuertheless, he speaketh not of any rampier, or of any ditch belonging vnto Towne or Village. Whereby may justly be observed, that the *Belgians* as they were defended of the *Germanes*, so in like manner they had the same order of dwelling.

The *Bellovaci*, or *Bellovaci* in like sort, albeit that they were the very principal of the *Belgians*, as well in regard of their vertue and authority, as for the great number of men amongst them: yet it appeareth, that they were no strangers to this custome: for in the first warre, he speaketh not but of one Towne or Village, named *\*Bratupantius*; in the other warres, hee maketh no mention of any one. This may seeme to be spoken sufficiently enough, concerning the habitations of the *Belgians*.

### CHAP. III.

Of the *Humanity, Liberty, Hospitality & Courtesy* of the *Gaules* to strangers, and care for benefiting each other equally.

Finde nothing written in *Cæsar* of the plays, sports, & pastimes of the youth amongst the *Gaules*. As for the *Germanes*,

*Tacitus* writeth thus. They had but one onely kind of spectacle in every assembly young boies that conceived delight in this sport, would run or leape forth violently (and stark naked) before swords & Iuelines directed against them. This exercise grew to be an art, and Art made it vterly gracefull in them: yet what they did, was not for any lucre, gaine, or wages; but the onely recompence of this their audacious gallantry, was, to be pleasing in their eyes that beheld them. They would play (being in very stayed and settled judgement) at such desperate games of hazard and dangerous adventure, as would make a man blith to stand and looke on, and they performed their intentions in such earnest manner, as if they were at strife for some matter of great moment: yea, such was their affection to the game or lile, as after they had nothing els to contend for: they would strive about the very last hazard, laying downe their own liberty and person in payne. Whosoever lost himselfe, would yeelde to the others seruitude, with his owne kinde consent: And albeit hee were neuer so young and strong, yet (in regard of his losse) he would suffer himselfe to be bound and sold. For such was their wilfull obstinacy, that they would lay down faith vpon the very least occasion.

But whosoever would take note of the great humanity, liberality, and courtesy, as well in the *Gaules* as in the *Germanes*, let him read what followeth. They would inuite strangers (this speaketh *Diodorus* of the *Gaules*) to feast with them. And after nature was sufficed; they would enquire what people they were, and what occasion drew them thither. But *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* giue this commendation vnto the *Germanes*, by writing much more amply. They make it a matter of great Conscience (saith *Cæsar*) to offer any outrage to strangers, who be it for what cause soeuer they come amongst them, yet they will defend them from all iniuries, and thinke them to be sacred people, each one allowing them part of his house, & whatsoever he had to lie on. *Tacitus* writeth in this manner. There is not any Nation more addicted to make good cheer together, and feast strangers. They doe make great conscience in denying house-room to any commer; for each man will Feast him

Desperate & dangerous games among the younger *Germanes* pursued in the very earnest manner.

Humanity, liberality, and courtesy both in the *Gaules* and *Germanes*.

1st. *Cæsar* in Com. lib. 7. *Tacitus* in lib. 7.

The love and hospitality of the *Germanes*, which they afford to strangers.

him according to his power : And when he hath no further means, he that is the Hoste, enstrueth him to another mans dwelling ; and thereinto (without any further bidding) they enter both together, euen the neerest house they come vnto ; where their entertainment is voyde of all difficulty, and vsed with extraordinary courtesie. As concerning the rites of hospitality, they make no difference between him that is knowne, and another that is vnknown. At his departure, if he desireth any thing, it is their order and custom to grant it : as they will doe the like when it falleth to their turne. They take great delight in giuing gifts : but will receiue no recompence for whatsoever they giue, or think themselves indebted or beholding for any thing that they receiue. This is a testimony of their worthy hospitality, & I am of the minde, that so great an honor deserueth not to be forgotten, as Germaniusthly deserueth in regard of this Vertue.

*Phileas* the Chalcedonian, did first publish in the Commonwealth (as *Arystotele* affirmeth) that goods might be equally diuided ; to the end, that the two principall plagues to mankind (which are riches and pouerty) might be banisht from the City. And this is that which *Plato* (most of all other) wished for the grounded estate of a happy Commonwealth. But the Germanes neuer fixed their imaginations on such a most fortunate Commonwealth, by disputes and discourses onely, but accomplished and brought it to effect by their owne good customs and honest examples. For some of them (as *Cæsar* auoucheth in his first booke, speaking of the Germanes) had not any certain measure of land, or any particular limitation : but the Princes and Magistrates assigned euery year (both to kindreds and parentages, who were acknowledged and placed together) so much ground or land, and such a site or situation, as vnto them seemed best and conuenient ; & the year following, they were constrained to seeke elsewhere. In his fourth booke, hee saith as much of the *Sarues*, another people of Germany. They had no land which they held in particular, or diuided among themselves ; neither were they permitted to tarry longer then a year in a place, to Till or make it husbandable. This is the equality of

goods, which then was among the Germanes.

And they rendered great store of reasons for this equality, as the same Author witnesseth in his sixth booke, viz. Fearing least being retained by an accustomed continuance in one quarter, they should forsake the profession of warre, & follow the other more beneficial kind of life. Fearing, least they should withdraw their minds from the enlarging and extending of their bounds or limits : and growing to be too potent in strength, they should ouerawe and expell the weaker from their goods. Fearing also, least they should be over curious in building, to defend themselves against cold and heat, and to proue to be stiffe Cowards. Fearing besides, lest a wicked covetous desire should arise among them, of scraping and gathering goods together : whereon (customarily) inseth threatenings, diffentions, & blood. Also, to the end that the popular sort might be contained within a reasonable contentment of mind, when the meaneest perceived his goods to be equal with the most powerfull. This is (in effect) the words of *Cæsar*, touching the qualitie of goods vsed then among the Germanes : and when the Greekes come to compare with him, in commending this manner of behaviour either in the Cretans or Lacedæmonians ; all that they could auouch or say, was ; to terme this worthy and extraordinary vertue, to be no more then neerer barbarousnesse.

Seruitude or bondage was in vse aswell among the Germanes and Gaules, as in other Nations. Many men (so speaketh *Cæsar* in his sixth booke, discoursing on the Gaule (finding themselves to be charged either with debts, or taxations, or injuries of the mightier sort) did yield themselves into seruitude or slavery of Gentlemen, who had the selfsame right over them, as Masters had over their slaves. It should seeme, that this Masterie or command was cruell, as well as that whereof *Titus Livius* recounteth in his 2. booke, to be vsed in Rome, after that the Kings were expelled thence, when the commotion of the bondmen was on foot. For they were then controlled and handled by their Masters, as the bodies of debtors were by their creditors, who were parted (as *Quintilian* writeth in the sixth chapter

Equality of goods among the Germanes.

The reasons of the Germanes, for their equality in good.

The second.

The third.

The fourth.

The fifth.

Comparison of the Greeces with Cæsars words.

Bondage or seruitude as well among the Germanes and Gaules.

The fifth.

of his third booke) or diuided between the creditors, according to the law of the twelve Tables. And that Law (as himselfe saith) which naturally was not to be allowed, and yet (notwithstanding) permitted as in right, was reprehended by publicke custome, and oftentimes (to remedy the same in mere pitty) the Commonwealth granted Letters of respite, abolishing extorting interest, and making a new obligation for the principall.

But the Gaules vsed much greater humanity and liberality then the Romanes did ; because the Masters kept in honourable place, and about their persons, such as thus stood obliged to them, and they vsed their seruice also in their warres. Wherefore it appeareth, that that which *Diodorus* wrote, differed not from this purpose, where he saith ; They employed as guards and defenders of their bodies, such as (among freemen) were poore and needy, and they serued them as Esquires and Armor-bearers in the warre. *Tacitus* reporteth almost the very same custome as was vsed by the Gaules, when he speaketh of the slaves among the Germanes. They do not vse their slaves (saith hee) as we do ours, appointing them certain offices in our houses : for euery one serueth himselfe, and governeth his household affaires. The Master chargeth his slave with certaine measures of Corn, or with some Cattle, or with some kinde of clothe : euen as we do our Farmers or Husbandmen, and the seruant obeyeth him not but in such businesse. If he would haue any matter done in his house, his wife and Children performeth it. It seldome or neuer happeneth, that a master doth beat his slave or bindeeth him, or enforceth and constraineth him to any businesse. They had a custome to kill them, yet not by any manner of rigorous or seuerer chastisement ; but in choller, as an enemy, and done in the case of some reuenge. Freemen had no more advantages then seruants. Seldom or rarely were they advanced in the house, and neuer vnto the managing of Commonwealth affaires : except among such Nations, as were in obedience to a king, and there they mounted higher then Freemen, or then Gentlemen. Among other Nations, libertines, being not receiued into the like dignities as the free, made distinction of their liberty.

## CHAP. V.

*How the Gaules vsed to educate and bring up their children. Of their courage, manhood, and valour in Armes and martial exercises.*



Here then were the maners and temperance of the ancient Gaules, which serued very sufficiently to maintain their disposition & strength of body, and (doubtlesse) was the cause of their admirable stature : whereat *Cæsar* was much amazed, when he beheld the Gaules which were slaine in the warres of *Africa* : you haue also heard some part of their liberality, in the administration of their goods, for the releefe of others necessities. But there remaineth much more to say, if we would enter into discourse, concerning all the parts of their manhood and valiancy : were it in considering the exercise of their youth, or their earnest & violent desire in following armes, and the Nations which haue bene conquered by them, and the Colonies established throughout the world, onely in the name of the Gaules. The Gaules (thus saith *Cæsar* in his sixth booke) helde this as a difference from others, in their manner of behaviour, to wit ; That they would neuer permit their children to come openly before them, vntill they were of able yeares to beare Armes. And they held him to be a villain, whose sonne (being vnder limited yeares) should be found in publike before his fathers face. *Cæsar* speaketh this neuertheless hee giueth not sufficiently to be vnderstood, at what time or season they were to beare Armes, neither in what exercise their infancy was imployed, vntill this date of expectation, therefore we must make search into other Authors.

*Tacitus*, speaking of the Germanes, would haue vs to know, at what time they came vnto the seruice of the Commonwealth. They obserued as a custom (saith he) that no one should vnder take the profession of Armes, vntill the Commonwealth had approued and allowed his sufficiency.

The disposition & strength of body among the Gaules.

The manhood & valour of the ancient Gaules.

*Cæsar* in comment lib. 6.

Somewhat omitted or forgotten by *Cæsar*.

*Corn. Tacit. m lib. 5. c. 7.*

At what time they came to seruice the Commonwealth in martiall maner.

No difference between a known friend & a stranger.

*Aryst. instit. de Ar. m. cap. 6.* Riches & pouerty the two principall plagues vnto mankind.

*Plato in Lib. d. Leg. cap. 9.*

*Jul. Cæsar in Lib. 6.*

The order of the German holding of their Landes.

*Julius Cæsar in Com. lib. 4.*

ciency. Then, in the martiall Constitute, either some one of the Pri. ces, or his Father, or els his neereft Kinfinan, armed the yong man with a shield and a Laulin. This was the \**Toga* or Gown which they tooke, and this was the first degree of honour, wherunto their yong men mounted. Before, and till this dignity was done to them, they were but as a member of the house onely: but afterward, they appertained to the Commonwealt. *Aristotle*, who wrote long time before *Cæsar*, declareth vnto vs this manner of education of children (for it seemeth in the 8. Booke of his Politicks) that hee learned this institution of vs. It is necessary (saith he) to accustom and vse the yongest children to endure cold weather: for it profiteth marvellously, as well for the disposition of the body, as for manly carriage in war. And this was the reason, why some barbarous people (as the Celts) offered it as a custome, to plunge their yong Infants (to some as they were borne) in the coldest water of the river, or els to cloath them in light garments. For, to whatsoeuer thing youth ought to apply it self, this is the best course; to accustom them thereto (by little and little) from their yongest houre, and when they are tender, because of the heat which is naturally in them, & therefore the first thing to be done, is to be careful in this one point.

*Aristotle* in this place calleth the Celts barbarous, and yet hee accounteth not their customes barbarous: in regard that hee appointeth the Greeks to fashion themselves after their manner. I know that *Galen* sharply reproveth this behaviour, when in the first booke of his Government of health, and instructing how to order health, he saith. I am not of the minde, that Children should onely be nursed among the Germanes. Also, that which we write of, is neither for the Germanes, or for any other such savage and barbarous men; no more then for Beares, wilde Boares, Lions, or such other beasts. I knowe (I say) that *Galen* reprehendeth this custome feverely; but I know likewise, that the yong nice delicates of the Greekes, whom *Galen* striueth to please, in preferring them an order for their health: have beene quite denoured by these Lyons (as he tearmeth them) and that the Gaules and Germanes, if they be

compared with the Greeks, may in good right be called Lyons.

And truly, *Lacedæmon*, which was the most noble of all the Grecian Cities, was principally renowned for being studious in hardning it selfe to traualle, after the true manner of the Celts. For the youths of *Sparta*, did daily inbolden themselves against all manner of paines and exercises: neuer entering into the especial assembly, before the age of twenty yeares, as *Plutarch* recordeth in the life of *Lycargus*. Wherefore, not onely the power of this vertue, which was in the Gaules and Germanes, but (ouer and beside) the authority of *Aristotle*, as also of *Lacedæmon* (if any man be regardfull thereof) may well serve to answer the reasons of *Galen*. We may also inferre (to this purpose) that which *Strabo* hath written, when he saith, The Gaules held this as proper and peculiar to them, to refuse to take of paines, as fearing to become fat and swollen belied by ease: therefore they punished and condemned vnto some pecuniary fine, such yong men as grew grosse through sloath and excess. Whereunto that ordinance of the Romaines was conformable; that deprived any fat or corpulent Knight, of the Horse graunted him by publique allowance.

Now it is further to be considered, that this exercise was not onely proper or peculiar vnto the Gaules: but it was in like common use with the Germanes they brethren, as *Galen* himselfe hath elsewhere declared. Let vs listen then to *Cæsar*, who herein giueth them sufficient commendation. From their infancy (this hee writeth in his sixth booke) they addicted themselves to paines taking, and employed (almost) their whole life time, either in hunting, or feats of warre. They had diuers kinds of wilde beasts, in the Forrest called \**Hercynia*: as wilde Bulles, \**Alces*, but especially Buffles, which they rooke with great labour in their dens or ditches, and there slew them. The yong men hardned themselves to this trauell, and euermore exercised this manner of hunting: & they which had slaine most of them, bringing their hornes to publique view, as a testimony of their diligence, received both reward and great praise. This yeeldeth sufficient demonstration, how the yong men prepared their spirits, to endure all

paine

*Lacedæmon* shaped it selfe to endure the hard custome of the Celts.

*Plutarch* in lib. 1. cap. 6.

*Strabo* in lib. 4.

The Gaules were laborious & painful.

Knightes had publique Horses allowed them.

The Germanes brethren to the Gaules.

*Int. Cæsar* in lib. 6.

\*A great wood in Germany, in brechtaine dayes country, and in length forty.

\*A wilde beast in fashion and skin like a fallow Deere.

paine and labour, and fell not off for any danger: as hauing learned, though not of great and skillfull Doctors, which were beitt able to giue them instructions; yet (at least) of their owne selues, and so put it in effectuall execution.

Let vs now obserue what they were in actions of warre, and as the Poet sayeth; The braue workmanhippe of Mats because the Gaules were perpetually in war. For, before *Cæsar* came thither (as hee hath written in his sixth booke) it happed euery yeare, that either they assailed others, or elle were glad to defend themselves; and it was easily knowne, that by a custome among the Gaules, age was no excuse to any man, as appeareth by diuers passages in the eight booke. *Vercingetorix*, a chiefe Commander of the \**hemi*, albeit he could very hardly keepe himselfe on horsebacke, because he was so farre gone in yeares: yet notwithstanding, according to the manner of the Gaules, hee would pleade no excuse, by his age, in vndergoing such charges as were imposed on him; and he was very vnwilling, that any fight should bee performed without him. Likewise, in the warre of the *Parisians*, the whole charge (is to be seene in the seventh booke) was giuen vnto *Cannulegus*, an especial man of re \**Auleris*, who was well-neere wholly spent with age: and yet for all that, the great experience which he had in martiall affaires, aduanced him to the highest degree of Honor. Answerable to this, *Strabo* saith, The Gaules were rather men of warre, then any way addicted vnto tillage or husbandry.

*Aristot* writeth, that the Celts helde the vertue of warlike actions in most singular respect and commendation. And it was well noted, as *Cæsar* affirmeth, that the cause of valour (both in the *Belgians* and *Heluctians*) grew through their continuall exercise of armes, for he saith: The most valiant people of all the Gaules, were the *Belgians*.

Now, as Temperance was the first and formost in ranke, as being the Mother, or the Nurse (at least) of true valiancy: so the second cause which *Cæsar* rendreth, was; That they were neighbours to the Germanes, which dwelt on the further side of the Rheine, with whom they were continually at warre. This (I say) was ano-

ther cause of their valor, that continually they exercised armes and by the same reason, the *Heluctians* surpassed (in this vertue) all the other Celts: As it might daily be discerned, in regard, that ordinarily they fought with the Germanes, either in repelling them from their frontiers, or making war on them in their owne country. In this place also might be alledged, their often and frequent skirmishes, to deliuer true faithfullnesse of their valour. Moreover, the Gaules for want of warre, to the end that they might still be in exercise of armes: gaue themselves to thefts and robberies, as *Diodorus* saith, purloining the goods of others, without any prouision of their owne. What were the Germanes saith he. What participation had they in this vertue? All their life, as hath bene already declared, was no way employed, but in deeds of armes. And as he hath further written in his sixth Booke, the very greatest honour that any City could haue, was, to haue a great Desert & spacious Country round about it. They esteemed it to be proper and natural to vertue, to compell their expulst neighbours, to forsake their Lands and Territories, so that few or none durst dwell nere vnto them. And by this means, they imagined themselves to be in the greatest security, in being deliuered from all dread of courses, which suddenly might bee made into their Country.

*Tacitus* speaketh of the same exercise of armes. You could not so readily put into their heads, any order for husbandry in their grounds, or carefulnes for gathering their fruites, and corne, as to go assault the enemy; and to returne back with wounds and mimes. Moreover it appeared to them, that it was meere sloth and carelesnesse, to winne that by sweat and labour, which a man might purchase with the price of his blood. *Cæsar* saith likewise of the Germanes, the same that *Diodorus* doth of the Gaules, that they were addicted to rapine and thefts. Robberies (thus speaketh *Cæsar* in his sixth booke) did not make men any way the worse esteemed: so that they were done out of those limits, which appertained to each City. And it is said that they vsed these courses: onely to exercise their youthes, and for the auoyding of ydlenesse. And when some one of the Lords would deliuer his

C 2

minde

The *Heluctians* excelled at the other: then in Armes.

The Gauls were addicted to thefts & robberies, *Diodorus* in lib. 6.

The greatest honour of a City among the Germanes.

Few or no neighbours durst dwell nere to the Gauls.

*Corin.* in lib. 1. cap. 4.

No care of husbandry, dry, &c. gathering the fruites: these earth but to assault the enemy.

*Int. Cæsar* in lib. 6.

Thefts & robberies thought not dishonourable, our allowance & followed with no meane affect.

A Garment which the Romaines did always wear in peace.

*Arist* in Polit. lib. 2. cap. 3.

*Aristot* in lib. 1. de Polit. cap. 2.

*Aristot* in lib. 1. de Polit. cap. 2.

*Galen* in lib. 1. de San. lib. 1. cap. 3.

*Galen* in lib. 1. de San. lib. 1. cap. 3.

minde in an open assembly, that he would be their guide, and that such as would follow him, should shew instantly themselves. Such as gave consent to his opinion, and (allowing him for their Leader) presently arose, and promised him their uttermost assistance; the people present would both commend them and their enterprise. As for such among them, as neither followed, nor gave allowance to the attempt: they were reputed as traitours, and neuer afterward durst any man repoe in any credite in them.

*Tacitus*: addeth yet moreouer, that the Germanes made war among strange people. If the City (saith he) wherein they were borne, grew flothfull and idle, though long peace and repose; the most

part of the yongest Gentlemen went (upon their owne motion and good will) to finde out such Nations as had any warre. For rest and ease was no way pleasing to this people; and the dangers which they essayed and made proofe of, made them also the more famous: and they could not maintaine any great matter of worth, but by power and warre, for thus they compassed meanes to be bountifull and liberrall, onely by warre, thefts and pillages.

Thus we may perceiue, how the auncient Gaules made continual exercise of armes, and well deserved those commendations, wherewith the first and chiefeest of all the Romaine Poets shewed himselfe willing to honour Italy.

The meanes for a maintaining their bounty and liberality.

*Corn. Tacit. m. lib. 6. cap. 2*  
The Germanes warred with strange nations.

Concerning the birth, breeding, and education of the Gaules of great antiquity.

*We are hardly bred, Babes are no sooner borne,  
But we to Ruers beare them, hurle them in;  
To harden them against both wet and colde.  
Heere, our young people giue themselves to hunting,  
In the haunts the Forrests: The pastimes they affect,  
Is taming wilde Horses, draw the Bowe.  
Sometimes our youth emboldened to labour  
Make small account of husbands ground:  
But to bestidge strong holdes, Each age we passe,  
Mangling hard yron, turning our Stakes  
To pierce the hides of bulles. Slowe, sturdy age,  
Cannot abate our vertue, daunt our hearts.  
With snow-white heads we enter arms, and still  
Secke for fresh pillage, living on the boot.*

Oh, would it had pleased God, that *Cæsar*, discoursing on the fashions and customs of the Gaules, had bene as willing in describing much more amply, what vie they made of Armes; what reasons they followed in their preparation for warre; what diligence they vied, beeing in the fildes; what their strength and valor was in fights & combates: it would haue caused an extraordinary pleasure, to remember continually, the ancient custome of our auncestour, in their warlike actions. But *Cæsar* (principally) sheweth nothing of all this: neuertheless, we will pursue each matter, inasmuch as possibly we may, and diligently collect somewhat out of diuers passages of his, (as we can follow any traces, though greatly obscured) in such things as are agreeable to our purpose, not forgetting (in meane while) the iudgement of other Authors.

Especially observations concerning the auncient Gaules, omitted by *Cæsar* in his writing of their warres.

## CHAP. VI.

*How the Gaules made choice of their Generals and Commanders for their warres, with a true description of their Military services and discipline.*



HE was which *Cæsar* made each yeare, deliuereth some testimony, how they elected their Generalls, and other chiefe Leaders in their marshall employments, whereof wee are able to speake somewhat more largely. But the troupe or heape of particular Soldiours, was alwaies made in a publike assembly, & how euery man should behaue himselfe in armes. *Indutimarus*, Prince of *Treuer*, pub-

What election they made of their Generals for war

*Jul. Cæs. in comment. lib. 1.*

A guerre custome among the Gaules.

*Jul. Cæs. in comment. lib. 1.*

\* The City *Alesia* in Burgundy.

The Gaules contrary in opinion to the Romans, and upon good reasons.

The Gaules studious in marshall affairs.

\* Sometime people of that country which is now called Bourgundy.

*Polib. in lib. 4. Diodor. in lib. 3. Strabo in lib. 4. Tit. Liv. in lib. 4. Dec. 2.*

published an assembly in armes against the Romanes; as is to be seene in the fifth booke of the warres in Gaule. The Gaules began their warre in this manner, & followed one common Law among them. All their younger men vied to meete together in armes: but he that came latest, in the presence of the whole assembly (after hee had bene tormented with all the tortures could be deuised) hee was afterward put to death. The felix same custome is declared in the seventh booke, when *Vercingetorix*, being elected General for the warre of the Gaules; was besieged in \* *Alesia*. For he tooke counsell, to discharge all the troupes of horse which he had with him, and at parting, he gaue the charge, to returne each man to the City, whereof he was a member, and there to assemble or muster for the warre, all such as were of age to carry armes. Neuertheless, the Gaules hauing published the assembly of their Princes, did not thinke it meete to draw al the together, that were of age to beare armes, according as *Vercingetorix* had ordained: but rather appointed, that each City should be furnished with a certaine number of men; it could not otherwise chuse but breed confusion by being unable to command them, or knowing one from another, or any possible meanes of prouision for them. By this manner of ordering men for their warres, we may well perceiue, that the Gaules were studious in military affayres, considering, that all such as were aboute fourteene yeares of age, did carry armes.

The Gaules armed themselves quite contrary to the Romanes, as is to be obserued in the seventh booke, where hee speaketh of the \* *Hédus*, that came to the seruice of *Cæsar*, who very greatly astonished the Romanes, by vying their armes after the Gaulish manner. And yet I cannot perceiue (throughout *Cæsars* discourses) what those kinde of armes were: therefore we will collect that which *Polibius*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Titus Livius* haue noted to vs. The sword which they vied, was long, and the man wore it (hanging in a chaine of brasse) on his right side: and it serued not onely to smite or slash the withall, but also to thrust or foine, so saith *Diodorus*; notwithstanding, *Polibius* and *Titus Livius* doe deny their thrusting or foyning with the point.

Their Target or Shielde was large, and answerable vnto each mans stature or constitution: and, according to their funerall delight or pleasure, it was enriched with Imagerie of brazen Beasts, mounted vp into bosses. Their Laurel had a head of yron or Steele, containing a cubite in length, and two fingers breadth. *Cæsar* in his third booke saith, that they likewise carried a staffe, which he termeth *Gesser*, & another, called by him *Aleris*, which was a certaine kind of small Laurel. Their heads were couered with a Sallice or head-piece of brasse, a little exalted or raised vp, whereon was figured Images of Birds, Beasts, and antique shapes. Their vsual Corielet was of yron.

Many of the Gaules were wont to fight naked, so farre as the naut: as *Titus Livius* saith, in the battaile at *Cannas*, and *Polibius* speaketh as much of the same fight in this manner. It was a very dreadful fight, to obserue the behavior of naked men, who marched on stoutly, shewing an excellent beauty, and vndaunted strength. In like manner, *Titus Livius* saith, that in \* *Calpurnia*, the Gaules fought naked, and that was the reason, why they were overcome by the Romanes, who finore them atfarr off with their Piles, which were a kinde of small Laurelins, and darted at them very strongly. The Gaules likewise vied Bowes and Slings, according as *Strabo* saith; for he writeth, that they hadde a kinde of Staffe, which being throwne by the hand onely, without any string or other holde, would smite further off then an Arrow, and with this they did (most commonly) shoote at Birds. It is also very certaine (as the same Author affirmeth) that they hadde a Tree in Gaule, somewhat resembling the Figge-Tree, which carried a fruite, that had some likeness to the chapter of a Corinthian pilier. This Tree being cutte, did yeeld a deadly iuyce or liquor, wherewith they vied to impoison the heads of their Arrows. That it was so, and that the Gaules were great Archers, *Cæsar* prooueth verie pregnantly in his seauenth booke, where hee speaketh of *Vercingetorix*. Hee commanded (saith he) that all the Archers (which were a very great number throughout Gaule) should be leuyed, and sent vnto him, as it will

Of their swords shields & lincenins.

*Jul. Cæs. in comment. lib. 3.*

Of their Sallices, Head-pieces and Coriellies.

Some of the Gaules fought naked to the naut, as the naut.

\* A Countie in the lesser Affric, adjoining to *Purgina* and *Elyria*.

*Strabo in lib. 5.* of their bowes and slings.

Of a strange Tree growing in Gaule, that pouised their Arrow heads.

That the Gaules were great Archers *Jul. Cæs. in comment. lib. 7.*



appeare much more fully hereafter in better place.

This was the Armor and Munition of the Gaules, whereunto that of the Germanes, which *Tacitus* describeth, was not altogether agreeable. They seldom defended themselves with swords or long staves: for they carried *laelines*, or (to use their owne proper word) *Fraxets*, the blades whereof were straight and short, but yet so keene, and so apt for their service, that they could use them with or against a staffe, according as they had occasion to fight, either before they came neere to one another, or when they were at handy grips. The Horseman contented himselfe with his shield and *laeline*: but foot soldiers had many darts each man, which they hurled or darted infinitely, being naked, or lightly clothed with a simple Cassocke or Mandilion. They had no bravery on their accoutrements: onely, they would decke their shields with some curious choise colours. Very few of them did weare any shirts of Maile, or scaled coats: some one or two might haue (perhaps) a Caske or Morrion. These are the Armes which the ancient Gauls are credibly said to weare.

It remaineth now to speake, how they employed their men of warre, as well on foote as horsebacke. The horsemen were in most estimation among the Gauls, and had the principall managing of all affairs for warre, as *Cæsar* hath saide in his sixte Booke. And in the League which all the Gaules made against *Cæsar*, one while hee speaketh of the number of eight thousand horse, then againe of fifteen thousand, which was that part of the army, whereby the Gaules made themselves strongest, as plainly appeareth in the seauenth Booke. Neuertheless, no assurance can be collected hereby, concerning all the cities in their feuerall forces. The people of *Treuci*, or the *Treuci*, were the very strongest of all the Gaules in horsemen, as is to be seene in the fift booke. The *Santones*, according as wee read in the third booke, had likewise very great store of horsemen: but the *Nervians* (in the verie same place) are said to haue the most foot soldiers. Notwithstanding, if you regard them generally, you shall finde, that the Cavalry had the cheefest honour of all the warres among the Gaules. And these

were the horsemen, wherewith *Cæsar* was most assisted in his ciuill warre. For to himselfe testifieth in the first booke of his Ciuill Warre, that when *Assanius* came with great forces to assaile the *Cariacians* who were but a few in number: suddenly the horsemen of the Gaules were diligent in making head against them; and (so long as they could) they maintained fight, albeit they consisted of so few, and endured against a great multitude of the enemy. But so soone as the Ensignes of the Legions began to approach; with verie little losse of their men they retired vnto the neighbouring Mountaines. The time of the fights continuance serued sufficiently for the *Cariacians* safety: for, in that while, they had leysure to gaine themselves the highest parts of the hills, & there sheltered themselves securely.

Likewise, in the warre of *Africa*, when the enemy (with powerful forces) came to deale with the host of *Cæsar*, and to attache them in the reeresuddenly the Legionaries stayed them, and the horsemen (although they were but few in number) made very stout resistance, yea, and with unconquerable hardiment, against that great troope of the enemy. And a matter almost incredible happened. That lesse than thirty horse of the Gaules, repelled two thousand horse of the Moores, and put them into rout. Such was the strength of the Gaulish horse. Hence ensued that exclamation of *Cicero*, in his 5. *Philippick*. Opinion was conceived (saith he) that some appointed, that there should be giue to *Mark Anthony*, the government of that latter part of *Gaul*, which *Plancius* holdeth at this instant: Is there any other wiselone in doing, but to lend our owne weapons to an enemy, to make a ciuill warre upon vs? For first of all, the merues or iineries of warre, which is countlesse summes of money, and whereof hee standeth now in neede; and next, the power of horse, which valleweth as much; what can be desired more then both these? Behold, in what account and estimation, the horsemen of the Gaules were.

Sometimes it was thought convenient, to entermingle amongst the horse some of the foote soldiers, which were worst armed, and the Archers. And this was (as appeareth in the seauenth booke) when *Vercingetorix* went with the Horse, and certaine foote (least charged with Armes)

Int. Cæsar con. lib. 1. 4. Of the Sueues their manner of fighting.

The coming of *Astianax* against the *Cariacians* with his Ensignes of the Legions.

The enemies setting on *Cæsar's* host in *Africa*.

so horse of the Gaules, overthrew two thousand horse of the Moores.

*Cicero* in *Philipp. 5.* Against *Mark Anthony* concerning the government of *Gaul*.

The foot soldiers in the midst amongst the horsemen.

Int. Cæsar con. lib. 7.

Armes) to prepare an ambuscado, where he imagined that the Romanes intended to come and forrage. At another time, (in the same booke) speaking of himselfe, when they were nere to *Gergonia*, *Cæsar* saith: It was not fully breake of day, when in the skirmishes, the footemen being mingled among the horse, we were forced to approue how hardy and vertuous our owne men were. Sometimes, the Footemen, being lightly armed, accompanied with the Archers, fought amongst the Horsemen, as was obserued in the encounter nere to *Alexia*. The Gaules (among some few of their horse) flanked their Archers and light-armed foote; to the end that they should succour the horsemen, and sustaine the violent assault of the Roman Cavalry.

Ancient Gauls had \* *Effedariet*, who were warriors that rode in Wagons or Waggones, called *Effedariet* and *Diodorus* giue vs assurance hereof in these words. Palsing thorow the Countrey in time of warre, they vied Carres or Waggones, which two Horses drew by a fit prepared furniture; the Waggoner, or he that had the charge thereof, being the only guide. If they met with the enemy in warre; first of all, and while they were vpon the waggon, they would let fly their darts at him. Afterward, alighting from the waggon, and being on foote, then they fought together with their swords. These two manners of fighting, are much more at large described by *Cæsar*, when hee speaketh of the Germanes and the Brittaines. Of the Germanes in the first booke, where hee reckoneth vp the forces which *Arminius* had. They were (saith hee) fixe thousand Horsemen, and as many foot, of the very strongest and best disposed, which each man had made choise of particularly, as for his owne succour and safety. If they were to set on to the warre, they mingled one among another, and the Horsemen also retired when they did. If any great occasion happened, the foote soldiers fought with the horsemen. And if any one being wounded, hapned to fall from his horse, the other gaue present succour. If they were to march on further, or to retreat vpon expedition; exercise had instructed them in such celerity, that onely by fastning hold on their horses Maines, they would mount vp, and run as swiftly

as they did. In another passage of the 4. Booke, speaking of the *Sueues*, hee saith. In those times which they made on horsebacke, they would oftentimes dismount and fight on foote: hauing taught and inured their horses in such manner, that they neuer stirred from the place where they left them, returning to their horses againe, when occasion required. According to their custome, they esteemed nothing more base and idle, then to ride on Saddles. And this was the reason, that although they were but few in number, yet they durst boldly assaile any troopes whatsoever, if they were Horsemen, and rode on saddles.

This is that which *Cæsar* hath written; whereby we may gather, that herein the Gaules were contrary to the Germanes order: considering, that the Germanes placed their strength in their men on foot; which *Tacitus* relateth more apparently. Whosoever (saith he) wil consider them in general, shall finde, that their cheefest power consisteth in their footemen: and therefore (in fighting) they ranke them among the troopes of horse. For the footemen which they choose among all their youth, to put to the point of any danger; are men of wonderfull swiftnesse, apt and fit to fight among the horse. They are an hundred, chosen out of euery Towne or Village, and thereon were tearmed Centeniers, or Centurions: for that which was serued (before) but to signifye the number, was now giuen as an especiall name, and was honourable to them. Thus serued the Horsemen of the Germanes, and were mingled in this manner among the foote soldiers.

Now, as concerning the behaviour of the Brittaines, *Cæsar* in his fourth booke, describeth it in this manner. They haue a manner of fighting on Chariots or waggones, which is thus. First, they skimmish on all sides, and hurle their Darts, and oftentimes happeneth, that by the terror of their horses trampling, & by the noise of their Waggon wheels, they trouble the ranks extraordinarily. But after that they are mingled amongst the troopes of horsemen, they descend from their waggones, and fight on foote. During which while, the Waggoners withdraw themselves somewhat out of the fight, and arrange their waggones in such fort, that if

Int. Cæsar con. lib. 1. 4. Of the Sueues their manner of fighting.

They hated to ride on Saddles.

The Gaules contrary vnto the Germanes for their footmen.

Cor. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 2.

Vpon what occasion they were called Centeniers or Centurions.

Int. Cæsar con. lib. 4. Of the Brittaines, & what manner of fighting they vied.

Of the Waggoners & Waggoners.

\* A Towne of Guyenne, siting on a hyl.

The footmen accompanied with the Archers fought amongst the horse.

\* Soldiers in old time, that marched in Waggones, but fought on foot.

The manner of fighting with the enemy.

Of the Germanes & Brittaines, as *Cæsar* in comment. lib. 1.

The succour giuen to each other.

The swiftnesse of the Germanes.

The Armes & de ensue weapons of the Germanes.

A short Glaue or two-edged sword.

Of the horse and foote. *Sallust* habet.

No brauerie on their garments.

What use they made of their men of warre.

A League made by the Gauls against *Cæsar*.

a Betweene Belgia, & the truer *Mosella*.

b People of that place, now call'd *Xantoni* in *Aquitaine*.

The horsemen had the highest honour of the warre.



The notable managing of their horses in their swiftest running.

Waggons in use among the Gaules. *Id est* in com. lib. 7

The whole families of the Gaules went to the warres.

Their enduring fastidie of food.

Of the Helueticans.

*Vercingetorix* hit aduice given vnto the Gaules.

their masters be pressed with any great number of enemies, they can make an easie and speedie returne to them. The adresse and direction of their horses, the order obteined among their footmen for fight, and their aptnesse thereto, by dayly vse and exercise was such: that when they lifted, they could so easily stay their horses, even in the middle of his swiftest course, although it were in defending downe a high hill. There could they readily mannage and turne them, running mainly by the bridle among the horse; & thence againe returne lightly vnto their Chariots. This manner then of fighting, whereof the Effedaries made vse, was somewhat also mingled among the horse and foote.

Moreover (as is to be seene in the seauenth booke) a great number of VVaggons attended on the Gaules, especially such as were vnarmed. Next, of the Archers of the *Armeni*, and the horsemen of Gaule, which had followed *Caesar*; there came into Spaine with a great number of waggons, all filled with baggage, according to the custome among the Gaules. Beside, there were of men and women, about six thousand, with their seruants and children: and because they took delight, in hauing beasts for portage and cariage, they were glad to pay dearly for them, as *Caesar* hath recorded in his seauenth booke. Heereby we vnderstand, that not onely the men, but their children also, yea, the whole Families in Gaule, went to the war when occasion required. *Tacitus* writeth also, That the women followed the Germanes, and accompanied them to their warres. But this is sufficient, concerning such leuiues and preparations for warre, as was vsed among the Gaules.

Now it would be knowne, with what ease they could endure the scarcity of victuals, by the temperature of their nouriture, hauing formerly avoided the delicacy of wine: and *Caesar* giueth vs to vnderstand (in many places) how they wer provided of victuals. The Helueticans departing from their houses, caned meale (that was formerly ground with them) to seruise for 3. months. And *Vercingetorix*, to take away from the Romans all means of recouering fooode, perswaded the Gaules to burne the Towns and Villages on all parts where the Romans might make any inua-

sion. Whereupon more then 20. Townes (belonging to the *Bituriges*) were burne in one day: and the like they did vnto the Cities in the neighboring countries. But, at the instant intreaty of the *Biturigeans*, who required, that *Avaricum* (which was the very goodliest City in all Gaule) might not be burned: it was granted by *Vercingetorix*, who first had debated for the contrary, yet after yielded, as well in regard of their earnest motion, as also in meere pity and commiseration. But the pity afforded to this one Towne, caused most cruel ruine of all the other cities and Townes in Gaule. For *Caesar*'s armie, that had bin very mightily tormented with famine, and had endured diuers daies with our power of recouering any thing to make bread of: after the surprizing of *Avaricum*, was now not onely stored with plenty of food, but being stethed as it wer with hope of like following successe, it made them to deuoure vp all Gaule.

At another time, *Vercingetorix* (by vertue of the same counsell and aduice) constrained *Caesar* to forsake *Gergoutis*, and hauing taken all the victuals which the Romans had then in *Nouiodunum*, brought him into such distresse, that had it not bin for shame, rediounes of the way and absence of the 4. Legions, *Caesar* was setting forward to go into Prouence. *Vercingetorix*, being elected capitaine General thorowhout Gaule, vied (at a third time) the selfsame aduice; when in a publike assembly of the Gaules he said, that he wold not tempt his fortune, & giue his enemy batel, because he was strongly delenced with horsemen, whereby he could easily hinder the *Romans* from food and forragging. And it behoued every man (of his own good will) to destroy his Corne, and burne his house, considering, that by this little losse, which each man might well endure in his own particular, he should perceiue, that their empire and liberty, would (for euer) be the surer maintained. And vnderstandly, *Caesar* being moued by these occasions, purposed to withdraw himselfe into Prouence, thorow the country of the *Sequanis*, when *Vercingetorix* (too inconsiderately) condemned the good counsell giuen him, & would not tempt fortune, by hazzarding the batel, & turned all his intentions til to the worke whereby may be obserued, what care the ancient Gaules had for prouision of food.

\*People of old Aquitaine

\*The Citie Viennensis, Brestre in France.

The pitying of one towne, was the destruction of many other

*Vercingetorix* hit aduice against *Caesar*

\*The Towne Nouion of Helgia in France.

*Vercingetorix* hit aduice against *Caesar*

*Caesar* purpose to depart into Prouence. \*A people in France, which are now called Brengians.

Their order of martial discipline in the field.

Of the Helueticans.

The Gaules bridges made of Boates.

Their fortifications in the field.

*Int. Caesar* in Com. lib. 8. & in lib. 1

The Romans planted their campe in the highest places

The Campe of the Belgians, and they built rampiers of Chariots & Waggons.

*Int. Caesar* in Com. Lib. 5. Of the Neruians.

Now if we desire to know, what order was vsed among them in the field, either for marching lodging their armies, or obseruation of military discipline; it seemeth that they were not therein any iote curious. The *Helueticans* essaying to passe a river, some tied diuers boates together; others would leape into such places, where the Rhone was most easie for passage, oftentimes in the day, and more often in the night, but *Caesar* euer more gaue them the repulse. The Gaules not hauing (as yet) learned the manner of making bridges, could not (in the space of twenty daies) passe the third part of their army, by such boates as they had fastened together: and this was their want of knowledge, in the arte of making Bridges. If we look vpon the seating of their armies, and their fortifications in the field, they were as slenderly skilfull therein. They would make choise of a valley, that had no other Rampier or Ditch, but Heaven and Earth to succour and defend it. For the custome among the Gaules, was (as we may reade in the eight booke) to refuse and forsake high places, and to order their Campe neere vnto Rivers. So it appeareth in the first booke, that the Helueticans encamped at the foote of some hill, euen as the Germans did the like; but the Romanes euer more elected the highest places. In seating then of the Gaules Campe was in this manner, without any kinde of fortification. The Campe of the Belgians (as is to be seene in the second booke) according as might be iudged by their fires and smoke, consisted of more then eight miles in largenesse. And when they declared most care & warinesse; they would onely plant their Chariots and Waggons formeit, which serued them as their cheefest Rampier. In like manner, the Germans would engirt their whole army, with their Waggons and Chariots. At length the Gaules began to imitate the Romanes, in such matters as they perceived to be best behouing for the, or whatsoever they did for the best advantage.

The Neruians (as we reade in the first booke) enclosed that place, where *Cicero* bestowed his winter abiding, with a rampier of eleuen foote in height, and a ditch of fifteene foote deepe. They had learned this, by their practise of warre against

the Romanes, and by the helpe of such prisoners as they had taken. But wanting such tooles and instruments, as were necessarily required in this businesse: they were constrained to cut the greene turfs or sods with their Swords, and to carry both them & the earth, in the long skirts of their lackets. Afterward, they began to raise Towers on the tops of their rampiers, and to make mounted roofes and Tarrasses, according as their prisoners had instructed them: in so much, that *Caesar* (at length) wondred, to see what Towers, Tarrasses, and Fortifications they enterprised and performed. These passages of *Caesar*, do sufficiently declare, that the Gaules were not wanting, eyther in naturall disposition, or in care, to performe what was necessary, but only came short of orderly discipline.

In the seauenth year of the Gauls wars, alier great store of losses had happened; *Vercingetorix* comforting the Gaules, declared vnto them, that it was reasonable & expedient (for common safety of each one) to begin to fortifie their campe: to the ende that they might the more easily endure the sudden assaults of their enemies. For in those times (saith *Caesar*) was it, that the Gaules began first of all to fortifie their Campe. And therefore *Caesar* did especially make and nominate it in that place. And the first fortification which they vsed, was at *Gergoutis*, when they made a wal about their camp, which was sixe foote high, of great thick stones. Afterward, neere to *Alexis*, where they made a ditch and a wall, containing sixe foote in height. The Latine word *Alaceria*, which significth a wall of stones, heaped together without mortar or lime, & whereof *Caesar* maketh vse in the second place: declareth what manner of walles they had, which were rudely constructed, and without any cunning. The Gaules then (aunciently) had fo little knowledge or discipline.

But what valour or manhood did they vfe in fight? Was there any such matter of victie in them? Vndoubtedly they reposed a very great assurance in their owne strength. The Gaules, as was noted in the warres of Africa, were naked or vncovered, and vsing no kinde of firping: had a custome to fight onely by valiancy, and not by any sleight or cunning.

And

The Neruians learned their fortifying of the Romanes

Mounting of Towers and Tarrasses.

*Caesar* admitted to behold the Gauls fortifications.

The comfort giuen by *Vercingetorix*, to the Gaules.

*Int. Caesar* in Com. lib. 3.

The first making of walls and ditchies.

\* Made in the form of a Mound.

And this was the reason, why *Dionotus* the Heluetian, spake so to *Cæsar*, who had surprized the *Tigurines* at vnawares, saying. That they had learned of their Fathers and Ancestors, to fight more for manhood then arte, but he made him selfe strongly by surprizes. And for prooffe of this military vertue, there are very singular examples in many places of *Cæsar*. In the battaile of the Heluetians, albeit that from the tenth houre (as is to be seen in the first booke) they had fought till darke night, yet no man could euer see the enemy to turne his backe. The Belgians in like manner (as it is written in the first booke) neuer being daunted or terrified with the slaughter of so many of their owne fellows, cruelly slaine before their faces: in resolute assurance, essayed boldly to march out their dead bodies. The Neruians likewise (as appeareth in the same place) euē in the latest hope of their safety, declared an extraordinary signe of their vertue. For, albeit such as were the very cheefest among the, lay butchered on the earth before them: yet they kept neere full to them, and fought standing vpon their bodies. Yea, and that in such manner, as they which remained alive, making hilles of dead mens coarles, threw their Darts against the Romanes, as from the top of a Butte, and cast also their lesser Laelins at them, so long as they were able to reach them. This agreeeth with that which he speaketh of the Gaules, who were in *Cæsar*'s seruice, when *Mundus pame*, was round about engirt with the bodies of enemies, that had bene slaine, and lay there in their armes. In stead of turtles of earth (saith *Hirtius*) they piled and layed dead bodies one vpon another, and for the seruice of a Pallifoe, they couered them with their Shields and laelins, and their swords, with the heads of men, were all placed & turned towards the Towne of their enemy: To the ende, that they should apparently behold the true Ensignes of their valiancy, only to affright them, while thus they were circled in, as in a rampier. Thus the Gaules hauing made a round wall of their enemies bodies, and mounted thereon; they began to assaile the Towne with violent deliuey of their Arrowes and Darts.

They had learned this manner of ma-

king a rampier of dead mens bodies, fō a custome vsed in their owne Country, and heerehence (in mine opinion) grew the conjecture made of the Gaules, whereof *Aristotle* writeth in his Ethicks to *Nicomachus*: That they feared not any thing in the world, neither scorning, burnings or any torments whatsoeuer. And to this effect, was that which *Strabo* writeth of the Gaules, concerning their answer to *Alexander*, who demanded of them, what it was that they feared most? Nothing (saide they) if the Heauens tumble not downe vpon vs. I perceiue also, that they were euē as neglect and careless, in chusing the aduantage of place for fight, as they were in the leasing of their Campe, which may euidently bee discerned in all the Commentaries of the *Gaules* warres. When the Heluetians and Neruians failed *Cæsar*, it was in a place very disadvantageous: but if they lighted on any other, that might declare them to bee any way better aduised; it was by some former pattern of the Romanes, and obseruation of their discipline. And the first time that they entred into any good order was, when the army which they had vvas rallied out of diuers Countries, and the Souldiours then were generally distributed, according to the Countries whereof they were, and so placed (separately) the forces of each City in his due ranke or degree. So in the battaile of the *Neruians*, the *Atrebatians* were ordered on the left side, the *Neruians* on the right, & the *Veromandians* in the middle of the battaile. Like wise in the tenth booke, where hee maketh mention of the forces of *Vercingetorix*. The *Gaules* after they had broken the bridges, kept themselves firmly on a little Hill, confiding in the situation of the place, and being generally diuided, according vnto the Cities whereof they were, and placing Guards at euery Ford & Thicket of the Marsh; they impeached them to their no meane disadvantage. In the same place againe, *Vercingetorix* hauing planted his Campe on a Hill neere to the Towne, lodged separately also the forces of each City, yet leauing some wide and spacious roome about all their lodgings, and being possessed of all the smaller hilles that neighbored the greater, whence any aduantage might be had for looking downeward; he made

\* A people of the Heluetians, by the River Ligantus, where the City is called Zurbis.

1st. Cæsar in com. lib. 1. & lib. 6

The resolute assurance of the Heluetians.

The manly vertue of the Neruians against the Romanes.

\* A Towne of the Gaules in Syria.

The words of *Hirtius* concerning the Pallifoe, which was made of the bodies of the dead.

*Aristotle* in his Ethicks to *Nicomachus*.

*Strabo* in his Geograph. lib. 4. & lib. 5.

Aduantage of place for fight.

The Heluetians and Neruians failed *Cæsar*.

\* People of the *Atrebatians* in the

\* People of the *Veromandians* in Germany.

*Julius Cæsar* in com. lib. 5.

The military discipline of *Vercingetorix*.

made a thew very dreadfull to behold. And euery day, euen from the point or breake of day, he caused the chiefe Commanders of such Cities (as he had chosen to be of his counsell) to come before him, whether it were to confesse about some matters to be done, or execute any thing that depended on their charge: so that no one day might escape him, but some essay or other was made of his courage, & of the vertue that liued in his followers; making out many fallies of horse, mingled with the best and choycest of his Archers.

In the first booke like wise, the people called *Tigurines*, which were vnder the city of the *Heluetians*, all the other three companies hauing passed the River *Araura*, were surprized and enuironed asid by themselves. And they of the Burrough *Verbigena*, because they fled away with the other; being afterward brought before *Cæsar*, they were receiued as open enemies. The *Germanes* obserued the same order, to diuide themselves generally by nations: as *Tacitus* deliueereth more plainly, where he saith. And that which principally did encourage them, was; that not hazard, or an assenbly made at aduerture, or a troope, or a Squadron; but the families and alliances laboured together. One example hereof in the *Germanes*, is noted by the that followed *Ariouistus*, who in the end (as we reade in the first booke) were compelled to send their forces out of the field: and made a generall ordination (by equall interualles) of the *Marcomani*, *Triboci*, *Vangiones*, *Nomentani*, *Segusians* and *Sueues*. Wherefore I conclude, by the words of this passage, that in regard the Army of the *Gaules* consisted of many Cities; the Souldiours (generally) did diuide themselves, according to the number of the Cities.

The *Gaules* vied the *Phalanx* in their battailes, as the Romanes did their Legions. The *Phalanx*, subtilly explicated by *Aelianus*, both in parts and parcels, to bee of an equall number, eight times diuided into equal parts; the summary whereof, I thus comprehend. The *Phalanx*, armed with weighty armours, consisted of foure thousand, ninety fixe men, each ranke whereof, contained in length fixtene *Phalangarces*, and was termed *Decuria* in which bands, the formost man was na-

med *Decuria*, and the last *Vergiductor*, that is to say, hee which conducteth the Rereward or hinderpart. These formost men were also called *Præfites* of the seconds, by reason of their marching before, and to the third men of the fourth. Contrariwise, the second men were termed *Subfites* to the former: as being vnder them, like as the fourth vnder the third. Thus the *Decuria* was composed of *Præfites* & *Subfites*, the one following the other. The second *Decuria*, was called *Condecuria*, that is to say, conioyned to the *Decuria*, in such manner, that they all answered both in place and number: *Decuria* to *Decuria*, *Præfites* to *Præfites*, *Subfites* to *Subfites*, and they which accompanied, or went along by, were termed *Alites*. The ordinary space or distace of the *Phalangarces*, was foure cubites, but when they closed, two, & when they went in cōrowd, one only. This was the manner of the *Phalanx*, obserued by the ancient *Gaules*.

The battaile of the *Heluetians* (as is to be seen in the first booke) kept it selfe strongly locked against *Cæsar*'s hostemen, and when the hostemen were repulsed, the *Phalanx*, which was prepared vnder the first battaillon, aduanced it selfe, and serferward. But the Romanes (by the power of their laelins) brake the *Phalanx* of the *Heluetians*, by reason that they were too strongly locked together: And then, to defend themselves against their laelins, they began to disioynnt their vniuing, & to combine their Targets and Shields, the one with the other, which were in the forme and shape of the shelles of Tortuisses, to receiue and resist the laelins dashed at them. In the same booke also, the *Germanes* hauing suddenly (according to their custome) prepared a *Phalanx*; withstood the strength of all their Swords. And I perceiue, that this *Phalanx* was ordered in such manner, not to serue as a defence for their heads; but rather as a Rampier for their breasts. But on the *Heluetians* day, the *Boii*, or *Boians*, and the *Tugi*, or *Tulingians*, who came thither for their succour; enclosed the battaile round about with Chariots and baggage, and guarded the rereward. And as the *Heluetians* (who had the worst, & of whom the greater number were fore wounded) retired, and withdrew themselves into the nearest neighbouring

The Capitaine or Leader. In the Guide of the Rereward.

The *Vider-Subfites*.

The *Coniuncts* or *Adiuncts*.

The *Alites* or helpers.

1st. Cæsar in com. lib. 1.

The *Phalanx* of the *Heluetians*, broken by the Romanes.

The *Phalanx* of the *Germanes*.

The People of that part of France, now called *Lions*. An Antient people among the *Heluetians*, not farre from *Lugdunum*.

A notable care & prouidence in a General.

1st. Cæsar in com. lib. 1.

\* The River *Saona* in France.

Diuided by nation, obserued among the *Germanes*, *Comel*, *Tacitus* in lib. 3. cap. 5.

A People of Bohemia. b Of *Hallatis*. c Of the City of *Wormes* in Germany, now called *Vormancien*. d Nere to Rome. e The City *Sion* in the Alps.

This place is thus expounded by the author.

F Bands of Souldiours.

The retire & re-  
assault of  
the Helu-  
cians.

The words of  
Hutius, con-  
cerning the  
Gauls firing  
on Faggots.

\* Soldiers  
that were al-  
ways set in  
the rearguard  
and were the  
strongest me-  
they fought  
ever standing  
and bowing  
somewhat on  
their knees, as  
if they would  
rather dye,  
then retire out  
from their  
places.

Mountain: they assailed the Romanes  
at vnawares on the Flanks, and engirt the  
round about. Which the Helucians be-  
holding, they returned againe, began to  
recharge them, and fought valiantly with  
them.

This wee haue heere set downe some  
forme of that fashion, which the Gaules  
observed in preparing their battaile, and  
that which *Hutius* hath spoken thereof, is  
not much differing from the purpose. That  
the Gaules, being in battaile, had a custome  
to sit downe vpon Faggots of Vine bran-  
ches and small twigs, which they placed  
in the ground. Now, albeit he reporteth,  
that *Cæsar* hath declared the same in the  
first booke of his Commentaries, yet not-  
withstanding, I finde no such matter. But  
forasmuch, as the Gauls (in their battails)  
are said to sit downe on Faggots: it was  
a kinde of discipline observed among the,  
like to that of the Romane \* *Triarii*, who  
being ranked in the third battalion, which  
was the reeward, used to kneele down on  
their knees, which was termed by the La-  
tines, *Subsidere*, whence ensued the word  
*Subside* as they named it. This commeth  
somewhat short of the order observed a-  
mong the *Gaules*: but many matters more  
might be related, concerning the encour-  
agement they gaue to one another for  
war-service, which principally employed  
their mindes, and boldly animated them  
on to vertue.

## CHAP. VII.

*ingenues denisid  
to comfort and en-  
d to affright or dis-  
so of their signes of  
mercy, their Baris,*

Songs and Rithmes.



A viall mat-  
ter observed  
in Military  
discipline, &  
how it was a-  
mong the  
Gaules.

I hath bin a viall obseruation  
in all Military discipline, when  
they prepared to the fight, and  
so soone as they began to draw  
their weapons; to make a cry in the lou-  
dest manner that they could, & to enflame  
the Soldiers mindes with the founde of  
Trumpets. But the custome of the Gaules,  
was, not onely with cry of the voyce, and

found of Trumpets: but with a Song, a  
Dance, loud yelling, clattering of their ar-  
mour, and brandishing their darts, to  
make a noise so terrible, as nothing could  
appeare to be more horrible. The *Gaules*  
(saith *Diodorus*) had loud, big, and rude voy-  
ces, & their Trumpets (according to custome)  
were barbarous, & made a rude harsh sound.  
But *Polybius* (in his second booke) sayeth  
moreouer. The brauadoes & noises of the  
*Celts*, were dreadfull to the Romanes: for  
they had an infinite number of Trumpets  
and Hobois, with the found whereof, the  
whole Army cryed out aloud, making for  
great a clashing and noise; that not onely  
the Clarions & Army echoed the found, but  
all the places likewise that did round  
engirt them. And indeed, then voyce which  
customarily was made by the Gaules, hath  
oftentimes bene noted by *Titus Livius*:  
but yet hatefully and inuiously, as (for  
the most part) he was wont to speake of  
the *Gaules*. The *Gaules* (saith he, in his  
fift booke) by singing faungely, and cry-  
ing out confusedly; filled the ayre with  
an horrible found. And in the same place:  
Immediately there were heard songs and  
noyses disgreace, as when the *Gaules*  
walked (by troopes) about their walles.  
And afterward in the foure and thirtieth  
Booke, he saith. The *Gaules* went march-  
ing forward, howling or yelling strange-  
ly, and singing according to their confu-  
sed fashion, shaking their Targets over  
their heads, and brandishing their Darts  
in their hands. Then againe in the foure  
and fortieth Booke, speaking of the *Gauls*,  
which were in *Asia*, he saith. Beyond all  
the rest, their singing, when they began  
the battaile, and their howling, yelling,  
and dances, couering themselves with  
their Shields, after the manner of theyr  
Country, with the horrible clattering of  
their armour: all these things were done  
on deliberate purpose, onely to procure  
affrightment and terror.

*Cæsar* toucheth this tumultuous beha-  
viour more lightly, in his fift booke, after  
the overthrow of *Salinus & Cottus*, where  
the *Gaules* hauing the victory, hee speak-  
eth thus of them. Then, according to  
their wonted custome; they cryed the vi-  
ctory together, and howled loudly. And  
at another time, in the seauenth Booke,  
speaking of the *Gaules* nere vnto *Alexia*.  
The *Gaules* (saith hee) perswading them-  
selves

*Diodor. in lib. 1.*

*Polyb. in lib. 2.*

The noise of  
the Celts af-  
frighted the  
Romanes.

*Titus Livius in  
lib. 5.*

*Titus Livius no  
friend to the  
Gaules.*

*Tit. Liv. lib. 34*

*Tit. Liv. in lib. 44*  
Of the *Gaules*  
in *Asia*, and  
how they be-  
haued them-  
selves in bat-  
talle.

*Livius refer in  
encoment lib. 5*  
The over-  
throw of *Sal-  
inus & Cottus*

*Liv. Cæsar in  
Com. lib. 7.*

The battaile  
fought nere  
to *Alexia*.

*Liv. Cæsar in com.  
lib. 6.*  
How they re-  
quired parlie.

Signes of efpe-  
cial obserua-  
tion among  
the *Gaules*.

*Liv. Cæsar in com.  
lib. 7.*  
The signe of  
quietnesse.

The signe of  
desiring peace  
in Lib. 7.

In Lib. 7.  
The women  
of *Gergouiz*.

The signe of  
yelding.  
The *Heduns*

belies to be the stronger part, and percei-  
uing the Romanes, that they were pressed  
with great numbers on all sides: they that  
were within the Fort, and they that came  
in their assistance, with a loude cry and  
yelling, assured the courage of their peo-  
ple. Moreouer, that which gaue greatest  
terror to the Romanes, was, the loud cry  
that they made at their backs, in the time  
of their fighting. It was likewise a custome  
among the *Gaules*, to require parlie or  
conference, by making a loud cry, as by a  
Trumpet: according as *Cæsar* in his fift  
Booke, speaking of the *Eburons*, saith.  
Then after their vsual manner, they made a  
loud cry together, to the end, that some one of  
the Romanes might come forth, to admit  
them parlie or conference.

It may appeare now as conuenient,  
to speake somewhat of those signes which  
the *Gaules* used, to signifie, when theyr  
hearts were appeased and quieted; when  
they desired peace; and when they were  
willing to yeelde themselves. The signe  
which they used to make, when theyr  
hearts were contented and quieted; was,  
to shew their right shoulders naked. *Cæ-  
sar*, speaking of the *Heduns*, in his seau-  
enth Booke, saith thus. Whensoever  
their right shoulders were seene to bee  
naked: it was their accustomed signe,  
thereby to declare, that they were con-  
tented. The signe of desiring peace,  
was, to extend or stretch out their hands:  
as hee speaketh in the second Booke, dis-  
coursing on the *Bellouasians*. The wo-  
men and children (being on the walles)  
according to their wonted behauiour;  
would stretch forth their hands, there-  
by desiring peace of the Romanes. Which  
he farther relateth in the seauenth Booke,  
speaking of the women of *Gergouiz*: who  
baring their breasts, and stretching out  
their hands vpon the walles, required  
mercy of the Romanes. In the same place  
also, hee declareth what signe they used,  
when they were willing to submit them-  
selves. The *Heduns* holding vp their  
hands; gaue notice thereby, that they  
would yeelde themselves. And holding  
downe their armes, they requested there-  
by, that their liues might be saued.

But perhaps these things may seeme  
to bee of slender account: therefore I  
will conclude the noyses made by the  
*Gaules*, and search into the behauiour of

the *Germans*, whether they were of like  
condition, or no. It should seeme, that  
it was the Barrit of the *Germans*, where-  
of *Tacitus* maketh such mention. They  
had certain pleasant Songs and Rithmes,  
at the found whereof; that which they  
learned Barrit, enflamed their courages  
and by the Song, they prefiged the ende  
and fortune of the future battaile. For  
they were cheered or dismayed, accord-  
ing as the Army made the noyle; and  
this accord in singing, seemed not to con-  
sist so much in the voyce, as in vertue.  
They did principally respect the rudenes  
of found, and confusednesse of the noyle;  
by holding their Targets before their  
mouthes, to the ende that the voyce (be-  
ing made thereby the greater and fuller)  
might resound the louder and stronger.  
Such then was the noyle of the *Gauls*,  
chiefely when they came to the flue  
or brunt, and when they would come  
their Soldiers courages: for they when  
*Gauls* (alwaies) had some part in this en-  
couragement. You will haue credit, that  
mens hearts would bee more enflamed, by  
the exhortations and teares of their deare-  
st wiues; the they could bee by the found  
of Trumpets and Cornets. The prooffe  
hereof, is to be seene in the 7. Booke, when  
at *Gorgouiz*, the mothers of the Families  
began to pray with earnest affection, and  
to shew their haire disheueled, after the  
*Gaulish* manner, and to make presents of  
their young infants. Such was the exhor-  
tation at the siege of \* *Massyliis*, after that  
all the Ships on the Sea were readily pre-  
pared; at the instant entreaties & teares of  
the old men, of the mothers of the fami-  
lies and their daughters, who desired the  
to succour the City in extreme necessity:  
they had no lesse heart and resolution, to  
mount into those Ships, then they had be-  
fore in fighting the battaile. Then might  
easily be discerned, both from the Camp  
of \* *C. Trebonius*, and all the places of  
highest prospect in the City; how all the  
youth that remained within it, and all the  
oldest men, with their wiues and young  
children, stood as publike guardes, and  
(vpon the walles) helde vp their hands to  
heauen, or ran to the Temples of the im-  
mortal Gods, where prostrating the selves  
before their Images, they entreated victo-  
ry of the Gods.

This hath some resemblance with that  
D which

Observations  
among the  
*Germans*, &  
of their Barrit  
Comd. *Tacitus*  
in lib. 4. cap. 2.

Singing fore-  
told their  
battels success

Rudenes of  
found most  
regarded.

Of the women  
among the  
*Gauls*, and  
how they en-  
couraged the  
hearts of their  
husbands.  
*Liv. Cæsar in com.  
lib. 7.*

\* A Country  
in *Africa*, a-  
mong the  
Western  
Moors.

\* One of them  
that afterward  
murdered *Cæ-  
sar*.

*Jul. Caesar in Com. Lib. 1. Of the Gaule main women.*

An observation among the Germans what they were ready to fight.

Quailed battalions forced by the means of women.

Caesar dealing with the Gaules, *In Jul. Caesar in Comment. Lib. 3. Cap. 18.*

*Titus Livius a reprover of the Gaules.*

*In lib. 5. cap. 4.*

*In lib. to cap. 7*

which is written of the Germanes, in the first booke. And the women, holding vp their hands to the Souldiers, which were going to the warre with teares entreated them, that they would not suffer them to fall into the feruitude of the Romanes. Therefore, when the Germanes were ready to fight, such things as were in their deereſt eſteeme (as *Tacitus* reporteth) they would haue in ſome place nere vnto them: where the out-cries of their wiues, and lamentings of their children, might eſſect be heard; theſe ſerued them as moſt ſacred witneſſes, and theſe were their cheefeſt commendations. They would bring the wounded perſons to their mothers and wiues, and they feared not to number and ſticke their hurts; carrying good to them, and any thing that might hart them againe to the fight. Some ſay, that diuers battels, which began ſuddenly to quail and breake off: were as ſuddenly re-enforced, and purſued by the women, once through the conſtancy of their praier, beating their hands on their naked breſts, & ſetting before their eies, the danger of their neere enſuing captiuitie, which they feared the more impatiently, in regard of their Wiues and Children. Wherefore the wiues of marriall minded men, did declare themſelues alſo no leſſe valiant and reſolute.

But *Caesar*, in attributing very great courage to the Gaules, doth yet (I know not how) reproch them, with a quite contrary negligence or cowardice. For, like as the hearts of the Gaules (ſaith he in his third Booke) are prompt and deliberate, for the attempting of warre: euen ſo is their courage dull, and weake in reſiſtance, to ſupport any miſchances. In brieſe (as we may reade in the eight Book) a man cannot well iudge, whether the Gaules are more inſolent, when their affaires do go neuer ſo little ſucceſſfully with them; then they are eaſie to be affrighted, when neuer ſo little harme befalls them. This is that alſo, which *Titus Livius* reprehendeth with ſuch inſolence, as euery where he ceaſeth not to taxe them with ſomewhat ſauouring of the ſame nature. As in the fiſt Booke concerning the gowned Gaules. The Gauliſh nation are accuſtomed to colde and raine; but they cannot any way endure eyther duſt or heate. In the tenth Booke. The bodies of the Gaules, which

cannot abide trauaile or heat, do yet melt themſelues with ſweating. They enter fight like more then men; but their illiſſe is leſſe then women. In the 37. Booke. Their big bones that can ſuffer no labor, will toyle with weighty Armour on their backs. In the 40. Booke. Heate and trauaile are yreſome to the Gaules quaggy bodies, becauſe they are not able to endure thirſt. In the 48. Booke. ſpeaking of the Gaules of *Britania*. If their firſt affaile be endured, which they ruſh into with boyling courage, and blindfold fury; their lazie members will melt themſelues into ſweate, and the weapons will fall out of their hands. The Sun, duſt, and drought, without employment of any weapon againſt them, doth dul their foggy bodies, and abate their ſtearneſt courage, if they hot rage and fury be once ouer-paſſed.

*Tacitus* giueth the ſelfe ſame dull diſpoſition to the Germanes. Their great bodies (ſaith he) that haue no other ſtrength, then (at the firſt on-let) to ſlew theiſelues forward: are not accuſtomed to ſupport (with any patience) either paines, buſines, thirſt, heate, colde or hunger. How doth this hold together? According to the iudgement which *Caesar* hath giuen of the Gaules? Are they both moſt valiant, and yet foggy fellows alſo? Vndoubtedly, al the Gaules are reported to bee (euen naturally) martiall and valorous, and being exerciſed in military diſcipline, they are the more hardened againſt any trauel; but wanting exerciſe, they grow the more foggy & ydle. Cuſtome and vſe do teach mento ſupport any toyle, and to hold good defence againſt all danger; in the trauaile of warlike diſcipline, admitteth neyther ſincerie or ſofterneſſe. If we meeete with ſome old Souldier, who, becauſe he is expert in warre, is feareleſſe of blowes: If likewiſe a new freſh Souldier be brought in, that hath his hart as ſtout and reſolute, & as yet vnexperienced; yet his beſt courage will appeare to be but womanliſh; ſo writeth *Cicero* in his ſecond *Tuſculan*s.

Tendernesse and ſofterneſſe is reprehended in the Gauliſh Souldiers; as namely by *Percingetorix*, and *Critognatus*, one of the *Aruerni*, in the ſeventh Booke. For there he ſaith, that the Gaules deſired to fight, in regard of their ſoft and tender diſpoſition, becauſe they cannot long endure any toyle. The ſame man at the counceill

*In lib. 37. cap. 9.*

*In lib. 40. cap. 1.*

*In lib. 48. cap. 2.*

*Com. Tacitus in lib. 3. cap. 1. Of the ſlowe diſpoſition of the Germanes.*

The natural inclination of the Gaules.

Vſe and over-cold manner: men apt and valiant.

*Cicero in Tuſculan. 5.*

People by the River Leyſe in France. *In Jul. Caesar in Comment. lib. 7.*

*Percingetorix to the Souldiers beſieged in Alexia.*

Courage natural and hereditary to the Gaules.

*Caesar had fix Legions of the Gaules, & but foure of Romanes.*

\* A certaine Legion among the Romanes

*Titus Livius* reproved by the Author, to offend againſt his own country, & the law of History.

Concerning the gowned Gaules & Affians

counceill which was holden among them that were beſieged in Alexia, and ſtood in great ſtreſſe, through want of victualles: againſt ſuch as were of the minde, to hazard all at one fall, he ſaid. *This is in deed more cowardice, weakneſſe, and no ſigne of courage, or any ſigne of vertue, to declare your ſelues vnable, to endure deſerth & ſcarſity ſo long a while.* Prooſe may be produced, of more men that gladly offered themſelues to death, then could patiently ſuſtaine greeſe or annoyance. It is not then to be doubted, but prompt & ſtout courage, eſpecially in warlike enterpriſes, was hereditary (both by nature and race) to the Gaules nation, and that this ſoft or tender complexion, grew through lacke of exerciſe, in military diſcipline. For, if a Gaule had beene once well enſtructed, by a Maſter, ſkillfull in the arte of warre: where was any Souldier to bee found, that could more ably endure all labour? If thou doe inferre any doubt in this caſe, prooſe thereof was made by *Caesar* himſelfe: For *Caesar* leuiſed fixe Legions of the Gaules, becauſe he could raiſe no more then foure of his owne Common-wealth. *Caesar*s horſe-men were knowne to be Gaules, and thereupon, after he came to the head of all his enterpriſes: hee naturalized all thoſe Legions, which not onely were Gaules by Nation, but they retained (beſide) the name of \* *Alauda*. Wherefore, this ſofterneſſe in the new or young experienced Souldiers, was as common to the Romanes as Gaules; and was no otherwiſe proper, eyther to the Gaule or Germane Nation.

But *Titus Livius*, with I know not how many Greekes, is too iniurious and inſupportable againſt the name of a Gaul, and forgets wiſdall, the kindneſſe which hee ought to his Country, and to the law of history. For, although hee much better affected, to make the *Venetes* or *Vendians*, to deſcend from the traitor *Antenor*, then from the Nobility of the venetian Gaules, as *Strabo* hath done, and the Romanes approve the ſame, placing the *Venetes* or *Vendians* in *Gallia Togata*; yet thereby hee maketh himſelfe to be a Gaule. And the law of history doth command, that in the relating of a history, he ſhould ſtand cleare from ſuſpition of being touched with fauour or hatred. But whereas he reproceith the gowned Gaules and Affians,

with the ydle matter of cold, becauſe they d velt in the hottelt Countries, and ſuch as were neerer to the Sunne, then the *Patavines* or *Patavians*, among whom *Titus Livius* was borne; doth he not mocke himſelfe as fooliſhly as can be deuſed? As for the Gaule Souldier which *Caesar* had, and who was the very braueſt may of all other whatſoeuer: this man beliyeth him manifeſtly. And it appeareth very probably, that *Caesar* had to deale with thoſe men onely in that Gaule: but in the other partes of the world, hee fought againſt women, in regard of thoſe men hee found in this Nation.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Of the difference betweene the Souldiers of Caesar and of Pompey, being the valiant Gaules, in comparing them with the Romanes: As alſo of the Spaniards and the Gaules, and what cunning they learned of the Romanes.*



OW, to ſpeake of *Caesar*s Souldier againſt the Souldier of *Pompey*, that is to ſay, the valiant Gaul, what was hee againſt the *Romaine*? In the third Booke of the ciuill warres, *Caesar* ſaith: *The Army of Pompey was not accuſtomed to ſiues taking.* Why then *Titus Livius*, by the purity of his eloquence, which *Quintilian* compared to the whitenesse of milke, hath drawne the *Spaniards* and *Gauls* to the corners of the world, and theyro make himſelfe liſtened vnto, according as *Saint Hierome* writeth. Notwithſtanding, in this delicacy or ſofterneſſe of not enduring paine, heate, thirſt, nor duſt, which hee reprehendeth in the Souldiers of *Gaules*, himſelfe ſheweth the ſofterneſſe and affection of his owne ſpirit, which cannot any way abide equity, the grauity of history, ſoundneſſe of iudgement, and truely. For, to be ſoft, or hardened againſt toyle, is not any thing that proceedeth eyther from Nations, or race; but by breeding and diſcipline.

\* Men of Padus in Italy.

Apparene prooſe of the ancient Souldiers of Gaule

Comparison of Souldiers.

*Jul. Caesar in Comment. lib. 3.*

*Quintilian in lib. 3. cap. 11.*

*Hier. in Prefat.*

Of delicacy and hardneſſe againſt labour

Want of discipline in the Gauls.

Strabo in Lib. 4. cap. 7.

The simplicity of minds which remained in the Gauls.

The Spaniards not so loose as the Gauls, & therefore on why.

The Spaniards warlike vnto the Gauls.

Strabo in Lib. 7.

Example of the Helvetians.

Example of the Belgians, Armoians, & Aquitains.

All Gaul conquered neere to Alexia.

Strabo in Lib. 3. cap. 1.

*Cæsar* then did but right, in giuing to the men of *Gaul* a great courage, & truly warlike: & yet neuer thelesse, he discouereth in this great minde or spirit, a certain want of discipline, or much rather hereproueth a kinde of simplicitie, and an ill aduised assurance of their strength, which was the fault that was most noted in their warres, according as *Strabo* writeth in his fourth Booke.

The *Gauls* very easily assembled together in great number, because they were simple of spirit, still followed iustice, right and truth, being moued and affected by the losses of their neighbours. Whereupon it happened, that the more easily they were chased out of their Country: because in assembling all their forces, or rather their whole families and friends, they were throwne out by them that prouoked the stronger. The *Romans* did much more easily subdue them, then they could do the *Spaniards*: for the wars in *Spain* were begun long time before theirs, and yet notwithstanding, they were brought to end after theirs. And betwene both these times, they conquered all the *Gauls*, that were betwene the *Rhine* and the *Pyrenean Mountaines*: for in coming to the field so many together, they were ouerthrowne by multitudes together. But the *Spaniards* managed their battailes more sparingly, and, even as if they had a desire to some affected kinde of monies: so did they preserve them from one time to another, and from Country to Country, making their warre still cautiouly, like vnto the *Gauls*.

And that which *Strabo* hath written, may sufficiently be perceived by the examples of *Cæsar*. The whole City of the *Helvetians*, there being all the people of twelve Townes, and of forty Villages: did fight all at one instant, and in one instant all were all ouerthrowne. Such was the league of fiftene people of the *Belgians*. Such was the reuolting of the *Armoians* in the warre of the *Venets*, or *Venicians*. Such was the conspiracy of the *Aquitains* against *Cæsar*. In briefe, did not all *Gaul* put it selfe in Armes, and was it not wholly conquered in one warre, neere vnto *Alexia*? The *Gauls* in the eight yeare of their warre, both well seie and knew this fault, as *Hirtius* saith, and that in regard of some great numbers, which still were af-

sembled in one place; it exceeded possibility to resist the *Romans*. But if diuers Cities (at one selfe same time) had made warre in diuers places: the *Romane Army* could neither haue had sufficient succour, leyfure or forces, to vndertake all at once.

Neuerthelesse, the *Gauls* were not all-ways of so simple and open spirit: but at some-times they declared more cunning, and holpe themselues by some surprizes. *Cæsar*, (as *Suetonius* saith) neuer suffered any one occasion of warre to be lost, were it neuer so vniuersal, setting as soone on the allied and leagued, as on enemies: and yet notwithstanding, all the warres which he made, hee still paliated with good & sufficient colours of reason. The *Eburone-Gauls* payed *Cæsar* with his owne vnfairfull dealing. For these *Gauls* aduertising the *Romane* with the conspiracy, which all the *Gauls* had agreed on together: made him beleue, that if hee would come, and leaue the field, they would giue him free passage. Through this deceit, a Legion, and five Cohorts or Companies (with *Cotta* and *Sabinus*, which ledde them) were all vanquished. And albeit, that the *Romane* was then alike in number and strength to the *Gauls* (as *Cæsar* confesseth) yet was he foyled by the *Gauls* subtilty, who had learned this craft of *Cæsar*, and therewith repayed him.

*Hirtius* recounteth the like ambuscadoes of the *Belouians*, or *Belouacians*, who hauing vnderstood the lodging of the *Romane* horsemen: tooke a number of light and nimble spirited footmen, and en-ambushed them in a place thickly couered with wood. On the morrow, they sent certaine horses thither, which might allure the *Romane* out, into the compass of the ambuscament, and when they were once in it, they presently charged them. And the fortune of this mis-happe fell on the men of *Rheims*, who were appointed as *Guards* there that day. For they hauing seene (too suddenly) the enemies horse-men, and knowing them-selues to exceede them greatly in number, making no account of so fewe as they seemed to be: they rushed forth, and ouer-hotly pursued them, even vntill they were (on all sides) enuironed by the Foote-men

A great error of the Gauls in their fighting.

The Gauls were not all-ways fully & simply in their martiall affairs.

The Eburones cunning in out-redeeing Cæsar.

Cæsar repayed with coynce of his own stamp.

Hirtius lib. 3. c. 7.

The Belouians circumvented the Romanes.

The Rhemi foyled thurgh their owne fault, with the losse of their Prince Verulphus.

The Romanes harmed by their owne inuention.

A cunning stratageme of the Belouians against the Romanes.

Thenight famous in many attempts.

Cæsar's success to the deceit of the Belouians, and therefore could not be too fast.

Suspicion is the hinderer of the brauest actions.

Many harmes done to the Romanes by the Gauls.

Cunning oftentimes deceives it selfe.

to their no little astonishment, which caused them to retire much sooner, then skirmishes of horsemen were wont to do; hauing lost *Verulphus*, Prince of the Cities, and cheefe Commander of the horsemen. This shewed no simplicitie in the *Gauls*, but mere cunning, learned of the *Romans*.

In the very same place, *Hirtius* declarereth the like cunning stratagem; as that which *Hannibal* vied, to deceyue *Fabius*. The *Belouians* (saith he) perceiving that the *Romans* were ready to pursue them, and that they could not (without danger) passe the night, or sojourn longer where they were: they deliuered (by Oath) from hand to hand, the *Fagots* and *small bushes* whereon they rested to sit, and whereof they had great store in the field, all which they placed before their Army: and at the ending of day-light (upon a signe suddenly giuen) they set them all on fire. So the flames, which followed in selfe in great length, immediately hindered, that the enemy could not discover their Forces: and which being done, the *Gauls* very speedily withdrew themselves.

*Cæsar*, albeit he could not perceive that the enemy was gone, in regard of the fire so made before them: yet notwithstanding suspecting that they had done this device, to the end that they might flye, caused his Legions to march on, and sent out troopes of horsemen to pursue them. And yet being mistrustful of some surprisall, & doubting lest the enemy might still lurke there, with intent to allure the *Romans* to some disadvantage, hee marched on the more aduiscfully. The horsemen, fearing to enter the smoke, and if any one (by ouermuch forwardnes) did enter, hee could not see any thing before or behind him: grew all suspitions of some secret ambush, & so gaue leyfure to the *Belouians* to retire thence. Thus the enemy, by means of a flight (full of feare & craft) hauing marched about ten miles of the country, without sustaining the least losse, faste, their campe in a very strong place.

Oftentimes thenceforward, & by many ambushes both of horse & foot, they did great damages to the *Romans*, in their wandering abroad, stealing and foraging: whereby it should appeare, that the attempts fauoured rather of a *Punick* spirit then of a *Gaulish*. And yet neuerthelesse, when all came to al (as we like to say) they were surprized by the hands of their mailers, & by the selfe same deceits & subtil-

ties which they had learned of *Cæsar*. And to the end it might be noted, that the *Gauls* had no more cunning or craft then what they learned of the *Romans*: the *Helvetians* (as *Cæsar* writeth in his first Booke) surprized the *Confull Cæsius*, with all his Army, by an ambuscado. But I haue concluded with my selfe, not to omit one manner of ambushing, which was the most marvellous of all those that euer I read of, or heard reported; whereby the *Prætor Posthumus* was ouerthrowne of the *Boian Gauls*, as *Titus Livius* reporteth in his 33. booke.

While matters went on in these doubts and vncertainties, tidings came of another losse, according as fortune (in that yeare) still re-charged one vpon another. And these were the Newes, that *Lucius Posthumus*, designed *Confull*, was overcome in *Gaul*, both he and his Armie. There was a verie great Forrest, which the *Gauls* called *Litana*, thorough which Forrest, he was to passe his Army. The *Gauls*, on both sides of the passage, had cut and hewne the Trees of the Forrest in such sort; that (yet notwithstanding) they parted not from the trunk or bodie, but must endure hard thrusting and enforcement, before they could possibly get the fall.

*Posthumus* had two *Romane* Legions, and had leuyed to many people, alyed vnto the *Romans*, that hee brought into the enemies Countrey, well neere the number of fife and twenty thousand men of Warre. The *Gauls*, who were ambushed in the Forrest, when the Armie was entered within the Wood; threwe downe the afore said hewne vnder-growing branches, which were apted so for the present purpose; that falling still thickly one vpon another, without any possible meanes of refrayning them, they ouer-turned (pell-mell) both Men and Horses, in such manner, that (very hardly, and with much paines taking) tenne men of them escaped. For the greater part were slaine, by the falling of the huge branches and armes of Trees on them; and the Armed *Gauls*, that held possession of all the Wood, put the rest vnto death, who were not a little affrighted at this so strange misadventure. Verie few (of so great a number) were taken; who in going to the bridge of the riuer,

One of the lib. 6. cap. 4.

The Prætor Posthumus vanquished by the Gauls. Tit. Livius in lib. 33. cap. 4.

The manner how Posthumus was ouerthrowne by the Boians.

A stratageme effected subtilly performed.

A strange confusion on this side.

were impeached by the enemy, who formerly had gotten the mastery thereof. This is all that *Titus Livius* hath written, concerning this notable accident to the Gaules.

## CHAP. IX.

*In what manner the Gaules fortified their Cities and Townes; and what Engines they employed for their owne defence.*



VT this is enough already spoken, concerning the manner of behaviour among the Gaules, as well in ranged battails, as in ambuscadoes: it remaineth now to speak, how they fortified their Cities and Townes, and contrarywise, how they were besieged. How was it then that the Gaules strengthened and fortified their Townes, and what Engines had they whereby to defend themselves? There need no wonderment be made, at the fortification of the *Asterins*, *Nervians*, *Menapians*, *Aduaticates*, and *Eburones*, because they had no Townes at all. And thence ensued it, that the *Aduaticates* marvelled so strangely, to behold the warlike Engines of the Romanes; whereof it is thus written in the second Booke. Being fortified with a rampier of twelve foote high, which had fiftene thousand Towers and strong Basilis nere to each other; the Romanes kept themselves within that Fort. Afterward, when the trailes and platformes were readie prepared, mounted aloft, and a Tower to be raised some long distance off; at the beginning of these vnwonted works, the Gaules beganne to laugh on their walles, and lowly to mocke at them, maruelling what they did undertake so farre off, and with so huge an Engine, or how it should be possible, that the hands and strength of men (especially of so meane stature) could promise any hope to themselves, of coming nere to their walles, with a Tower of so great a composition. But when they (soone after) perceyued, that this mighty frame moued from place to place, and approached nere vnto their

walles: being astonished at a matter of such nouelty, and sight vnaccustomed, they sent their Ambassadors vnto *Cæsar*, to entreate peace; who answered them, That they must thinke, that the Romanes neuer made any warre, without the speciall fauour of the Goddess: seeing they could aduance (and in so short a while) an Engine of such height, to fight both farre off, and nere at hand; and therefore they should submit themselves, and all their goods to his mercy. Thus spake *Cæsar*. It would require so much speech (saith *Cicero* in his second *Tusculanes*) concerning the new fouldier, & the old: that if wee make comparison of one that hath not bene exercised with him which is tried and skillfull; he will appeare no otherwise, then meere as a woman. All which notwithstanding, the very selfsame Gaule, being entrusted in the Discipline of *Cæsar*, seemed as a God to another Gaule, that neuer had knowledge in that Art.

But let vs leave these Belgians which dwell so farre off, and come vnto such as were more ciuillized, as the *Suessonians*, and the *Bellouasians*. The *Suessonians* (saith *Cæsar* in his second booke) when as the Treilles were prepared against *Nouiodunum*, one of their cheefe Townes, and that the platforme was mounted together vwith the Treilles: as men amazed at so great an enterprize, and such strange works, which the Gaules had neuer seene or heard of, yet so speedily performed by the Romanes; they sent their Ambassadors toward *Cæsar*, to entreate that they might yeeld themselves. The *Bellouasians* also, hauing not (as yet) seen such Engines, wherewith Townes were battered, but only hearing report made of them, surrendered the Towne of *Bratupantium*. Wherefore, if the Gaules (as *Cæsar* affirmeth) had neuer either seene or heard speech of such instruments, vntill that verie time: why then should we make any maruelling. That the Gaules, who had not yet learned such cunning, were conquered by other Gaules, that had knowledge in them? Now, whether this place in *Cæsar*, which treateth of the Belgians, was purposely written, or (at the least) may seeme not to bee written according vnto truth, there the question remaineth. For, the Gaules made their

Ambassadors sent by the Gaules to *Cæsar*, and his answere to them.

*Cicero* in *Tuscul.*

Concerning the old & new fouldier.

Of the *Suessonians* and *Bellouasians*.

*Tit. Cæsar* in *com. lib.*

Engines to batter cities and Townes withall.

A doubt concerning the passage in *Cæsar*.

## Chap. 9.

## Of the Ancient Gaules.

How the Gaules vied to make their Townes walled.

*Tit. Cæsar* in *com. lib.*

These walled were the strongest defence that the Gaules then had about all their Cities and Townes.

Concerning the old & new fouldier.

Of the *Suessonians* and *Bellouasians*.

*Tit. Cæsar* in *com. lib.*

A way of this their ordering building, & what thence their walled contained.

All the Gaules were not ignorant in fortifying their Townes.

*Marcus Crassus* besieged the Santone Gaules.

their walled with strong beames of wood, which were not planted vp on one end: but couched downe, & ioyned together, with spaces of earth betweene each two beames, whereof *Cæsar* speaketh thus in his seventh booke. All the walled (saith he) of the Gaules, were (well nere) made after this manner. They laid beames of wood straite out along on the ground, and followed after fill in the same order, making equall distance betweene them, about the space of two foote in bredth. These beames or platts, as some terme them, were reuested and bound within, with strong forced earth, and the equall distances (whereof we haue spoken) were filled vp with great stones, which fronted the wall forward. After that this rowe was all along thus ranged and ordered; another like frame was laid thereon, after the same manner; yet so, that the beames betweene both, did guard and keepe the maine Timber from touching each other. And being distanced also by the selfe-same spaces: they were knit and shut fast together, by great stones cast in betweene them. And so, consequently, all the whole work shaped it selfe in this manner, euen till the wall was perfected to a reasonable height. Now, concerning this kinde of building, ouer and beside, that it was no way mishapen, by the order kept in the leveling, and fitting both the beames & stones aptly to each other: euen so it was greatly commodious, in seruing for the defence of their Townes. For the stones were apt and proper, to impeach the force of fire, and the beames and other matter, brake and resisted the blowes of battery. Because, they being bound together inwardly, and knit to the Timber beames running all along, containing (for the most part) in thicknesse, the measure of forty foote, could (by no means) be forced to sinke, or be otherwise dismembred. Hereby then it may appeare, that the Gaules knew some-what for the fortification of their Cities and Townes; yea, and how to defend themselves also, by such means as were vied in the warres.

In the third yeare of the warre in Gaul, the Santone-Aquitaines were besieged by *Crassus* and his men, both with Treilles and Towers: but they resisted him valiantly, one while, by making faillies out vpon them, another while, by vndermining,

till they came to the great planted platforme, which formerly had bene provided, by means of the treilles. To which vndermining (saith *Cæsar*) the Aquitaines were well inured because they had Mines of Copper and Brasse in many places. So much *Cæsar* wrote, approving, that the Aquitaines knew well enough how to defend a Towne or City; because they had Copper Mines, which made them there in very skillfull. It is saide also, that the Celtes (for the same cause) knew well how to defend themselves at the siege of *Auaricum*: because they had very deep Mines of Iron in their Country. For *Auaricum* being courageously assailed by the Romanes, the Gaules showed all sorts of inuentions (as *Cæsar* saith in his seventh Booke) wherby to giue impeachment to the most singular enterprizes of the Romane Soldiers: as hauing (by naturall inclination) a very ingenious and subtil spirit, apt to follow and counterfeit all things, and whatsoever they sawe done by others.

First, for the Romane Falk, they could overthrow it by a snare or grinne, and when it was remounted, they would againe hurle it downe with their Engines. They couered all their walled with towers made of skinnes, and equalled the height of those towers made by the Romanes, with matts made in their owne currens. In making their faillies abroad; either they would throw fires into the platforme; or suddenly surprize the amazed Romanes; or by vndermining, ouerthrow the maine fortification. Whereunto (indeede) they were the more apt and ready; because they had great yron Mines in their Country, and knew (beside) all kindes of deluding into the ground. By leaving their Mines open, they impeached and tardyed the Romanes preparations: mingling fire with pitch and other matter, made apt to burne wheresoever it fel, and tumbling downe great stones also, to keepe them from approaching nere to their walled. By these cited places it appeareth euidently, that the Gaules had attained vnto some indifferent knowledge, how and which way to defend a City: but to speak truly, it was more through their continual exercise in their Mines, then by any cunning they had learned in the arte Military.

*Tit. Cæsar* in *com. lib.*

The Celtes skillful in their owne defence

The naturall inclination of the Celtes.

Of the Romane engine Falk.

The exercises of the Celts against the Romanes, in all their attempts of war against them.

Working in the Mines vnder ground, made the Celts ready in defending themselves.

And

After what manner the Gaul fortified their Townes and Cities.

Diuerse people that had no Townes or Villages.

*Tit. Cæsar* in *com. lib.*

The Gaules had neuer seene such admirable Engines as were raised by the Romanes.



The words of  
Vercingetorix  
at the taking  
of Avaricum.

Jul. Caesar in  
comment. lib. 7

The constan-  
cy of the  
Gaules, in the  
defence of  
their Cities &  
Townes.

\* People that  
inhabited  
Denmark and  
Norway.  
\* People of  
Germany, called  
Allemaignes

Some others  
reame him  
Crittognatus.

Other Gaules  
multitud  
yielded in fit  
cases of ex-  
tremity.

The Gaules  
were more  
full of courage  
then disciplin.

And this is that whereof Vercingetorix complained, comforting the Gaules at the taking of Avaricum. That the Romans had not wonne the victory, either by vertue or battaile: but by a kinde of science and cunning, which they had in the battling downe of Townes, wherein the Gaules had no knowledge. By which words, that place of Caesar which concerned all the Gaules in general, seemeth to be true: That the Gaules had neuer seen, or heard any report, of Platforms, Treilles, nor Towers: But bee it so, that the ancient Gaules neuer knew any such Art, as the Romans did; yet there was no want of courage in them. For, it is a matter very marvellous, which Caesar himselfe speaketh of them in his tenth Booke, in remembering their constancy, for guard and defence of their Cities and Townes.

The Gaules, in the warres of the \*Cimbrians and \*Teutones, being wholly constrained to retire themselves into such places as were strongest, and being there also oppressed with great famine & lacke of victuals: they did yet maintaine their lives by feeding on the bodies of such, as both appeared, and were not able indeed to do any further seruice in the warre, & would (by no means) yeeld to their enemies.

Crittognates, who was a man of great ranke among the Aruernians, held a verie strong opinion in counsell, that it was good to put the same in practise for the defence of Alexia; and although hee had made no vie thereof before, yet hee earnestly maintained the fitnessse and necessity thereof, onely for liberty, and that it was worthy to bee left (as a memorable custome) to posterity. This opinion helde such account amongst the other Gaules, that they were of the mind, to assay all other means whatsoever, then to doe according as Crittognates had aduised. And yet notwithstanding, if there wer such vrgent necessity, and ayde tardied too late in coming; that it was most behouefull to credit his iudgement, rather then to yeeld, or listen to peace-making, vpon enforced or violent composition. Such was the courage of the ancient Gaules.

Now this kinde of defence, which they vied for safeguarding their townes, though it proceeded from no meane Vertue in them, yet it did not tellish of any great

discipline. In what manner also they assailed Townes, was without any craft or subtle device. For they neuer help themselves, either by Platforms, Rampiers, Treilles, or Towers, as it is described in the second booke. The Gaules and the Belgians, had both one manner of assaulting Cities, to saith Caesar. For after they had ringed (after the order of crowding together) a great number of men about the Town; they would hurle heaps of Stones vp on the wall, vntill they had left it naked of men. Then, winding and turning, according as occasion serued, they approached to the gates, and vndermined the walles. Thus then their whole manner of making war in places fortified with rampiers and ditches, doeth giue vs to vnderstand, that the heart and courage of the Gaules was very great; and yet very little or no discipline at all vied amongst them. Let this then suffice, to acquaint vs with the order of their land seruice.

## CHAP. X.

Of the seruice on the Sea, or other waters, vsed by the Gaules: And what Ships and Vessels they had among them. Also, into what farre remote countries they extended their name.



Concerning that which they performed on the Sea, as it is described in the warres against the Brittaines and \*Venetes, it appeareth to taste of vertue, although it was simple, and without any great cunning. Caesar describeth it in all parts, with the matter and manner of such ships or vessels, as the Gaules then vied, speaking thus. Their Ships were made and armed in this manner. The keeles of them were much larger then those of the Romanes Ships: to the end, that they might the more easily sustaine the ebbing and flowing of the Sea. Their Prowes were highly rayed, and their Poppes also: because they were the more apt to kinde the power of great Windes and Tempests. All their Shippes were made of Oake, to endure all injury and violence that could happen. The hankes were made of timber beames, about a foute in thickness: and they

Jul. Caesar in  
Com. lib. 2.

In what man-  
ner the Gaules  
assailed their  
Cities and  
Townes.

\* People now  
called Ven-  
etes in Iude  
Arabia

Julian Caes-  
ar in Com. lib. 3

A description  
of the Gaules  
Ships, which  
they had then  
in vie.

Henpe not  
known to the  
Gaule, nor  
the vie therof

Jul. Caesar in  
Com. lib. 4.  
Of Caesars  
Gallies a-  
gainst the Bri-  
taines.

Caesars com-  
mand for im-  
ployment of  
his Gallies.

Ignorance in  
the mother of  
much error, &  
especially in  
warre seruices

The Gaules  
made them-  
selves masters  
of all other na-  
tions.

they were toyed or fastened together with iron nales of great signyffe. Their Anchors (in stead of Cables) were made fast with chaines of iron: and for want of other sailes, they made use of skynes and hides, which were soft and pliable with currying and paring. And either through the want of henpe, or knowledge how to ruse it (which is the more likely) they imagined, that if they rised other sailes, they could not resist so manie tempests of the Ocean, and such impetuous windes as daily arose, neither so commodiously conuay such great burthens as they carried in their vessels.

In another passage of the fourth booke he sheweth, that the Gallies, whereof hee himselfe made seruice, both against the Brittaines and the Venetes, had not bene vied on the Ocean, vntill that instant time. For, the Romanes being somewhat hardly pressed by the Britains, on the shore of the Ocean; Caesar commanded, that the gallies (which these poor barbarous people were not wont to see, & which could be managed most readily in any business) should be set apart distant from the other ships, and that they should be moued by the strength of Oares: to the end, that they might be ranged against the flanke of the enemy, which was discouered; and whence they might repulse and recoil the enemy by the dint of their weapons, and Engines very greatly. For the ignorant people, being amazed at the fashion of those vessels, and the moouing of their Oares, as also the manner of their vnaccustomed Engines, stayed their proceedings, and (soone after) retired.

Thus farre we haue heard the ancient fashions and behauiour which the Gaules vied in actions of warre, and which haue bene collected out of many places: declaring them to be much greater in naturall strength, then in the course of Martiall discipline. Whereby we may perceiue (in regard that their warres were managed by vertue, & not by any lights, cunning, or trumperys) they were the masters of all or most nations. For they pursued their purpose, euen as Geographers were wont to doe, to make all the Earth habitable, euen from the Suns setting, so farre as his rising. Britaine, Spaine, Italy, Germany, Illyria, Pannonia, Greece, Macedonia, yea, Asia it selfe, can declare the

Empire of the Gaules. For Brittain, which was along the sea coast (as Caesar saith in his first booke) had bene conquered by them that passed from Belgia, going thither for pillage, and to make warre; and they named themselves according to all the Cities titles from whence they issued; and hauing made warre there, there they inhabited, and began to plough and husband the grounds. VVhat shall we say of \*Celtiberia? Doth it not deliuer sufficient testimony, that Spaine was subdued by them? For, to what purpose else should Lucane say?

The Celts departing from the ancient Gauls, renowned their name as farre as Iberus.

But it may be, that Italy came not vnder the government of the Gaules: Yes, that it did foundly, and at the same time when Tarquinius Priscus reigned. The Hitturiges, Aruernians, Senones, Hedunns, Ambarrians, Carnates, and Aulentes, vnder conduct of the Salluinians, Boians, & \*Lingones, preuailed so farre, that that Italy, which reacheth along fro the Alps, coasting still to the Apennines, and so farre on as the riuier Rubicon, became Gaule. And finally, after that they had ouerthrowne the Romanes neere to Alia, they tooke Rome and burned it; and hauing agreed for a thousand poundes of gold, they sold the Capitoll (which they kept besiedged) to the rest of the Romanes which were enclosed therein. And hath not furious Germany borne the yoke of Gaule? In elder times (saith Caesar in his sixth Booke) the Gaules excelled the Germanes in vertue.

For the Polce and Teutoages, vnder the conduct of Sigouesus, possessed themselves of the most fertile places in Germanie, euen those which were neere to the Forrest Hercynia, as Titus Livius also relateth.

Tacitus maintaineth, that the Colonies of the Heluetians & Boians were brought into the same place. But those Gaules, the conquerors of Germany, being made bold and hardy, by such simplicity in diet as the Germanes vied, extended themselves much further, and the renowne of their name, went (with great honor) thorough Illyria, Pannonia, Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia, according as Iustine (following Trogu) declareth more at large. And the name

Jul. Caesar in  
Com. lib. 5.

\* Whose people  
descended on the Celtes,  
thence came out  
of France, and  
placed them-  
selves by the  
riuier Iberus.

Italy subie-  
ct vnto the  
Gaules power  
in the time of  
Tarquinius  
Priscus.

\* People of  
Langres in  
France.

Rome surpriz-  
ed and burnt  
by the Gaules

Jul. Caes. in com.  
lib. 6.

People of  
Naibone, be-  
yond Rhoda-  
nus westward  
now called  
Languedoc,  
towards the  
Pyrenean  
mountaines.

Spartan dyet  
made the  
Gaules coura-  
geous.

Kings com-  
pelled to buy  
their peace of  
the Gaules.

Ptolemy slain  
by the Gaules

The Temple  
of Apollo fac-  
ked by them.

Cruel people  
of Scythia in  
Europe, East-  
ward by the  
scabie.  
b People of  
Macedonia  
betweene Da-  
nubius and  
Aenus.  
Titus Livius in  
lib. 48. cap. 9.

c People of  
Gauls, that  
did win part  
of Paphlago-  
nia & Mizonia

d People that  
sometimes we  
call Mylians,  
e A Region in  
Greece, be-  
tweene Caria  
and Eolia.  
f A river ri-  
sing out of  
Taurus, and  
running thro-  
rough Cappadocia.

War guided  
by vertue, and  
no guile.

name of the Gaules was so much feared, that Kings (not constrained, but on their own meer motion and good will) bought their peace of them, with great summes of money.

Being conducted by *Belgus*, they slew *Ptolemy*, King of Macedon. Led by *Brennus*, as making small account of the spoils of men; they sacked the Temple of *Apollo*, which was in Delphos. Afterward, a new Armie of the same Gaules, which were dwelling in Germanie, having formerly driven in rowte the *Getae* and *Tribuller*, and enforced *Antigonus*, King of Macedon, to forsake the Field: thence they passed on into Asia, vvhether they made such a dreadful terror (as *Titus Livius*, the great blamer of the Gaules name, saith in his eight and forty booke) amongst all the Nations, which were on this side the Mountain *Taurus*, that not onely they among whom they came, but such with whom they neuer were (both neere and farre off) did ranke themselves also together vnder their obedience and subiection.

Not long after, because they consisted of three Nations, to witte, *Talisobages*, *Trocmes*, and *Teisofages*, they diuided Asia into three parts, to the end, that each Nation might hold his share tributary to himselfe. The coast of the *Hellepont* was assigned to the *Trocmes*. The *Talisobages* had the *Helides* and *Ionia* for their part. The *Teisofages* had the Country vvhich was in the middelt of Asia, and raised all their fouldiers pay, at the charge of that whole Asia, which was on this side *Taurus*, making their abode neere to the river *Halys*. And their name was so much feared (in regard of their great number) that they became (atterward) a people of no meane parentage: insomuch, that the Kings of Syria refused not to pay them Wages. Thus hath *Titus Livius* written, concerning the entrance of the Gaules into Greece and Asia. Whereby, I haue obserued, that, in regard (as I haue formerly sayde) their warres were managed by vertue, and no craft or guile: the due commendation of the Gaules valiancie, was iustly comprized within those limites and Countreys, as the Sunne obserued his course, from his rising, to his fall.

But in following time, thorow lacke

of Military Discipline, or else (much rather) by reason of discords, which grev among themselves, the *Cenomani*, having difference with the *Togates*, the *Masifilians* with the *Brachates*, and *Hedunians* with the *Comates*: they help the Romans, to bring their owne Countrey into thraldome; betraying all Gaule, to subiect it to the Romane Empire. And that which is much more, to the end, that in this case we may more admire the Gaules Vertue, they being well instructed in the Art Military: and all together having encountered *Cesar*, who was a most excellent Maister in actions of warre; within the space of foure yeares, ouerthrew the whole Romane Empire, which had seled it selfe by so many warres, and multiplicity of ages. For heerein *Cesar* had the consent of the Gaules, onely against whom, (as *Fercingetorix* prophesied) not all the inhabitable world knew how to make resistance: yet, the only consent (I say) of the Gauls, and Gaule onely, flood against all the other Prouinces of so great and mightie an Empire. Why then, thou Man of Gaule, thou deseruest highest honour for this Vertue; for encreasing the dignitie and glorie of thy Countrey, and not the tyrannie of a stranger. Thou (euen of thy selfe) hast subdued Italy, Spaine, Greece, Egypt, Asia, Africa, yea, and Spaine againe: in briefe, thou hast conquered the whole Empire of the Romane people.

But this may seeme sufficient (if not too much) to be spoken concerning their man-hood and valour: Now it is fittetime to speak of their prudence and wisdom.

### CHAP. IX.

Of the Learning and Wisdom of the Gaules: Of the disciplines instructed by their *Druides* or *Priests*, to the younger people. Also of their *Bards*, Poets, *Sarronides*, *Eubages* and profession of Languages.

THE study of disciplines (whereby the iudgment of man maketh it self most firme, for the better entertainment of wisdom) was most notable among the an-  
cient

a People of  
Galicia & Gal-  
pana.

Gaul betrayd  
& subiect to  
the Roman  
Empire.

The Romane  
Empire ouer-  
throwne in 4.  
yeares, onely  
by the valour  
of the Gaules.

Conquests of  
the Gaules  
nation in the  
world.

Of the wis-  
dom and learn-  
ing vied among  
the Gaules.

a Certain cer-  
tain Priests in  
Gaule, who  
were in such  
education,  
that the deter-  
mining of all  
cont-overties  
was commit-  
ted to them.  
It is suppos'd,  
that they first  
came out of  
the Ile of Bri-  
taine.

The Gaules  
capable of all  
disciplines.  
Luce. 1. from  
matt. lib. 7.

Diodor. in lib. 4.

Strabo in li. 4.  
cap. 1.

Old Father  
Noble estab-  
lished the  
world.

\* Pluto the  
God of riches  
Demig. gen.

Berosus. lib. 1.

The courses  
of times noted  
by number of  
nights, & not  
of dayes.

cient Gaules. The *Druides*, or *Druidae*, made profession in each of those Disciplines. First of all, *Cesar* saith, they would haue men to beleue, that their soules could not dye, but after death they passed from one body to another. And they were of opinion, that this beleefe serued greatly for an encouragement to vertue; when men held the feare of death in contempt. Moreover, they discouered verie many things which they taught to youth: concerning the Starres, and their motion; of the greatnesse of the world, & the earth; of the Nature of things; of the might and power of the immortall Gods. *Cesar* writeth, of the Learning of the Gaules; but in few words, and fleetly; therefore we must enquire after more ample relation. That the Gaules had a capable vnderstanding of all disciplines, *Cesar* hath affirmed in his tenth booke, by that which wee haue already alledged. They are a kinde of people of very great vnderstanding, and who are most apt to follow and conserue all things which can be taught them. And *Diodorus* writeth thus. Although their speech be somewhat obscure and doubtful, yet are they not any such men, as do estraunge themselves from Learning. Al- to *Strabo* agree there-with, saying, The Gaules are easily guided to learn such things as may do them service, because they addict themselves to Arts and Disciplines.

From the beginning of the world, which Father *Noble* re-established; all forties of Disciplines were taught to such spirits, as appeared to be desirous of them. For, according to *Berosus*, if that which now a dayes is generally read, be true: *Diu*, who was the first Author of the Gaules Nation, is said to bee most famous for knowledge, and thereon was called *Semmotheus*, or *Samothus*, and (after his name) such as made profession of Learning and knowledge, were termed *Semmotheans*, or *Samothians*. But this place of *Cesar*, seemeth to confirme the history of *Berosus*. The Gaules (saith he) do report themselves to bee descended of their father *Diu*: and say beside, that the *Druides* gave them that instruction. For this cause, they marked all the courses of times by number, not of dayes, but of nights; and that they kept such a custome, by obseruation of their birth daies, and so from the beginning of months and yeares; that still the day followed the

night. Now, concerning this point, that day alwayes ensued after night: the *Germanes* also kept the same course, & made not their account by number of dayes, as we do (saith *Tacitus*) but of nights, giuing an apt earne therefore, and vied their at- signations among themselves accordingly, as holding, that night was still the guide to day. It may bee, that this was a thing in vse to other people also, to take the beginning of the houres, from the instant of midnight.

But let vs come againe to Father *Diu*, and the *Semmotheans*, or *Samothians*, whereof *Berosus* speaketh; with whom the opinion of *Aristotle* consenteth: for hee writeth in his *Magitian* (according as *Lactertius* reporteth) That *Philosophy* receyued original from the *Semmotheans* of the Gaules. The same *Berosus* writeth, at *Saron* the third King of Gaule, to restrain the wilde fiercenesse of the first men; established publike Schooles of learning; but hereafter we shall speake more at large of the *Sarronides*. The fourth King was *Uruis*, of whom came the *Cruides*, & who were full of all things, as *Cesar* affirmeth. The fifth King was *Bardus*, of whom wee celebrate the honour, in speaking of *Bardes*, Poets, and Orators. Thus then wee perceiue the ancient professions of the Gaules disciplines, which maketh it selfe venerable, euen in the image of antiquity. *Marcellinus* in his fifth Booke, doth very neere agree heere-with writing the Original of the Gaules, where he saith; Those that haue anciently written, doubting the first original of the Gaules, did leaue their knowledge halfe full of trouble. But since then, *Timagenes* the Greeke, both out of diligence and ciuers Languages, collected such things as were vnkown for the space of long time; to whom giuing credit (all doubt & scruple taken away) we will deliuer the same notes distinctly and cleerely.

Some are of opinion, that the *Aborigenes* were the first that had beene seene in these Countreys; and that they did name themselves *Celts*, after the name of a king, whom they deere affected; and *Gallates* (for the Greekes do call the Gaules so) after the name of his Mother. Others do affirme, that the *Dorians*, which followed ancient *Hercules*, inhabited the borders about the Ocean. The *Druides* recount (for a truth) that there was a certain part of

The Germans  
held the same  
of variation  
on accounting  
by night.

Beros. Ant. lib. 1.

Arist. in Met.  
in epist. semp.  
De Ant. Cant.  
lib. 1.

In met. Cloud.

The venera-  
ble disciplines  
of the Gaules  
Marcel. in lib. 3.

\* A great the-  
torician of A-  
lexandria,  
who taught in  
Pompeys  
houle.

\* Ancient peo-  
ple dwelling  
in the Moun-  
taines, whom  
Saturn brought  
into Italy.

b Galatae, or  
Galatae.

c Reported to  
be a people of  
Thrace.



of a people, which were Natives of the Country: but were chased and expelled from their dwellings by another people, in regard of their continuall warres, and thorow the inundations of the Sea, they landed on the hither Islands, and in the Countrey on this side the *Rheme*. Some alio holde, that after the destruction of Troy, a small number of people which fled from the Greekes, wandering all about: cam at last into this country, which till then was empty. But the inhabitants of this land (more then any thing els can) do assure this, which we have also seene engraven in their Monuments, that *Hercules*, the son of *Amphitruo*, made all possible speede to ruiuate the cruell Tyrants *Gerton* and *Tamiricus*, one of which overawed *Spaine*, and the other *Gallia*. After he had conquered them both, he had private knowledge of some women of noble race; by whom, he had many Children, that styled (by their owne name) all those places where they commanded.

It is likewise further maintained, that the *Phoenices* which lived in Asia, flying from the cruelty of *Harpagus*, Lieutenant to King *Cyrus*, betooke themselves to sea, and came into Italy; one part whereof, founded the Towne of *Phelia*, and the other *Massilia* in *Pennois*. Within some while after, when their forces were increased, they fortified a great number of Cities and Townes. But we must breake off this variety, which gladly would keep company with pleasing satiety. Afterwards, when these places were (by little and little) civilized, and reclaimed from rudenesse by men: the study of learning (which is most commendable) began to appeare in some splendour, by the *Bards*, *Enbages*, and *Druides*.

*Marcellinus* reporteth this of *Hercules*, agreeing therein with *Berosus*. For *Berosus* saith, that *Galatea* (by consent of her parents) was begotten with child by *Hercules*, at his returne out of *Spaine*; and that of her was borne *Galata*, of whom the Gauls received their name *Galates*. Therefore, the antiquity of the Gauls Discipline and Learning, maketh it self known by these testimonies.

But in what Discipline and Learning (perhaps) thou wilt aske me? I answer, in Grammar, Rhetoricke, Logicke, Mathematicke, Physick, Theology. Grammar

instructed to reade, and frame Letters; and this Art was such from those times, when as the tongues were in their entire condition: and that the neighbouring strangers had not (as yet) corrupted them. For so *Plato* in his *Philebus* grounded the Greeke Grammar. Here (me thinks) I vnderstand in this place, that which many good and learned spirits have questioned, to wit, what were the Letters of the Ancient Gaules? *Cæsar*, in his sixth booke confirmeth, that they were Greeke Letters.

They thought (saith he) that it was ill done, to set down their disciplines in writing; howbeit, that almost in all their other affairs, as well common as particular, they used the Greeke letters. In this place, *Cæsar* speaketh not obscurely, but directly and plainly; that the Gaules made vse of the Greeke Letters, that is to say, these Characters *α, β, γ, &c.* He deliuereth som proof hereof in the first Booke, that in the camp of the Heluetians, there were found little Table bookes, written with Greeke Letters. Most true it is, *Cæsar* calleth those Greeke Letters, which the Gaules then used; but I call them Gaul Letters, & will maintaine, that they neuer came out of Greece into Gaul; but on the contrary, that they went out of Gaul into Greece.

As concerning the man, who is sayde to be the first inuenter of Letters, verie great question had bene made thereof: and *Plume* hath debated the matter by diversity of opinions. So that the inuention of Letters, is not proper or peculiar vnto any one Nation, according as hee thinketh; but (from all antiquity) they had bin vsed. *Cadmus* (if the booke be true which is allowed to one named *Xenophon*) as is affirmed by som, was the first that brought Letters (to the number of sixteen) from *Phoenicia* into Greece, the which were verie like to the Characters of the *Galates* and *Mæm*. Hereby may be coniectured, that Letters came from the *Galates* vnto the *Greekes*. Now, finding not only a verie likely coniecture, but a certaine proof also, by the report and account of Times; maintaining, that the discipline of the *Semnotheans*, or *Samotheans*, *Sarronides*, *Druides*, and *Bardes*, did flourish in Gaul for so many yeares before *Cadmus* went into Greece: there neede no doubt to be made, but that the *Gauls* characters were in vse in Gaul, for so many yeares before

*Plato* in *Philebus*.

Of the letters of the ancient Gaules.

*Cæsar* in comment lib 6.

The Gaules used Greeke Characters.

Greeke letters found in the campe of the Heluetians. *Jul. Cæsar* in Com. lib. 1.

Of him that was the first inuenter of Letters.

*Cadmus* reported for to bring Letters from Phœnicia into Greece; and to be the first that found out the calling of metalls.

The antiquity of the Gauls disciplines.

*Marcellinus* lib. 7. de iung. Lib.

The demand of Crates the Greek.

*Aristotle* in lib. de Mus. sect. lib. 22.

*Strabo* in lib. 4. cap. 9.

The ancient famous Vniuersity of Maffellus in France.

Of whom the Gauls learned their doctrines.

Authors of found authority ought to be credited.

Whether the Gauls spoke Greeke or no.

And this is that, which *Varro* (in his fourteenth booke of the Latine tongue) maketh openly knowne. For *Crates* a Greek, had formerly made a Grammatician question in Greece, demanding what was the reason why *Alpha* might not be called *Alphator*? The other grammarians Greekes answered: These wordes are none of ours, but are wholly barbarian. In this place then the Greekes do plainly confesse, that these Letters were none of theirs. And, consenting heere to, *Aristotle* conuinceth to his Magician (according as I haue already sayde) That Philosophy received originally from the *Semnotheans*, or *Samotheans* of the *Celts*. And last of all, that Gaul had bin the Mistress of all Greece.

I know verie well, that *Strabo* speaketh of the Gaules, that they affected the Greekes: in somuch, that whatsoever bargaines or conuention was made amongst them, they wrote thereof into Greece, & that they adding themselves to the study of eloquence, & of Philosophy, as the Greekes did, kept in pay or wages, professors of the liberal Arts, as also they did the like by Physitians. But *Strabo* wrote this of the *Massilians*, and of their neighbours, at such time as *Tiberius* held the Empire, and when the great Lords of Rome (as himselfe writeth) caused their children to bee sent no more to Athens, then they did to *Maffelles*, there to follow their studious exercise. It must needs then be verie certaine, that we learned the *Gauls* doctrine of *Dis*, *Samothes*, *Sarron*, *Druides*, *Bardes*, and those other ancient masters, when Greece did not so much as onely thinke on Letters.

Some may conceit, that we speak of Paradoxes, against all reason: but I cannot comprehend, why such men as haue heard so many Authors speake, that carry credite and authority (among all) in other things, should reproach their praises of their owne Countrey, by a peruerse opinion of iudgement. But it may bee, that al these things do serue vs to no purpose, in regard that (concerning this matter) wee may bee pressed with nouell Arguments: because the Gaules (as some will say) did speake Greeke, therefore did they make vse also of Greeke Letters. But let me much rather tel them, that in, & from the time of *Cæsar*, the Gaules did not vnderstand the Greeke tongue, that they

could speake it in any mean measure. Herein I haue *Cæsar* for my warrant; for thus he writeth in his fifth Booke. We presented so faire (saith hee) with one of the *Gauls* horsemen, only by powerfull promises: that he undertooke to carry a Letter to *Cicero*, which he had written in Greeke Characters, to the end, that if it happened into the enemies hand, they might not know our secrets. *Cæsar* speaking this, I conclude thereby, that the enemies of *Cæsar* and the *Gauls*, vnderstood not a letter written in Greeke, nor the language thereof.

And hee that will looke a little neerer, cannot probably proue to himselfe (though some others hold it for most certain) that the popular Gaules vnderstood any thing in that language: but that the chiefe and principall Heads of each Commonweale knew the Greeke tongue, as now . . . they do the Latine. I say moreover, that whosoever maketh heedfull obseruation, will finde, that this cannot any way bee proued for truth. Because it is most certaine, that in so great an army of enemies, there must needs be some men of marke, of Townes good store. Nay, that which is more, I haue learned of *Cæsar* himselfe, that the worthy *Druides*, who were the masters and Doctors of the Gauls youth, did not know the Greeke tongue. For *Dionitiacus*, one of the *Heluetians*, according to the testimony of *Cicero*, was the most learned man amongst the *Gauls* *Druides*. The great affection in this *Dionitiacus*, towards the Romane people, the extraordinary good will which they bare vnto him, the singular fealty, iustice, temperance (as appeareth in the first booke) in this man, was verie well knowne vnto *Cæsar*. To *Cæsar* I say, who vnderstood the Greeke tongue sufficiently, and had a desire to communicate secretly (for feare lest any thing should be discovered) with *Dionitiacus*, concerning his brother *Dumnorix*, who was supposed that hee would betray *Cæsar* to his enemies.

Well then, if *Dionitiacus* had vnderstood the Greeke tongue, as well as *Cæsar* did: could not the one haue holpen the other with private instructions, in whatsoever they would haue had imparted? But considering to serue his turne by ordinary Interpreters (as it appeareth in the verie same first Booke) *Cæsar* spake with *Dionitiacus*, by the meanes of *Valerius*, Prince of a

*Jul. Cæsar* in Com. lib. 5.

A Letter carried by a Gaul to Cicero.

That the popular Gaules vnderstood not Greeke.

The *Druides* knew not the Greeke tongue.

*Dionitiacus* the learnedest man of the *Druides* Gaules.

*Cæsar* sufficiently vnderstood the Greeke tongue.

*Cæsar* seemed to interpret. *Jul. Cæsar* in Com. lib. 1.

Country in Gaule. Then there is no appearance, that *Dimitrius* (although hee was one of the principall *Druides*) did vnderstand the Greeke tongue, or that it was any way knowne to the Gaules.

Here I may be demanded, what was the speech of the Ancient Gaules, seeing it was not Greeke? I may, and must answer, that it was Gaulish: but to render a certaine reply, where the Language of the Gaules hath bene preferred, it requireth the Diuination of a Pythian *Apollon*. Because it is sufficiently knowne, that the Gaules haue had time long enough, whereby to vnderstand and loofe their owne Native tongue. For not onely Lawes, but the Romane Legions established in Gaule, constrained the Gaules to speake the Romane tongue. And, according as *Plato* sayth: *Ordinarily aliother Citizens do follow the manners of them that command them*. Therefore, the Romane Lawier, and the Romane Warriour, did quite abolish and extinguish the Gaules Language.

Moreover, the Emperours of Rome, appointed wages vnto such men, as made publique profession of teaching the Latine tongue. So that, to this very day, the bookes written in this corrupted tongue, where of wee haue yet to shew, are vulgarly called Romaine, and not Gaulish.

Some in debating this matter, are of opinion, that the Language of the *Suisse*, that hold (at this day) the dwelling of the *Heluetsians*, are they that speake the ancient Gaulish tongue. But we know well enough, that these *Suisse* were not the true Gaules of the Country, neither are: considering, that the ancient *Heluetsians* (but vpe by *Cesar* within their owne mountaines) were afterward expelled thence (according to *Entropius*) by the *Quades*; and finally, the *Quades* themselves, thrust out by the *Allemaignes*. At length the *Viter*, a people amongst the Saxons, possessed themselves of the *Heluetsians* Country; whereupon the *Sutois* (that is to say) *Suisse*, were called, according to the opinion of *Beatus Rhenanus*, by a Name somewhat nere vnto the *Viter*.

Others are of the minde, that the language which the Germanes now adays speake, is that of the ancient Gaules, and

take *S. Hierom* for their Authour, who giueth assurance, that in his time the *Gauls* or *Galatians* of *Asia*, spake the same language which the *Treuirians* (dwelling on the *Rhine*) now doe. But *Cesar* seemeth to auouch the contrary, writing in his first Booke, that *Arminius* King of the *Germanes*, by long vie (as some haue conceived by this place) of fourteen yeeres, did speake the Gaulish tongue. And in the time of *Saint Hierome*, there were other *Treuirians* in *Gaule*, that were subiects to the Romane Empire: and now in our time also, there are other that speake the same speech, as the other *Germanes* doe.

There remaineth yet another opinion amongst learned men; who do iudge, that the language of the ancient *Gaules* is that which was vied in *Gaule Armorica*, that is *Britaine* at this day. But they do not hold the French History to be true, that makes the *Britaines* to come out of the Ile of *Britaine*, into *Gaule Armorica*: considering, that *Cesar* (as I haue already saide) maketh great *Britaine* it selfe to be a Colonie of the *Gauls*, and that *Strabo* maketh mention of a Towne or Citie, called *Britaine*, which is in *Amorica*; and *Plinius* (though verie confidently) numbereth the *Britaines* in *Gaule*: and *Cornelius Tacitus* in the life of *Agriola* writeth, That the nearest shores of the Ile were impeached by the *Gauls*, & that their language was but little different. Finally, the learned men of this Ile, imagined (for this reason) that the Welshmen of England, had some conuiniene in speech with our *Britaines*. Therefore this is the only opinion, which (as yet) I know, to holde any good reason, or deseruing to be approved. And this is the Grammar of the Gaules, both in writing and speech.

But what was that of the *Britaines*, and that of the *Germanes*? The Discipline of the *Gauls* (saith *Cesar*) was first invented in great *Britaine*, as hath bene effected: and from thence transported into *Gaule*. And at this day, such as would know it most diligently, they go thither oftentimes to learne it. This passage sheweth sufficiently, that the discipline betweene the *Britaines* and *Gauls*, was al one. If we vnderstand also, that *Cesar* maketh great *Britaine* as descended of the *Gauls*, & that they of the *Britains* were most human which were *Gauls*,

What *Cesar* in comment. lib. 1.

Arminius & of the Germanes.

Erasmus Syluius concerning the Germanes, and their former barbarities.

Gaule Armorica now call Britaine.

Great Britain affirmed by *Claudian* to be a Colony of the Gaules.

*Plinius* in lib. 3. *Cornelius Tacitus* in lib. 2. cap. 1.

Of the Welshmen of England.

O the discipline of the Britains in Gaules. *In libro Caesaris in Com. lib. 1.*

*Strabo* in lib. 4.

The discipline of the Britains and Gaules al one.

Of the Germanes. *Cornelius Tacitus*, ubi supra.

Erasmus Syluius concerning the Germanes, and their former barbarities.

Gaule Armorica now call Britaine.

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Of the Welshmen of England.

O the discipline of the Britains in Gaules. *In libro Caesaris in Com. lib. 1.*

*Strabo* in lib. 4.

it is verily to be credited, that Discipline parted from Gaule, to come thither. This place may suffice generally, for al the doctrine of the Britaines.

Concerning the Germanes, there is scarcely any one word. The men and Women (saith *Tacitus*) were equally ignorant in the secrets of Letters. The Germanes then wholly, had not any Letters or Disciplines. *Erasmus Syluius* giueth assurance, that in the time of *Adrian*, ciuility and Letters came into Germany. The Germanes themselves do hold, that it is not yet eight hundred yeares, since their language began to be written; and that (with Christian Religion) the Muses came into Germany; where both in publique Schooles, and by learned professors, they haue so prospered, that the nation (which all Nations else had formerly in detestation for sauage barbarousnes:) hath since then, in all ciuility, in all gentleness and humanity of all disciplines, conferred with the most learned and best lettered Nations whatsoever, and for the priority in this commendation.

But what were the studies of the Rhetorique Gaules? Assuredly, they were very highly and honourably esteemed: yet more for a fetted speech, consisting of measure, then in prose. The Gaules had (saith *Diomedes* in his sixth Booke) Poets of melodie, which they called Bards. These men, with a Musickall instrument, as vwith the Lyre or Harpe, sang some mens praises, and others imperfections. He further sheweth in the same place, that Poets were in such reuerend respect amongst them, that when Armies were in ranged battaile, hauing their Swords and Bowes ready drawne, and approaching to fight one another: not onely friends, but mere enemies (if these men once did steppe betweene them) were faine to make an end of all fighting. In like manner, amongst the most sauage Barbarians, anger was compelled to yeelde to wisdom, and Mars gladly reuerenced the Muses. Likewise, *Strabo* in his fourth Booke, speaketh of the Bards, as being Poets, and singers of praises. The Poet *Lucane* also, in the first of his *Pharsalia*, speaketh thus in commendation of the Gaulish Poets.

You Poets, Bards, that of those valiant souls,  
Lying in warres, do Caroll their renowne,  
Know how't eternize to perpetuall worlds  
Their endlesse praise: Many sweet songs you sing.

*Lucane* in lib. 1.

*Marcel* in lib. 1.

Moreover, *Marcellinus* in his fift Booke, speaking of the Gaules, hath these words: The Bards sung to the Harp, which they touched very pleasingly: declaring the famous actes of illustrious men, their Songs being composed in heroicall verses. The Romanes followed this example of the Bards, and they (according as *Cato* hath written in his Booke of Originals) had a custome to sing at banquets, the vertues of famous and renowned men, euermore conforming their voices with such as did play on Instruments.

The Romanes imitated the Bards in singing at banquets.

Heereby therefore, we may well perceyue, how highly Poetrie was honoured and authorized by the Ancient Gaules. This argument putteth mee in minde of Greece, and of her *Homer* and *Hesiodus*, these vaunting of them, that they were in as great honour and estimation amongst the Greekes. This then was their Rhetorique, and (as *Pomponius Mela* sayeth) This was the eloquence which the ancient Gaules had.

Greece renowned they Bards and Poets.

*Pomp. Mela*, in lib. 2. cap. 5.

But what was that of the Germanes? Although they were ignorant (as hath bene formerly declared) in the mysteries and secrets of Letters; yet notwithstanding, as *Tacitus* auoucheth, they celebrated in ancient Canticles and Songes, the memory of their Gods and Kings. And this was the only maner of their Annals, & of the Antiquity which they had: for I finde nothing more, concerning the Discipline of the ancient Germanes.

The Rhetoricke vied among the Germanes. *Corn. Tacitus* in lib. 5. c. 9.

Now, what was the Logick of the ancient Gaules? I finde in *Cesar* one only question, concerning the meanes & manner which ought to be followed in the instruction of youth. All the noble and liberal Arts, were to be learned in written bookes; the maisters of those Arts, interpreting the to their scholars, & the scholars practising to vnderstand them. Many times some great difficulty would arise, about the entertaining of mens authority, whose Bookes were propounded to youth: because those men, although they were more excellent then other men, yet notwithstanding being no more but men, they

The Logicke of the ancient Gaules. *In libro Caesaris in Com. lib. 4.*

Difficulties arising about men of authority, and their written works.

Arts taught  
by voice or  
tongue, with-  
out writing.

Instructions  
given vnto  
youth by  
word of mouth  
only.  
*Int. Caesar in  
Com. lib. 6.*

Two especial  
reasons alled-  
ged by Cæsar  
concerning  
instruction.

Reasons of  
the Druides.

Pythagoras &  
Socrates leste  
nothing writ-  
ten.

would sometimes dreame, and quite forget themselves. Whereby ensued, that their writings passing as vniuersall, they proued many times vnease to be explained. Contrarywise, without any writing, burby the voice onely, an infinite number of Arts and Sciences (belonging to Mechanical men (as Laborers, Malons, Marriners, and such like) were foone apprehended: and there arose no repugnance or doubt of their words, neyther any difficulty of their intention when as they were vnderstoode. There was no other maxime of these Arts, but what vfe and profit had approoued. Then those Doctors and professors were not wont to write of any discipline: but at that they deliuered to youth, they taught onely by word of mouth. Yet notwithstanding, being guided by other reasons, they made Confidence (as *Iulius Caesar* sayeth in the first Booke) to set downe their disciplines in writing.

Well then, if we vrg a question (in this case) to *Caesar*, thus will he shape vs an answer. *It appeareth to me, that for two reasons, they established this decree amongst them. First, because they would not haue their disciplines imparted vnto popularitie. Next, least such as learned them, trusting to writing onely, would make the lesse account of retaining them in their memory.* For many times it happened, that the more part, by vsing continuall recourse to books, became slothfull in Learning truly, or kept retention of any thing shewn vnto them. And these two reasons were likewise alledged by the *Druides*, for not committing their Disciplines to writing; & these causes haue bene approoued by the very cheefest Philosophers of Greece. For, in ancient time, this was the aduice of *Pythagoras*; and (after him) of *Socrates*, both which left not one Letter in writing. The opinion of *Socrates*, to this purpose, is amply declared by *Plato* to *Phædrus*, in this Conference which *Socrates* had with *Phædrus*.

## CHAP. XII.

*A Dialogue or Communication between Socrates and Phædrus, concerning what great difference there is between the excellent Art of Memory, and matters registered downe by writing.*



**S**ocrates. It remaineth now to speake of the fittesse or vnfitnesse of writing. VVhere the doing thereof be well or ill, is not that the question?

*Phædrus.* Yes, that is our argument. *Socrates.* Knowest thou, that in dooing or ordaining it, as concerning present speech, thou mayest thereby be acceptable to the Gods?

*Phædrus.* Not I, but thou doest. *Socrates.* I haue heard of our Elders, that they knew the truth, and if wee our selues could finde it, ought we not henceforward, to bee verie carefull of mens opinions?

*Phædrus.* This is to laugh at thine owne demands: but telvs that, which thou sayest thou hast heard.

*Socrates.* I haue heeretofore heard, that neere vnto *Nauacratia* which is in Egypt, there was sometimes one of the ancient Gods, who was named *Theuthates*, and to him, the Bird rearned *Bis* or *Ibis*, was sacred. Moreover, that hee was the first inuenter of numbers, and of Iear, as also of Dice and Letters, and of Astronomy and Geometry. At that time, *Thamus* was king of all Egypt, making his abiding in a great City of the higher Countrey, which the Greeks called the Egyptian *Thebes*, and that *Ammon* or *Hammon* was then their God. *Theuthates* beeing come to this King, he shewed and declared to him, that hee must instruct the Egyptians in disciplines. VVhereon the King demanded of him, concerning the profite that would ensue thereby to any one; and according as *Theuthates* should seeme to speake ill or vwell, so would hee blame, or elsse giue commendation. It is sayde, that betwene *Thamus* and *Theuthates*

Of the fittesse  
or vnfitnesse  
of writing.

Whether writing  
or speaking  
be more  
acceptable to  
the Gods.

\*A City well  
knowne in Egypt.

The inuention  
of numbers,  
letters, Geometry,  
Astronomy, Dice,  
and Letters.

Disciplines  
taught to the  
Egyptians

Concerning  
the instruction  
of letters,  
& what harme  
or benefit  
maye ensue  
by them.

Letters enemie  
to the memory,  
& the reason why.

Difference between  
knowledge and  
opinion thereof.

\*A City in  
Chaldis, where  
which was a  
wood dedicated  
to Iupiter.

that many things were debated, which would require too long time to discourse, but when they came to dispute about Letters. *Sir (said Theuthates) this discipline will make the Egyptians very wise, and prompt of memory: for this is the only Medicine found out for memory and knowledge.* Whereunto the other replied; O most ingenious and subtle *Theuthates*, the one is most apt to performe the workes of Art, and the other knowes best how to iudge, what harme or benefite their vse may bring. But thou, the Father of letters, being carried by thine own affection, maintainest the contrary of their effect. For letters causeth forgetfulness in the mindes of such as learne them, because they make no reckoning of studying by memory; for they trusting to the marks of exterior writing, doe forsake inward recordation, which is the very soule of memory. Thou hast not then found out a medicine for memory, but for forgetfulness, and thou canst not teach thy Schollers the truth of knowledge and vnderstanding, but of Opinion. For, they hauing comprehended great store of things, and without a Master, they will perfwade themselves to know enough; and yet notwithstanding (commonly) they are exceeding ignorant in the greater part, prouoing to bee offensive and troublesome in mens company and frequentation, as beeing more full of opinion of knowledge, then of true knowledge indeede.

*Phædrus.* Thou canst easily (*O Socrates*) imagine the humor of the Egyptians, or of any such nation, as seemeth good to thy selfe.

*Socrates.* My friend, it is held by some; that in ancient times, Oakes did speake those prophesies which were in the Temple of *Iupiter* \* *Doloneus*. For, through the rudenesse and ignorance of old men in those times, who had not then attained to the knowledge which now your younger dayes haue done: it was sufficient for them, to heare an Oake, or a Stone speake, so long as they spake truth. It may bee thou conceivest, that some peculiar Idols (should bee placed in iudgement, how, or of what country he was, that hath spoken any thing of this nature, without consideration, whether it were so, or no.

*Phædrus.* Truly, thou hast very iustly

reproued me: but for the order of disciplines, I am of the same minde as *Theuthates* was.

*Socrates.* Then whosoever thinketh, that Arte can so well sette downe it selfe, or comprehend by writing, as if there could bee something certaine, or assured by writing; that man should ill learne, and bee ignorant in the Oracle of *Ammon*, making more esteeme of reasons sette downe in writing, then of knowing and retaying that which is written.

*Phædrus.* Thou sayest very well. *Socrates.* O *Phædrus*, writing hath a great matter in it, and (in very truth) carrieth some resemblance with painted creatures, for such works seeme as if they had life: but if thou demand any question of them, they hold their peace with great modesty. Thou imaginest also, that a discourse set downe in writing, should speake of it selfe. But, if hauing a desire to learne, thou come and demand something of it, 'concerning' that which it should say; it continueth silent, yet signifying one and the same thing. For, after that a discourse is set downe in writing, it carrieth it selfe alike equally to all men: both for the learned which vnderstand it, and for such as vnderstand it not; and no one can say, to whom it is most conuenient; and to whom not. And if it happen to be injuriously dealt withall, it will alwayes stand in need of his fathers help: because it is not able to reuenge any wrongs receiued, nor yet to right it selfe.

*Phædrus.* Hitherto thou hast spoken most truly.

*Socrates.* Doe wee not then perceiue, how another discourse maketh it selfe, which is *Biocher* to this we make of; and much more it excelleth both in power & dignity?

*Phædrus.* What is thy meaning? And what is that which (thou sayest) maketh it selfe?

*Socrates.* It is that, which (with knowledge) writeth it selfe in the spirit of him that apprehendeth: for it can acte reuenge vpon it selfe, knoweth it selfe; and when and how to speake, or to bee silent.

*Phædrus.* Thou speakest the largely and foule-like discourse of him that knowes &

The memory  
hath exceeded  
all matter  
set downe in  
writing.

Writing compared  
to painted  
figures, or  
portraiture,  
that cause speak  
nothing.

Writing is in  
it selfe equally  
and alike to  
all men.

Speaking re-  
pented be-  
tween writing

The excellency  
of speaking  
above writing

Writing the  
image of spea-  
king.

A pleasant  
witty quetti-  
on, and to ve-  
ry good pur-  
pose.

The feedes of  
wisdom haue  
their due fca-  
sons.

Matters set  
downe in writ-  
ing, cannot  
afterward be  
helpen with  
words.

Memories are  
said to be the  
rich treasures  
of mans life,  
and the best  
to be learned.

vnderstandeth; and (by good right) that which is written, may tearme it selfe (in some respect) to be his image.

*Socrates.* Tell mee then, in good sadnesse, if a wife husbandman take delight to behold his feedes, whereof he is carefull, and desireth to gather fruite; will he sowe them at Spring time, in the Gardens of *Adonis*, where hee shall see them budde forth at eight dayes following; or, when hee goeth about such businesse; shall he scatter them iestingly, as after the manner of a holy day sport? When hee hath taken paines to sowe his feedes, according as hee ought to do, and answerable to the Art of Husbandry: he supposeth it sufficient for him, if in the space of eight moneths after the seed time is past, they doe thrine, and come to their maturity.

*Phadrus.* The wife Husbandman, (*O Socrates*) will doe as thou hast sayde; but the idle and negligent foole hath no such care.

*Socrates.* Shall we then say, that a man who hath knowledge and experience in that which is iust, honest, and good, will be lesse careful of his feedes seasons, than an Husbandman?

*Phadrus.* No.

*Socrates.* He will not then write down the feedes of his penne with Inke, sowing them there amongst his Discourses; as if he did a matter of great importance: because hee cannot then helpe them with his words, neither can hee demonstrate the truth so exquisitely as it should bee.

*Phadrus.* Nor can they make any proof of themselves.

*Socrates.* No truly: but he shall sowe and writte (as it is in reason) in meere sportfull manner, and vhole Gardens of Letters. But, when he maketh memories, as certaine Treasures, to the end that they may not fall into Obluion, as well for himselfe, as also for the first that will followe the same example: hee taketh delight in beholding their tender byrthes; and, while others doe addicte themselves vnto other Recreations, as to Feasts, sports, and the like pleasures; learning all these heedfull matters behinde them; hee shall passe on all his leysures, taking great delight in his owne discoursing.

*Phadrus.* *O Socrates*, thou speakest of a most true pastime indeede, in steade of that which is of small value, and worth nothing: when a man delighteth in serious Discourse, he shall ruminare on Iustice, and all those other especiall matters by thee remembered.

This was the opinion of *Socrates*, which vvas much more sweete and humane, then that of our *Druides*. *Socrates* was alwayes preferred knowledge, consisting in memorie and liuing wordes, before that of the dead Letter: neuertheless, hee allowed writting to bee but as a help to forgetfulness. I could wish that this Opinion had bene as pleasing vnto the *Druides*; for then, wee should haue had no neede of straungers gootes, as to borrow any thing of the Greekes, but continued satisfied with our owne countreys abundance. Neyther by meanes of the Latines and Greeke, should we haue learned disciplines by paine and studye, after the nature of other straunge Languages: but with great pleasure and contentment of minde, wee should haue sucked them as milke from our nurses breasts. All the youth of a man, albeit study were sharpe there-to, should not so hardly haue spent it selfe in learning Greeke and Latine Letters; yet seeming but as an entrance into the common roade way of liberal studies, where we rather should haue runne out our full course to the end. A long and laborious time of studye vvas required in apprehending the Greeke and Latine tongues; to vnderstand *Homer*, *Demosthenes*, *Virgil*, *Cicero* and others: whereas contrary-wise, without traualle, and with exceeding delight, we might haue sung the Hymnes & Poems of our Bardes, hauing (naturally) the true vnderstanding both of their words and sense.

The loue which they bare vnto their countrey, and to vertue it selfe, was overabounding in severity. For, our *Druides* sought all meanes, wherby to make Gaule surpass all other Nations, not only in actions of Armes; but in the honor of Disciples, and in couering to banish idleness from the Gaules mindes; they disinherited their posterity, of their most rich and vnuaueable patrimony of ancient disciplines. In the doing whereof, they buried in perpetuall obliuion, the Gaules rare Arts and Doctrines, which they had

*Phadrus.* *O Socrates*, thou speakest of a most true pastime indeede, in steade of that which is of small value, and worth nothing: when a man delighteth in serious Discourse, he shall ruminare on Iustice, and all those other especiall matters by thee remembered.

Serious Dis-  
course the nu-  
turer of ius-  
tice.

Memory and  
speech prefer-  
red before the  
dead Letter.

The Gaules  
had sufficient  
studies of  
their owne,  
without need  
of borrowing  
elsewhere.

Study of  
straunge Lan-  
guage, is to  
come to the  
Gaules

The *Druides*  
too seuerely in  
affection to  
their countrey  
and vertue.

The Gaules  
had rare artes  
& disciplines.

a hope, should haue liued and flourished for euer, only by the meanes of hindring writing. But in vaine doe we now make our complaints: neuertheless, sorrow remaineth still with vs, to with (how vainly soeuer) that it had bene so. And vndoubtedly (in this case) they might iustly accuse the vilenesse of the Romane ambition, which vtterly ruined the Schooles of the *Druides*. Wee may therefore say with the Poet.

We ought to mourne, & all these mortall things  
May touch their hearts.

## CHAP. XIII.

A further addition to the Artes and Sciences, taught among the Gaules, by their *Druides*, Bardes, and learned men, according to the iustification of diuers good Authors: and what religious Ceremonious orders they obserue.

**B**UT let vs come to the Mathematical Artes, whereof *Cesar* speaketh, when he saith. They made very many disputes of the starres, and of their motion; of the greatnesse of the world, and of the earth, and concerning the nature of things. Questionlesse, these were their ancient disciplines, left from the father to the sonne by *Dis*, *Sarron*, and *Druides*: which they themselves preferred carefully, hauing received them (from hand to hand) of their graue Ancestors. For *Iosephus*, in the first booke of the Iewes Antiquities, testifieth, concerning the ancient Fathers before the flood, that they had obserued those Mathematicall considerations. And because they would hinder the losse of so noble inuentions, or perishing by the inundations of the waters: they engraue them vpon two Collobmes or Pillars, the one whereof was of moulded earth, and the other of stone. And this was thus done, that if that of earth should chance to be defaced by the flood: yet the other of stone might remaine intire, and yeeld men means to apprehend what was engraueu thereon. The same Author witnesseth, that the same Pillar of stone

was to bee seene in Syria, in the time of *Esopus*. *Esopus* likewise reporteth, how the *Egyptians* learned them of *Abraham*; and that the Greekes afterward, did set downe those Artes in writing, & then published them. But our *Druides* (as I haue formerly saide) gaue them to posterity, according as they had received them from the hands of their fathers; disputing many matters, touching the Starres, and their continuall motions.

*Mela* also writteth, that the *Druides* made profession, concerning the motion of Heauen, and of the Starres. Astrology was such a thing, as it could not any way be taught or learned, except (before hand) a man had studied Arithmetick & Geometry. For the calculation of the motions, they stood in neede of the accounts of Arithmetick; and the distances and intervals of the Starres, must needs passe themselves by the figures of Geometry. Therefore the *Druides*, making profession of enstructing Astrology; taught (first of all) Arithmetick and Geometry, which are Arts that make Astrology to be vnderstood.

*Berosus* sheweth, that there was some musike in the Hymnes and Poems of the Bardes. Among the Celts (saith he) a *Bard* was much renowned, for the inuention of Songs and Musique. The *Druides* disputed many things, concerning the greatnes of the world and the earth: This was the greatnesse and forme of the world and earth, which *Mela* sayeth, the *Druides* taught: This was thei Cosmography & Geography, and the *Druides* disputed diuers things of that nature. As, what was the length of the world, from the Sunnes setting in the West, to his rising in the East: what was his largenesse, from the Equator or Equinoctiall circle, to both the one and other Pole: how great were the distances of the five Zones, from the Pole, so farre as the smallest circle thereof, euen to the Tropicke, and then from the Tropicke, so farre as the Equator, which is in the midst: what were the Zones of the earth, which are assigned and subiect to the Celestiall Zones: which of the were inhabited, and desert; by reason of cold or heate, and which were temperate: And how Europe, Asia, and Affrica were diuided, and separate one from another.

Their questions of Physick, were concerning

saith in Hist.  
Ecclij. lib. 3. c. 5

Pomponius Me-  
la lib. 1. cap. 1.

Concerning  
the learning  
of Astrology,  
and how it  
was enstruc-  
ted by the  
*Druides*.

*Berosus* in lib. 1.  
cap. 3.

Musick  
harder among  
the Celts.

Pomponius Me-  
la lib. 1. cap. 1.

The diuers  
disputations  
vied among  
the *Druides*  
of the world,  
earth, & hea-  
uens.

The questions  
of Physicks,  
among the  
Gaules.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Marcellin. 5.

Two famous  
Philosophers  
among the  
Gaules, made  
immortal by  
Cicero him-  
self.

Cicero in Lib.  
4. de offic.

\* A searching  
out of natural  
things, for a  
reasoning of  
the nature of  
any thing.

\* A king of  
Gallia, who  
Cicero defend-  
ed, being ac-  
cused to have  
configned  
Caesar's death

Cicero in Lib.  
3. de opta.

cerning Principles, that is to say, the mat-  
ter and forme of things: as Fire, Ayre,  
Water, Earth. Whence all things were  
engendered; how they perished, augmented,  
decreased, altered and moulded. The  
professours (among the Gaules) of these  
to severall doctrines; are called by Strabo,  
Poets, or Prophets, who,ouer and beside  
other things, concerning Physicke, princi-  
pally taught this Oracle, proper to the  
Country: That the world must sometime  
perish by fire, and by water. The same Do-  
ctours are called (by Marcellinus) Euba-  
ges. The Eubages (saith hee) seeking into  
the very inmost & deepest parts of the earth;  
laboured to discover the secrets of the. These  
noble disciplines then, were wont to be  
taught of the Gaules, and in the Gaules  
language only.

Heere we may not omit, to remem-  
ber two most excellent Philosophers a-  
mong them: that were commended, yea,  
and consecrated to immortality, by the  
words of Cicero. The one was *Demetrius*,  
(of who wee have spoken already) Prince  
of the *Hedians*: the other was *Deiotarus*,  
King of the Gaules in *Asia*. Speake then  
noble *Cicero*, and remember vs of our fa-  
mous *Druides*. In *Gaul* there were of the  
*Druides*, among whom, my selfe know *Demetrius*  
the *Hedians* as the man that received  
me into his house, and made account of mee.  
This man made his vaunt, that hee knew the  
reason of Nature, which the *Greekes* named  
\* *Physiologia*; and could speake of things to  
come partly by *Augurie*, and partly by *con-  
jectures*. This *Demetrius* (as it is very like-  
ly) was the Hoste to *Cicero*, by reason of  
the *Druid* knowledge which was in him.  
But what doth he say of \* *Deiotarus*? How  
is it that this Oracle commendeth him?  
But where (saith hee) shall I make mention  
of King *Deiotarus*, that most famous & right  
worthy personage our Hoste, that neuer did  
any thing, but with preface? For, when hee  
was returned from a voyage, which hee had  
formerly purposed and resolved to make: the  
Chamber wherein hee should have lodged (if  
he had continued his journey) fell downe the  
night ensuing. And therefore, as I have often-  
times heard from himselfe, hee made many  
pauses and returnes from that one voyage;  
albeit he proceeded in many other beside. *Ci-  
cero* speaking further of the same man, saith  
eth. Hee performed one very notable acti-  
on, when he came backe from the kingdome of

the *Tetrarches*, whereof he was dispossessed by  
*Caesar*, and condemned to pay a great summe  
of money. He saide, hee did not repent him-  
selfe for not crediting such *Auguries*, as hap-  
pened to him when he went towards *Pompey*,  
having maintained with his forces, the  
authority of the Senate, and liberty of the Ro-  
mane people, with the dignity of the Empire.  
And that the Birds (to whose *Augurie* hee  
gaue faith) had well cancelled and abused  
him: yet notwithstanding, hee made much  
more precious and deere estimate of his ho-  
nour, then hee did of all his goods and posses-  
sions. These are the words of learned *Ci-  
cero*, to whom both *Gaul* and *Galatia* are  
for ever beholding: because, by so wor-  
thy a testimony, he preferred the memory  
of 2. such famous Philosophers of theirs.

But what shall I most preferre in this  
place, if not our sighes and teares, as true  
witnesses of our misery? Heerebefore,  
*Gaul* commanded ouer the *Italians* and  
*Grecians*, and, iusted of the goods of For-  
tune, which are but of small worth, and  
giue to men as stipendiary wages; the *Gaul*  
then the goods of the minde in recom-  
pence, which were (indeede) much more  
precious. *Greece* and *Italy* vaunted very  
proudly, because they had *Mathematici-  
ans* and *Philosophers*: but that glory was  
(formerly) ours; those praises distilled  
from our Fountaines: which did meere-  
ly dry up themselves, because they would  
not rampier and defend their owne pow-  
er, by writing. For *Gaul* might haue had  
*Gaulish* *Euclides*, *Ptolemies*, *Platoes*, *Aristo-  
tles*, and others beside, farre more excel-  
lent men then all they were. But let vs  
ceasse our boorlesse complaints, & come  
now to the Theology or Diuinity of the  
*Gaules*.

The *Druides* (about all things else)  
would haue men to beleue, that their  
soules could not die: but that (after death)  
they departed out of one body, & entred  
into another. The reason of this their opi-  
nion wasthat it was the only encourage-  
ment to vertue, because feare of death  
was thereby held in high contempt. I set  
downe this their peritiuation of immor-  
tality, as the principall foundation of the  
*Gaules* Religion and Theologie, which  
the *Greekes* and *Latines* did enuiously  
celebrate. The *Gaules* (sayeth *Diodorus*)  
after their repastes and feeding, had a cus-  
tome, to dresse one another into the Com-  
bure,

An augury gi-  
uen by Birds  
to Deiotarus.

Gaul & Ga-  
latia indebted  
to Cicero.

Gaul com-  
manded ouer  
the *Greeks* &  
*Italians*.

The pride of  
*Greece* and  
*Italy*, yet pro-  
ceeding from  
the *Gaules*.

The Diuinity  
vied among  
the *Gaul* &  
*Druides*, that  
mens soules  
could not die.

Diodorus Lib.  
3. cap. 3.

Written Let-  
ters cast into  
fires that burne  
dead bod-  
ies.  
Strabo in Lib. 4.  
cap. 7.

Pomponius Me-  
la in Lib. 1. cap. 1.

Death freely  
and voluntar-  
ily embraced  
by the *Drui-  
des*.

The words of  
*Quintus* of  
the soules immor-  
tality.

The error of  
the *Greekes*  
and *Latines*,  
concerning  
the *Gaules*,  
which were of  
more unquie-  
ty then *Pytha-  
gora*.

Other points  
of the *Gauls*  
religion.

bate, without making any reckoning of their  
lives, for the opinion of *Pythagoras* preui-  
led with them: That the soules of men were  
immortal, and that after the death of the bo-  
dy, within a certaine while, they came againe  
into other bodies. And for this cause, some  
would cast written Letters into heapes of  
wood, prepared as bon-fires to burne mens  
bodies in, as if the dead were there to reade  
them. Strabo affirmeth as much. They  
were perswaded (saith he) that mens soules  
were not subiect to corruption or mortality.

Pomponius Mela writeth thus. There  
was one thing which the *Druides* helde and  
maintained, to enuie men (thereby) with the  
better will to warre: That mens soules were  
eternall, and that the dead liued another life.  
Whereupon, when they buried dead bodies, or  
buried them, the whole account of their for-  
mer liues negotiations was interred with the,  
especially if any thing had bene borrowed, it  
was to be redemanded of them. Some were  
found, that voluntarily, and with their owne  
good will, would throw themselves into fla-  
ming fires, and burned such things as needfull  
and deereft appertained to them, even as if  
they were to liue with them. Mela repor-  
teth thus of them, wherein we may note  
the same reason of this perswasion, which

*Caesar* also held, to wit: that by the con-  
tempt of death, the *Gaules* might make  
themselves the more courageous, and valian-  
tly disposed to warre: and it is very  
likely, that the contempt of death, where-  
of we haue formerly spoken, proceeded  
from hence.

*Valerius Maximus*, in his second booke,  
maketh this relation. I bethinke me (saith  
he) of the ancient manner of the *Gauls*, who  
are saide to haue a custome, to lend out mo-  
nies, to be repaid to them againe when they were  
in the lower regions. For they held it as a  
matter most infallible, that the soules of men  
were immortal: and I should haue reputed  
these men foolish, but that the *Brachides* like-  
wise held the same opinion, which *Pytha-  
goras* \* *Pallium* aid. Such a number of Au-  
thors then, doe consent with *Caesar*, con-  
cerning the opinion which the *Gaules*  
had, of immortality. And heere I may  
not negligently let passe, that these Au-  
thors (about all things else) do refuse to  
confesse, that the *Gaules* were the first fa-  
thers of Philosophy. *Pythagoras* main-  
tained, that the soules of men were immor-  
tall, and *Plato* (following him) saith the  
same. It is also the opinion of the Phi-  
losopher, which *Quintus* remembreth.

Valerius Maximus  
lib. 2.

\* *Pallium*, for  
the Latine  
word *Pallia-  
tus*, which is  
as much to  
say, as clothed  
with a Robe,  
which they  
called *Palliu-  
m*, & which  
the Philoso-  
phers vied to  
weare.

Mens soules are exempt from death,  
And leauing their first lodgings;  
Liue alwaies in new dwelling,  
Where they haue fresh entertainment.

This (I say) was the iudgement of *Pythagoras*, from whence ensued, that the *Gauls*  
(by report of the *Greekes* and *Latines*) were made *Pythagorians*, and so meere-  
ly borrowed this opinion of immortality. But to shew of what great ambition this error is,  
the silliest iudgement may easilie apprehend: in that, for a long time before *Pytha-  
goras* was borne, this opinion of the *Druides* liued among the *Gaules*. Wherefore, I  
may very well assure that which hath formerly bene proposed: that *Greece* was not  
Schoole-mistresse to *Gaul*, but rather her scholler. Neurtherlesse the *Gaules* did not  
allow of that \* *Metempsychosis*, that is to say, the changing of soules, which *Pytha-  
goras* maintained, as passing out of humane bodies, into other of brute beafts: For they  
did not beleue, that of men they became beafts, but that they were made men again,  
in other bodies. The Poet *Lucanus* affirmeth the same.

According as you say,  
Those shadowes goe not into the silent dwelling  
Of deepest Erebus, or the pale Country  
Of King *Pluto* beneath. The selfe same spirit enters  
Into another body: And of long life  
Led in another world, you sing most truly.

Lucanus lib. 3.

Proceede we now to other points of the *Gaules* religion. They disputed very much,  
concerning the power and might of the immortal Gods, and made profession (as  
Mela

Transmigra-  
tion or passage  
of the soule  
from one bo-  
dy to another

Pomponius Me-  
tain Lib. 4. cap. 3

Mela (saith) to know what the Gods would haue them to do. They adored the Gods, Mercury, Apollo, Minerva, Iupiter and Mars, holding almost the very same opinion, which other nations did, to wit: That Mercury was the inuenter of Artes, and a guide to men on their wayes and voyages: That he could helpe much in the gayning of mo-  
nie, and in the affaires of Merchandize, being such as the Poet feigneth him.

Mercury re-  
puted to bee  
the God of  
Messages, and  
the inuenter  
of Artes, as  
also a guide  
to traouellers  
in their iour-  
nies.

*He spake the word, and the God Messenger,  
Immediately was ready to be gone.  
He fastned to his fecte his light winged plumes,  
Which at his heeles do beare him through the winde,  
Mounting and falling with their nimble flight:  
One while on Land, and then upon the waves.  
He tooke his Rod, and with that powerfull Rod,  
He summoned up aloft pale meager Gnoſſes,  
From the sad shades, or else doth send them thither.  
And there withall he doth controule our sports.  
Waking or sleeping, he commandeth all:  
And some into eternall sleepe to fall.*

Marcellinus Lib.  
5. cap. 7.

For this Rod of his, was taken to be the power of Artes, the guide to traouellers on the way, and the rich gaine of Merchants. Iulius Caesar made his prayers to Mercurie, (and as Marcellinus saith) he was reputed to bee the most sudden sense in this worlde, that moueth our thoughts, according to the doctrine of those Diuines. This was the power which the Druides gaue to Mercurie. As for that of Apollo, he was said to cure & helpe diseases and sicknesse; as the God testifieth of himselfe in Ouid.

Apollo taken  
to be the God  
of Physicke.

*Physicke is mine, and through the Vniuersse  
Men call to me for succour in distresse.  
The vertue of all beaſts to me is subiect.*

Minerva the  
Goddess of  
all ingenious  
deuises.

The might of Minerva, they held to be thus: That shee gaue the determination of all workes and cunning deuises. Whereupon the Poets feigned, that she was bred and borne in the braine of her father Iupiter. They were perswaded also, that Iupiter had command ouer all the other Gods, and that Mars gouerned in warres: to whom oftentimes they made vowes (when they had determined to giue the enemy battaile) of all such things as they should take in fight. And if they won the day, they would sacrifice all such Beasts as were taken, and bring away all the rest as booty. Diadorus relating almost the very same, saith farther; that they sacrificed their prisoners and captiues to the Gods. But you will say, that this example was too cruell. I confesse as much, but must answer ye withall: that it was borrowed from the ancient Romanes, who wold put to death in their prisons, the very brauest & most valiant Captaines of their enemies. And many times for a publike spectacle, and before the common people, they were giuen as a prey to wilde Beasts, to be de-

The power of  
Iupiter and  
Mars in their  
seuerall con-  
ditions.

Diad. in lib. 5

Cruelty ex-  
emplified by  
the ancient  
Romanes.

uoured by them in cruell manner. Some of the Gauls did burne in their sacrifices, such Beasts as were taken for booty, and (with them) did put the enemy to death, or else torment him with other paines. The Celts had an admirable and particular obseruation in their Temples, to cast or spread abroad a great deale of their gold and siluer. Now albeit this was a nation very greedy and couetous: yet notwithstanding, there was neuer found any man, or the rudeſt inhabitants of the country, that durst so much as touch one peece thereof, such was their respect and reuerence to Religion. Neuerthelesse, such offerings may (perhaps) seeme more proper and conuenient for Mars: beeing called (in ancient times) by the Greeke Poets, *The plague of men, or the Murderer*. And yet such ceremonies also were common, and vsed in the sacrifices of other Gods. The whole nation of the Gaules, (as Caesar affirmeth) were greatly addicted to Religion, and by this occasion, such as were vexed with any greuous diseases, or they that were in warre, or in any other

An especiall  
obseruation  
of the Celts  
in their Tem-  
ples.

Names giuen  
to Mars by  
the ancient  
Greeke Poets

Iul. Caesar com-  
ment. lib. 5.

Religious Sa-  
crifices vsu-  
ally to be  
likely.

other perill of life: did sacrifice men as their oblations & offerings, or else made vowes of such sacrifices. For they held a seuerer opinion, that if for the life of one man, the life of another was not iustly rendered: it was impossible to appeale the anger, or satisfie the will of the immortall Gods. And such manner of sacrifices were publicly instituted, as truly declaring admirable Religion, and meruailous perswasion of the Gods might and power; whereof the Greeke Authors made not a iote lesse account and estimation.

### CHAP. XIII.

*of the Diuination vsed by the Sarronides, who were a kinde of Philosophers among the ancient Gaules, their manner of oblations and sacrifices: As also of their spells, charmes, and incantations.*

Diad. in lib. 5

Philosophers  
and Diuines  
called Sarro-  
nides.

A strange ob-  
seruation of  
the Sarro-  
nides.

The manner  
of their sacri-  
fices in the  
presence of  
Philosophers.

**D**iadorus further sayeth, that some other Philosophers & Diuines, were held in great honour & reuerence among them, whom they termed Sarronides, that vsed diuination: and because they fore-told things that were to come, as well by auguries, as sacrifices; they were highly esteemed of them, but especially of the common people, who performed great reuerence to them. And when they held any counsell, concerning matters of import and consequence: they obserued a very admirable custome, and almost incredible. For they would cut the throte of a man, and when he fell downe; eyther by the manner of his fall, or separation of his members, or fluctation of his blood (by a long and ancient obseruation) they attained to the knowledge of future things. Their custome also was, neuer to make any sacrifice, without the presence of some Philosophers: as holding opinion, that sacrifices ought to be performed by such men, as participated in the diuine nature, and came neereſt to the Gods. For by the prayers of such men, they were perswaded, that good fortune and successe should be desired of the Gods, and their counsell also to be especially vsed, both in the times of peace

and warre. Heere to may be referred, that which Caesar saith, in the fifth Booke of his warres in Gaule. *Whoſoever came lateſt to the aſſembly made in Armes; beeing firſt afflicted with diuers torments, was afterwards put to death before the whole multitude.* Moreover, Strabo saith, that they would fasten a man vnto a Crosse in their Temple, and then shoote him to death with Arrows.

The same Author, agreeing with Pofsidonius and Artemidorus, saith, there were certaine Bacchanides, which dwelt in an Island, neighbouring to the Riuer of Loyre, and of certaine Auguries done by them, according as two white Crows moued their right wings, which neuertheless is reputed to be fabulous. Therefore that which Artemidorus saith, I hold more agreeable to reason, that in an Island neere to Brittain, such and the like sacrifices were performed, as the Samothracians obserued, in the honour of Ceres and Proserpina. Caesar pursuing the selfe-same occasion, saith; that there were others, who had Idols of immeasurable height, the members of whose bodies were framed of Twigs and Officers, which being filled with liuing men, & set on fire; there they dyed most miserably. Beside, they imagined, that the punishments of such as were apprehended for robberies and thefts, or any such like offences, were most pleasing to the immortall Gods; & these they made most vse of in those Idols. Neuerthelesse, for want of such offenders, they made no difficulty, in putting honest and innocent persons to the same affliction, whenſoever neede and occasion required.

Strabo writeth the same of their Statues, saying, *They builded a Colophs of wood, many parts whereof, were entricled with Straws: and therein they burned all kinds of beaſts, and men also among them.* But Diadorus saith, that in making their sacrifices to their Gods, they vsed an impiety answerable to their beſtiall nature. For, after they had kept (for the space of ſixe whole yeares) such as were arraigned and conuicted of notorious crimes: they would spit them on stakes, from the fundament to the mouth; and lo sacrifice them vnto their Gods. Then plucking them vpon high piles of wood, and putting fire to them; this was the manner of their im-  
molation.

Iulius Caesar in  
comment. Lib. 5

Strabo in Lib. 4

Pofsidonius in  
Lib. 2  
Artemidorus in  
lib. 4

\* An Isle by  
that part of  
Thrace, wher  
Hebrus saith  
into the Ae-  
geum Sea.

Strange man-  
ner of Idols,  
with liuing  
men in them

Strabo in lib. 3.  
Of their Sta-  
tues.

Diad. in Lib. 4

A tyranny yet  
vsed among  
the Turkes.



Pomponius Me-  
la in lib. 3. cap. 7.

Of the statues  
of the Gods  
of the Gaules.  
Plin. in lib.  
34. cap. 7.

Of the height  
of diuers Co-  
lloies in un-  
dry places  
of the world.

The Image of  
Mercury, ex-  
ceeding all o-  
ther Statues.

Jul. Cesar in com.  
Lib. 6.

A cruell and  
abominable  
kinde of Re-  
ligion.

\* A Towne in  
Apulia, where  
the Romans  
had a great  
ouerthrow.

Humane fac-  
rifices per-  
formed at  
Rome.

molation. Pomponius Mela speaketh thus  
of the Gaules. They are a proud Nation,  
superstitious and cruell sometimes: for they  
verily beleue, that men are the best and most  
acceptable sacrifices to the Gods.

Neuertheless, wee shall not thinke  
strangely, that the Statues of the Gaules  
Gods were of such excessive height: if  
we but remember only what Pliny saith,  
in 34. Booke, and seventh chapter. We be-  
held (saith hee) huge massie Statues of new  
invention, which they called Colloies, & were  
no lower then Towers, but of equal height.  
In the same place hee speaketh of a num-  
ber, among which he nameth Apollo Car-  
pitolinus, being of thirty cubites in height:  
Jupiter Tarentinus, which was forty cu-  
bites high: The Rhodian Sunne, seventy;  
the thimble whereof, few men were able to  
embrace. Apollo of Tuscanie, which was  
in the Lybrary of the Temple of Augus-  
tus, contained fifty foote in height, from  
the feet vpward. That of Nero, was a  
hundred foote high. But ouer and beside,  
Zenodorus saith, that in his time there was  
one made in the space of ten yeares, sur-  
passing all other Statues in height & big-  
nesse: being the Statue of Mercurie, of  
inestimable value, and made in Ausurgne,  
a Common-weale belonging vnto the  
Gaules, and it contained four hundred  
foote in height. Those Statues then of the  
Gaules Gods, were of wonderfull and ex-  
traordinary greatnesse, according as Cesar  
saith, which they filled full with liuing  
men, and so made offerings and sacrifices  
of them.

But you will obiekt vnto me, that this  
manner of religion was cruell and abho-  
minable: whereto I must answer, that such  
cruelty was common vnto all other Nati-  
ons, or rather proper and peculiar to the  
demons, & familiar spirits of each coun-  
try. Titus Livius writeth, that such sacrifi-  
ces were made at Rome, after the ouer-  
throw at Cannas. He saith more ouer, that  
in the interim while, certaine extraordi-  
nary & vnaccustomed sacrifices were per-  
formed, by consultation had with diuers  
fatall Bookes, wherein a Gaule-man and a  
Gaule woman, a Grecian man and Gre-  
cian woman, in the market appointed for  
Oxen at Rome, were laide along vpon the  
ground alie, in a place round engirt with  
stones, which had neuer before bene sul-  
lied with humane offerings or sacrifices,

and there they were sacrificed after the  
Romane ceremoniall manner. This is the  
affirmation of Titus Livius, and therefore  
I shall neede to make no further mention  
cyther of the Arabians, Thracians, Scythi-  
ans, Egyptians, or Grecians: considering,  
that Dionysius Halycarnassensis sheweth in  
the first Booke of Romane Antiquities,  
that Jupiter and Apollo, (because the tenth  
borne of euery male childe was not sacrifi-  
ced to them) sent great and greuous cala-  
mities throughout all Italy. Diodorus in  
the twentieth Booke of his history, declar-  
eth, that (in his time) there was at Car-  
thage, a Statue of Saturne, and such like  
sacrifices. And it was thought (saith hee)  
that Saturne was offended with the people,  
because that in (former times) they were  
wont to sacrifice to him, the most worthy and  
best borne of their children. Furthermore,  
that by the successe of times, instead of  
their owne children, they bought and en-  
tertained others, secretly nourishing the,  
and afterward sacrificed them vnto their  
Gods. This being closely and diligently  
discovered, & an infinite number of these  
supposed found out, which in that man-  
ner had bene sacrificed, they were easily  
perswaded to beleue, that for this occa-  
sion only, the Gods being displeased,  
sent enemies to take and sacke their Citi-  
ties, because they had not continued  
those honours, which from all antiquity  
had bin done to the Gods. Wherefore, the  
better to appease them againe, they sacrifi-  
ced publicly 200. young men, such as were  
the choyest & best borne among all their  
Nobility, and found out three hundred  
more, which (with their owne good li-  
king, because they perceived themselves  
to be suspected) gaue their liues freely to  
be sacrificed.

They had a Statue of Saturne, made  
of Braile, which was of wonderfull great-  
nesse, the hands whereof were extended  
in round circling manner on the ground,  
and children, being followed with eager  
pursuite, were enforced to enter into the  
roundure, and then fell into a very deepe  
pit, full of fire. If any man be desirous to  
haue more ample and certaine testimony  
heereof: Eusebius, in the fourth Booke &  
seventh Chapter of his Ecclesiasticall hi-  
story, recounteth many examples of this  
Religion, obserued then in diuers Nati-  
ons. Affirming further, that in the time of

Titus Livius in  
Lib. 9. cap. 11.

Dionys. Ha-  
licarn. in An.  
Rom. Lib. 1.

Diodor. in Lib. 20  
A Statue of  
Saturne at  
Carthage.

Children sac-  
rificed to the  
Gods.

An easie per-  
suasion to o-  
uer-cruellous  
people.

Another Sta-  
tue of Saturne  
of admirable  
greatnesse.

Euseb. in Hist.  
Ecclesiast. lib. 4. cap. 7.

Pomponius Me-  
la in lib. 3. cap. 7.

Lucan. lib. 1.

Of the cere-  
monies obser-  
ued among the  
Britaines &  
Germanes.  
Jul. Cesar in com.  
lib. 4.

Corn. Tacitus in  
lib. 1. cap. 1.

\* Sonne to  
Teuton, of  
whom the  
Alcmaignes  
descended.

Mercury their  
cheefest God  
in honour.

Adrian, and when the Evangelicall doc-  
trine began to appeare in some bright  
splendour: those abominable cruelties  
were commonly abolished, albeit they  
remained still among the Celts. Neuer-  
theless, Mela writeth, that they rooke en-  
ding in his time. Moreover he saith, some  
markes of this brutish cruelty, formerly  
abolished, yet notwithstanding, whē they  
brought their offerings to their Altars,  
which were consecrated and dedicated to  
be sacrificed, they would make an essay or  
prooffe of them, and with much delibera-  
tion. These then were the finisht & wick-  
ed sacrifices of the Gaules, whereof Lu-  
can speaketh thus.

You Druides, after you forsake your Arms,  
You sell to savage and barbarous customes  
Of wicked sacrifices. Only to you was giuen  
To know the Gods, and holmesse of Heauen,  
Or not to know them.

This shall suffice, for the manner of sa-  
crifices obserued among the Gaules. What  
shall we now say, concerning the cere-  
monies of the Brittaines and Germanes? Al-  
ready we haue related, what was the man-  
ner of behaviour, as also the disciplines  
of the Brittaines. The Germanes (saith Ca-  
sar) were farre differing from these customs  
and orders: For they had not their Druides  
to command in diuine matters, and to take  
care of their sacrifices. They held opinion  
of such as they beheld, and by whose aide they  
conceined themselves to be succored manifest-  
ly; that they were worthy to be ranked in  
number among the Gods: As the Sunne, Vulcan,  
and the Moone, of others they neuer heard a-  
ny speech. These are the words of Cesar.  
But Tacitus, ouer and beside these, speak-  
ing of the Germanes Gods, nameth Tu-  
iston, or Teuton, a God borne of the earth,  
and of his Sonne \* Mannus, who were  
the original and beginners of their Nati-  
on. Then of the Sonnes of Mannus, by  
whose names, the neereft neighbours to  
the Ocean, called themselves Ingenoues;  
and they that dwelt neerer to the middle  
region, Hermiones: and the other Meno-  
nes. Among other Gods, they worship-  
ped Mercury, in the honour of whom, it  
was permitted them (on certaine dayes)  
to offer humane sacrifices. They also ap-  
peased Hercules and Mars, by the sacrific-  
es of beasts, which likewise was permit-

ted vnto them. A part of certaine num-  
ber of the Suenes, performed their sacrifi-  
ces, to Isis; and yet, the cause and origi-  
nal of such sacrificing, is not certainly  
knowne.

Cesar, in his first Booke, attributerh  
charmes, spells, & incantations to the Ger-  
manes, which were performed by women.  
For when Cesar questioned with a priso-  
ner, wherefore Arminius would not bid  
him battaile: he found it to be a custome  
among the Germanes, that the mothers in  
their leuall families, did declare by spells  
and vaticinations, whether it were profi-  
table to offer battaile, or not, and they  
would say that it was not possible for the  
Germanes to be Conquerors, if they gaue  
the battaile before the new Moone. Tacitus  
speaketh much more of these diuina-  
tions, & among the rest, relateth the pre-  
fages and incantations which they most  
obserued. The very simplest and most vul-  
gar manner of their diuining (saith he) was,  
by taking a branch cut off from a fruit tree,  
which they would cut into diuers peeces, with  
certaine very knowledgable markes made v-  
pon them, and afterward throw or scatter the  
(casually, and without any regard at all) v-  
pon some white garment. If the matter were to  
be consulted publicly, then it was done by  
the Priest of the City. But if it were in pri-  
uate, or particularly, the father of the family,  
hauing made his prayers to the Gods, and ele-  
uating his eyes vnto heauen, taketh the peeces  
of the branch by three and three, and when he  
hath lifted them aloft, he maketh his interpre-  
tation, according as he findeth the marks that  
were formerly engrauen. If he finde the case  
to be prohibited, he maketh no other consulta-  
tion (concerning that matter) that day: but  
if he finde it to be permitted, then he seeketh  
further for the truth thereof, by other kinde  
of predictions, which giueth perfect know-  
ledge in that place both by questioned voices,  
and also by the flight of Birds.

Moreover, it was proper and particular  
to this Nation, to make experience of  
prefages and aduertisements by horses,  
which publicly had bene bred in their  
Woods and Forrests, and were all  
wholly white, without any spotte v-  
pon them, and had neuer bene labo-  
red or employed, or vsed in any seruice  
of man. The Priest, or the King, or  
else the Prince of the Cittie, tast-  
ing them vnto the sacred Chariot,

\* Daughter to  
the Ruler Ina-  
chus.

Julius Cesar in  
comment lib. 1  
Of Spelles,  
Charmes, and  
Incantations  
performed by  
the Germane  
women.

Cornel. Tacitus  
in lib. 1. cap. 1.

The manner  
of their diu-  
ination, by any  
branch cut  
from a fruit  
Tree.

Prefages  
made by hor-  
ses bred in  
Forrests and  
Woods, by  
the manner  
of their neigh-  
ing & noyle.

and going along with the: did very heedfully regard their neighing and noyses. And there was not any other preface, whereto the people (but especially the very principall persons in the City, yea, and the Priests themselves) did give more credite, then to this: as perswading themselves that they were the Ministers of the Gods, and came nearest in counsell to the. They had another obseruation of presaging, whereby they could foretell the issue of their warres, how cruell or dangerous foueuer they were, and how they should succeed. They would take a prisoner of that Nation, with who they intended to make warre, and he should combat with one of the bravest and moit gallant spirits of all their owne people, & with those weapons belonging to the Country. Afterward, the victory of the one or other, turned to the preiudice and disadvantage of the vanquished, and of his Nation.

## CHAP. XV.

What Ceremonies were obserued among the Gaules at the times of their Burials, or Funerals, &c.

**T**HE manner and Ceremonies of their Funerals, are set downe in *Caesar*. Their Funerals (saith he) are (after the Gaulish manner) magnificent and sumptuous, with throwing all those things (whatsoever) into the fire, which they imagined that the dead person (during his life time) most esteemed and affected, especially his Beasts. And some short while before this memory, such servants and domestick attendants, as were to be dearely loved of their Masters (to make the Funerall Ceremony the more intire and complete) were burned together with the other things. *Caesar* having affirmed this, methinks *Paulinus* as deserveth to be laughed at, when he saith in the tenth Booke of the warres of *Brennus*: That the Gaules contemned, and held the buriall of their dead in disdaine, because, that by the opinion of such cruelty, they might affright their enemies, not having any more pity on the dead, then on other living persons. In this point *Caesar* refuteth *Paulinus* and *Titus Livius* also, where he speaketh of the Gaules beliedging Rome, his

words, in the first Booke of his third Decade, are these. They heaped and piled men one upon another, and so burned them indifferently together: because they would not bury them each after other, whereby they enjoyed the place magnificently in imitation, and answerable to the name of the Gaules sepulchers.

As for that which *Caesar* saith, That all that which was pleasing to the dead person, was cast into the fire with him: At Rome, into the fire made for *Julius Caesar* himself, the Trumpeters threw their torme garments; the Legionaries, their Armes; the Matrones their Chaines and Jewels, yea, and the precious purple deckings of their children. *Caesar* doth not declare apparently, whether the servants & domesticks were throwne into the fire, living or dead: but that he meant the living, may easily be coniectured by that which *Mela* saith. They wer such (saith he) as voluntarily wold cast themselves into the fires made for their parents, kindred, and masters, holding opinion, that so they were sure to live with them. We have such another example, in the 5. of *Ciceroes Tusculanes*, where it is said; That the women of India, when their husbands died, had a custome of comate and indgement, to make proofe thereby, which of them was best beloved of her husband, for one man had many wives. She that carried the honour of the comate, being followed and attended by her other companions, was (with great joy) placed in the fire, and there burned with him: the other that had fought, and lost the day, returned home mourning, and disconsolate to her house. This cruell manner of behavior, may well keepe company with the other ceremony, of immolating or sacrificing humane oblations.

*Tacitus* speaketh in this manner, concerning the Funeralls of the Germanes. They bring the bodies of their companions into duntfull battels, and that there may be found no ambition of glory among them, for interring of their dead: they only observe, that the bodies of the most noble, or of greatest apparance, may be burned with certaine wood. They do not heape up the pile of wood, neither their garments, or any adours; but only allow to each man his proper Armes, & in the fire of some they make addition of their horses. One only sad or turffe of earth as building sufficient for the sepulcher, they contemne pompous workmanship and honourable labor

Such things as were burned with the dead person at Rome.

Plin. in li. 10. cap. 1. 4. 4. 4. 4.

Cicero in Tusculan. 5. A custome among the women of India to try who best affected her husband.

The manner of the Germanes, to carry their dead into battels.

Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Licinius Crassus, Consuls of Rome.

Plin. in li. 3. cap. 1. His accusation against the Druides, concerning the Magick-Art.

labor about Monuments, as being offensive to the dead. Complains and teares are soone overpast with them; but griefe & sadness is of longer continuance: for women to weep is honest, onely men are to remember.

But *Pliny* in his thirteenth book & first chapter, speaking of the Sacrifices, & the whol discipline of the ancient Gaules, frets himselfe against the Magick Arts, as fraudulent and deceitfull, seeming to reprove and accuse the discipline of our Druides with the same crime. Let no man misuail (saith he of the Art-Magicke) if great authority be given to such discipline. Because it onely will comprehend and redigge the three Sciences all into one, which have moit command over humane will.

First of all, no one doubteth, but that it receiveth birth & beginning from Physick, and that vnder pretence of yielding helpe by little and little: it hath vsurped the place, as feigning it selfe to be more high and healthfull, then Physicke, and with such enticing and desirous promises, makes addition of some strength and power of Religion, whereby men (yet to this day) do abuse themselves. And yet to satisfy them better, they have intermingled the Mathematicks, because there is not any one, but he is very covetous, and desirous to understand future things concerning himselfe, and of his fortune, as beleeving vndoubtedly, that such knowledge cometh from Heaven. Thus the reason and vnderstanding of men being surprized, and seriously busied in this manner: the discipline is fortified with a triple bond, and growne to such an increasing greatnes; as euen in these dayes (in moit parts of the world) it beares away the reputation from all other, commanding over the Kings and Princes of the East. From whence issued the Magick faction, Persian, Mosaicall, & Christian. Finally, the six hundred, sixty & seventh yeere from the building of Rome, *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Publius Licinius Crassus* being the Consuls, an Edict was made, that no man was to be offered in sacrifice, and assuredly, the celebration of such prodigious sacrifices vanished away. But contrariwise, the Gaules kept them, euen till our memory: For *Tyberius Caesar* wholly abolished the Druides, & such kind of Prophets & Physitions. What menti-

on shall I make of this discipline, which hath out-stept the bounds of the Ocean, entering into Britanny, where (at this day) it is celebrated with all reverence, & such ceremonies, as it seems that they have taught it to the Persians? It hath attained to such consent with the whole universe, (although it can grow to no agreement, or can well know it selfe:) as we do little conceive, how highly we are beholding to the Romans, who vterly abandoned all such monstrous behavior: being formerly favoured (as a charitable work) to kill and sacrifice men, yea, and a very wholesome thing to eat them.

So far extend the words of *Pliny*, whereby over and beside the Arts formerly remembered, he attributeth Physicke also to the Gaulish Druides. But he greatly blameth the frauds therein concealed, & desperately commendeth the Romanes, for excluding such monstrous qualities out of their Empire. But would to God, that they had onely abolished the frauds and deceits in such Arts, and not the true Arts themselves, nor the Schooles and profession of them: For then vndoubtedly, wee should in duty thanke them, and crowne them with honour. But *Pliny* saith, that *Tyberius* wholly overthrew the Druides. Notwithstanding, the same man discovered Magicke, by some example of the Druides, as in the last Chapter of his seventh Booke, speaking of Giew, or a certaine Gumme, hee hath these words.

We may not omit (saith he) in this case, one admirable matter of the Gaules. The Druides (by such name they terme their Magicians) esteeme nothing more precious then Giew and Gum, and that the Tree where it groweth, during the time it hath vigour: they themselves do then make choice in their Woods and Forests, which have such power to nourish those Gummies, that they will not offer any sacrifice, without the leaves of such a Tree. And it may be very likely, that from the Greeke interpretation, upon this occasion, they were called Druides. In briefe, they hold opinion, that that which taketh birth or originall with those Trees, is sent from beaven in signe, that such a Tree is chosen of the Gods. Such a Tree is very rare to finde, but being found; they take it with great ceremony and religion, & as a bone doleth at the time of the Moons Exile, or first Moon, which is the beginning of their

Britaine embraced such savage behaviour equally with the Gaules.

Physicke attributed to the Druides, among the Gaules.

Plin. in li. 17. cap. 21. Concerning the Giew and Gums esteemed among the Druides.

At what time the Druides vied to gather their Gums & Giew.



The ceremonies in the sacrifice of the Druides.

A present remedy against barrenness and poyson.

Plin. in lib. 21. cap. 11. \* A heauy fed much of the Druid. so for all eyes, fores, heage, hylopec

Months and yeares, and of the world after thirty yeares. Because that then she is in her strength, not being in diminution of her moiety, and they terme it by a word in their language, signifying; To be helping in all things. They prepare the sacrifice in a banquet, consider those Trees bringing together two Bulles wholly white, the horns whereof are as yet scarce to be bound. The Priest, clothed in a white Robe, mounteth up the Tree, and cutteth the branches with a Sickle of Gold, and such as fall are receiued in a white cloth. Then they offer their sacrifices, making their prayers, that God will make their gift prosperous and happy, for them to whom they intend the giving. They are of opinion, that such things being giuen in drinke to any sterile or barren body, either of women or beasts, will make them fruitful, in as much that it is a soveraigne remedy against all poysons. Thus sometimes a Religion is made among men in matters merely frivolous, and not of any importance.

Thus you see what Pliny saith, concerning the mysteries of the Gaules Magick, wherein he findes the greekie etymology of the name of the Druides (although that it is a Gaulish name, to wit, of *Druidon*, as already hath bene said) as in all languages you may finde infinite words, which (by some coniunctiue) seeme to be deduced from another tongue: as in like manner the Mathematicians, in their monthes and yeares, and the Chronology of their ages, do declare sufficiently, that the Mathematicall disciplines, albeit after the Greekes descriptions, do not alwaies fall out to be one and the same. But let vs pursue some other examples of Pliny.

In his one and twentieth Booke, and the eleuenth Chapter, hee speaketh thus. There is a certaine herbe, like unto Sabine, called \* *Salago*, which is gathered without any iron weapon, by the right hand, thrust into some left-handed glove or sleeve, in manner of a theefe. And the party must be clothed with a white garment, having his feet naked and cleanly washed: and sacrifice must be performed with Bread and Wine, before any offer of gathering, and modestly brought together in a new Napkin. The Druides of the Gaules have written, that this herbe is very soveraigne against any perill or dreaded danger, also that the smoke thereof is profitable for the diseases in the eyes. They haue also another herbe, which they call *Samela*,

which groweth in moist and watery places, and they use to gather it alwaies with the left hand: it serueth against all diseases in Swine and Kine, and whosoever gathereth it, must not (by any meanes) be seene, neither must he bring it into any other place, then a gutter or brooke, and there breake or bruse it in the water, that the Beasts may swallow it in their drinking.

In the same place is recited another Magick of the Gaulish Druides, whereunto (in the third Chapter of the twentieth Booke, written by the said Author) there is another very like every way. Moreover (saith hee) there are a certaine kinde of Egges, whereof great account is made in Gaul, and where the Greekes haue not made any mention. Summer causeth an infinite number of Serpents to heape themselves together, writhing and embracing in a kinde of artificiall hugging: when either by the noise are arising from their mouthes, or by some cunning of their owne bodies, that which they call the Serpentine Egge is engendered. The Druides say, that (by their hissing or whistling) it is exalted up into the Ayre, and in the meane while it must be receiued downe in some robe or garment, because it may not touch the earth. But he that receiues it, must make great speed away upon a horse, because the Serpents will pursue him swiftly, until they find hinderance by some River or Water. The proofe and experience thereof is, when it floateth against the water, especially when it is enchaufed in gold. But is the cunning of Magicians well continued, for the more ingenious covering of their fraud: so they say, that it must be taken in a certaine Moone, as if it were lawfull in humane iudgement, to accord such an operation of Serpents. Verily, I haue seene this kinde of Egges, of the bignesse of an indifferent round Apple bearing a crust or shell like a gristle, fanned with little mouthes or opening, like to them which are in the armes of the Polybus or Pons-control, and the Druides holde it for a most notable thing. It is highly esteemed, as for gaining victory in fights and combates, and to haue access to Kings & Princes: by such an abuse, and no other reason that I know, a Roman knight of the Pocontians, was put to death by the Emperor Claudius, only in regard of fighting, for he alwaies carried such an Egge in his bosome. Nevertheless, the embracing and colligation of Serpents, and the alliance of the most cruell creatures, seemeth to haue bene

Another heauy it the help of cattel.

Plin. in lib. 20. cap. 3. Concerning the Egges of Serpents.

The Druides opinion of the Serpentine Egge.

The Author saith, hee haue seene such an Egge.

A Roman knight put to death by the Emperor Claudius, in regard of the Serpentine Egge.

been the cause, whereby strange Nations (as an argument of peace) made a Caduceus of Serpents writhed round about, and it hath bene a custome also, that they should be crested on the Caduceus.

Thus hath Pliny noted the Serpentine Egge, to proceede from the Gaules Magick, and that for this cause only, the Knight was slaine by the Emperour, who stood in feare of this Magick. Finally, the Romanes, to abolish utterly the discipline of the Druides, tooke occasion by this Magicall superstition: but though impiety, superstition, magick and vices may be rooted out, yet vertue will continue still found and inure. Would to God that the Romanes had maintained in like place, and in like number, the Gaules as the Greekes. The Empire hath bene snatched from the Greekes, but Learning and Artes was left with them still. Greeke hath bene constrained to make way for the Latine tongue: but yet continually Grammer, Rhetoric and Philosophy hath bene, and yet is taught in greekie. What greekie then was it to the Romanes, to expulke not only the Gaulish Iudges from their seates: but the professors also, yea, the very sciences & disciplines of the Gaules out of their Schooles?

Immortall Gods, the Gaules authentick face, You thought to hold true eminence and place, And so should still, were gifts in equal grace.

Partiality in affection, can neuer be an upright Iudge in censur.

But we conuert our affections too earnestly, to the glory and honour of our owne particular, which honour we may be moane, being too greedily carried away with a mighty spleene against the name of the Gaules. But let vs now proceede to finish the rest.

## CHAP. XVI.

Of the Justice exercised in Ancient Gaule, compared with that of the Romanes, by dividing the chiefe men into two degrees, of Druides and Knights, and two kindes of Magistrates, with the punishment of disobedience to superiour Officers.

Thereto wee haue gone thorough three parts of the proposed labour, to wit; The prudence of discipline; The entire knowledge of truth; and likewise of prouidence. There yet remaineth the fourth part, namely of Iustice, which is Princeesse and Mistress of all other manners. It behooueth vs then, to seeke for the principality of ancient Gaule, and what it was; what power the people had, and what policy was maintained among them: that which we terme the Platonick good and benefit of Temperance, Fortitude, & of Prouidence, whereby each man hath that belonging to him, without vsurping on any thing appertaining to another.

The Common-wealth, at least that of Gaule, whose lockes of hayre beeing long enough in *Cæsars* time; was meerly Timocraticall, and in many parts very like vnto the Roman liberty, as by that which followeth, wee which will examine things particularly, may easily perceiue. Let vs then obserue what *Cæsar* hath said, and especially concerning customes and behaviour. In all Gaule, or Gallia (saith he in his sixth Booke) all men that are of any name, or made any account of, are divided into two sorts; to wit, into Druides, and into Chieftiers: for the common people is of no other reckoning, but as carlets and slutes, not daring (of themselves) to do any thing, neither are they admitted to counsell in any matter. Behold what partition *Julius Cæsar* hath instituted of himselfe, albeit it is not altogether true which he speaketh of the people, as shall at large be deliuered hereafter, in place more conuenient for the purpose.

In this partition of *Cæsar*, There is one (saith he) that Presideth, or is as Primate or chief among the other, that hath chiefe command and authority of the rest. He being dead, if there be any one among the other, that hath the advantage in worthinesse or desert: he is to succeed. If there be many of equal parity and condition, he is to be chosen (by voices of the Druides) from among the rest. Diuines times they contend for the sovereignty or Mastership by weapons, and so striue who shall haue the prime place.

Here *Cæsar* propoeth two distinct kindes of Magistrates, one to rule or gouern in diuine things, & other in such as are humane and ciuill. Among the Druides, he institu-

The fourth part of the intended discourse, namely of the Iustice of the Gaules.

The common-wealth of Gaule in the time of *Cæsar*.

Int. *Cæsar* in Com. Lib. 6.

Int. *Cæsar* in Com. Lib. 6. vii. cap.

Two kindes  
of Magistrate  
propounded by  
Cæsar in Gaul

The young m<sup>e</sup>  
refer to the  
Druides, to  
learne of the

The Druides  
exempted  
from war &  
taxation.

Plato, his ad-  
vice concer-  
ning men of  
iudgement &  
learning.

teth one, to be as the high or cheef Priest,  
and he defineth his election, to bee eyther  
by Dignity, or by Suffrages, or by Arms.  
And there is no great difference, between  
the institution of the Roman high Priest,  
and this other man: but onely, that at  
Rome he is annuall or yeerely, & in Gaul  
it seemeth he hath bene perpetuall. That  
the Druides have bene spread over all  
Gaul, euen in Cities, Townes and Bur-  
roughs, their estates haue shewne suffi-  
cient manifestation: for the Druides did e-  
uer command over the three principall  
parts of the Common-wealth: as in pro-  
fession of Artes, in iudgments, pleading,  
and ceremonies belonging to their sacri-  
fices. All the younger sort (saith Cæsar)  
haue their recourse to them, to be instructed  
by them, and to learne Sciences, as also a great  
number of verses; so that some continue  
there twenty yeares, onely to learne knowledge.  
And surely, an honest stipend or recom-  
pence, can neuer want Masters to giue in-  
struction.

The Druides (saith Cæsar) are not wont  
to goe to warre, but stand exempted from it,  
and immunity of all other taxation & char-  
ges. So that in regard of such faire acknow-  
ledgements and freedoms, there are many  
that come to bee ranked among them, and to  
follow the study of their disciplines, they are  
sent thither by their parents & kindred. Let  
me now entreate yee, and (euen in honest  
charity) but to obserue well this place al-  
leged by Cæsar. Can there be any thing  
more excellent, or more magnificent, then  
when the Primates of a Country, or the  
Gouernors and very greatest Princes in a  
Common-wealth, do make profession of  
disciplines? Perhaps, some will consider  
sweatening on this point, as though wee  
would haue the cheefest men, and those  
that are the grauest in our Cities, to keep  
Schooles, and apply their paines to en-  
struct other. Notwithstanding, let me tell  
ye, Plato would haue such men (and no o-  
ther) to take the charge of instructing, &  
deliuering the knowledge of Sciences:  
because such a place should be as a Semi-  
nary or seed-plot, of great, iudicious, and  
learned men, meete to administer and  
beare authority in a Common-wealth:  
wherein the grafts and plants must needs  
be the more rare and excellent; by how  
much the grafters and planters are most  
vertuous and honourable.

I wonder at the opinion of Pliny, in  
many passages alledged by him, and espe-  
cially in this, where he writes: *That with  
the ancient manners and fashions of Rome,  
the Land abounded, & did daily bring forth  
double increase. What was the cause (saith  
he) of such abundance? The earth was  
then husbanded by the hands euen of the chee-  
fest warriors, and, as it is credible, that the  
earth toyed and reioyced, to be honoured with  
a share or culture crowned with Laurell, and  
by the labour of a victor triumphant con-  
queror: euen so did it traualle and endeauour  
it selfe the more industriously, to produce the  
seed sowne in that nature, as to prosper their  
other warlike proceedings. And the like dil-  
gence, for well husbanding the ground, as al-  
so to order and direct a potent Army, or else  
in all other things, which are performed by  
noble and benefitt hands: do encrease the more  
abundantly, and become so much the more  
fertile, by how much they are the more care-  
fully executed. But now aduies this faire and  
honourable mystery, is exercised by foule, in-  
famous, and condemned hands, by men that  
are either theues, or banisht, or haue lost their  
eares, or branded with some such other wicked  
imputation. Nor without this, the good  
earth is not despoiled, who being called Mother,  
and bids herselfe to labour and fructifie, by a  
Latine word, called Coli, which significeth al-  
so to do honour, as beeing thence deriued:  
whereby it plainly appeareth, that whatsoeuer  
she now doth or produceth, she doth it but in  
meere disclaime, on against her owne liking.  
And therefore we must needs mervaille, that  
no such profits arise in the times of these la-  
bourers, as in the famous times of those flori-  
sing Captaines. So farre extend the words  
of Pliny.*

But by your fauour, do not we conceiue,  
that it is as conuenable for vs, to speake of  
the exercise of disciplines, as of those  
which concerne the earth? Euen such  
was the fertility and abundance of the  
Gaules disciplines, when in the times of  
our Druides, the Schooles of the Muses,  
became the Pallaces of Kings, the chaires  
of Masters, were the seates of Princesses the  
number of Students, was the company &  
following of honorable Lords. Then Pal-  
lus delighted to be in a royall Colledge,  
vising one & the same Rector or gouernor  
in the common-wealths affaires, & to de-  
clare the Sciences and disciplines, expli-  
cating those instructions in one selfe same

Plin. in lib.  
22. cap. 4.  
of the an-  
cient man-  
ners and be-  
haviours of  
Rome in  
the earths  
husbandry.

Good and  
commendable  
actions doe  
euer illustrate  
& manifest  
themselues.

The Author  
answer to the  
former al-  
legation of  
Pliny, concern-  
ing the be-  
riching con-  
dition of  
Rome.

The volunt-  
ary incitation  
of the Gaules  
in former  
times.

Lucian his spi-  
ritual picture  
of Hercules  
among  
the Gaules, &  
the allusion  
thereof.

The extremi-  
ty of the Ro-  
man Empire,  
against the  
Gaules Lear-  
ning.

manner, for gouerning their Common-  
weales. And by the same discretion and  
providence, they instituted the rules of  
Arts, Lawes, and Ordinances: wherein  
all things increased the more prosperou-  
ly, and more abundantly (by honest la-  
bours) as they were the more diligently  
and respectfully followed. There were  
many in those dayes, who being spurred  
on by such recompences, and the expecta-  
tion of those proposed honours; addi-  
ed themselves (gladly) to apprehend  
those disciplines, being sent to the same  
end & purpose (from the remotest parts)  
by their parents and kindred.

Hereupon, and for the same occasion,  
Lucian was the more willing to haue the  
Gaulish and Ogman Hercules depicted;  
not onely couered with the despoyle of a  
Lyon, and a massy Club: but also decre-  
pitate, bald, aged, wrinkled, and meager;  
drawing a great number of Conquered  
men after him, in chaines of gold fastned  
to their eares. Their tongues also were  
pierced thorow, and at them hung little  
Chaines of gold, in such sort, that those  
valiant conquered and conquered gallants,  
followed the Hercules that drew them,  
he turning effloons his face and looks to  
behold them, with very milde & affable  
behaviour. And what else was all this,  
but the eloquence of the Bardes, as also  
the wisdom of the Saronides and Dru-  
ides? which euen at the first sight (with-  
out any more regarding) caused such ad-  
mirable affection to the same. The great  
number of Students, which submitted  
themselves vnder their charge, onely to  
learn their disciplines and goodly know-  
ledge in so many noble things: figured  
those Chaines of golde. And euen so the  
Schollers, hung by the eares at the mouths  
of their Master, as being taken & bound  
by his rich words, and the sweet doctrine  
flowing thence. Then did all disciplines  
flourish, in regard that the professors of  
them were rare and excellent. But so soon  
as by the Roman Empire, the salary and  
honour of Learning was taken away and  
abolished; euen as so daingly was the pro-  
fession of those Disciplines esteemed and  
held to bee but a seruile and mechanicall  
thing. Which was the onely occasion,  
that (necessarily as it were) those honest  
and liberrall studies languished for a long  
time; and by an ouer-tedious experience,

hath approued the saying of the Orator  
to be true; *That Honor is the Nurse of arts,  
and all hearts are enflamed with the love of  
the Sciences, onely in regard of their glorie.*  
For neuer should any account bee made  
of such things as are misprized and con-  
demned by euery man.

Thus the losse and burying of the Gaules  
disciplines, are due to none but vnto the  
Romaines, by whose tyranny the honour  
of their profession, and their liberty to-  
gether, was violently taken from the Dru-  
ides. Wherefore Atela (who flourisheth vnder  
Claudius saith. Now are not the brane  
and worthy Schooles of the Dryydes, because  
they are become claudicating, and suppressed  
by other, banisht into the desert & furthest  
off Forrests. So that the Discipline of the  
Dryydes, was not onely robbed of her  
former honour, but compelled in meere  
fear of danger, to hide her selfe in caues  
and thickest woodes. Lucane seemeth to  
take knowledge thereof with Meli, speak-  
ing thus of the Dryydes.

—Your dwelling now,  
Is in the strongest and profoundest Forrests.

Cæsar also in his fifth booke. The Gaules  
(saith hee) perceiuing from whence the be-  
ginning of warres came, held their consulta-  
tions in the night time, and in desert places.  
Likewise in the tenth booke. The Prin-  
ces of the Gaules, in their Councils (appoin-  
ted in Woods and concealed places) complai-  
ned amongst themselves of their seruitude.  
Neuertheless, we conclude not, neither  
by the authority of Meli, nor of Lucane,  
nor of Cæsar, that the Colledges of the  
Dryydes, that the assembly of Council, and  
deliberation of their men of Warre,  
were in the woods: for that would appeare  
rather to be a signe of seruitude, and con-  
straint, then of erudition or consultation.  
But proceede we on to speake of the rewar-  
d; wages, and honest presents, usually gi-  
uen to the ancient Dryydes. The Dryydes  
(saith Cæsar) doe not onely take the rewar-  
d of their honest profession, but ouer & beside,  
the Gaules giue them great honor and reue-  
rence. All cases in controuersie, bee they  
either publike or private, are referred to their  
iudgement. If there happen any thing to bee  
done amisse, or any murder committed: if  
there arise any dissention, concerning inheri-  
tance, succession, or bound of Landes: they  
are

The Gaules  
discipline o-  
uerthrowen by  
the Romaine  
tyranny.  
Pomp. Meli  
in lib. 4. c. 9.

1st. Cæsar in com.  
lib. 5. c. 10. 7.

Of the wages  
and gifts to  
the ancient  
Dryydes.

1st. Cæsar in  
comment. lib. 6

Ces. in com.  
vbi supra.  
Interdiction  
from their fa-  
cilities.

are the men that give sentence, and constitute the reward of well doing, and punishment of misdemeanors. Strabo addeth hereto (I know not how) that by their Magical superstition, they judge of the fertility of the year, according to the multitude of criminal causes.

The obseruation  
amongst  
the Germans

Centurion in  
lib. 4. cap. 1.

Priest only  
have the pre-  
sidence to  
inflict punish-  
ment.

Punishment  
inflicted ac-  
cording to the  
quality of the  
offence.

But proceede we with the rest of Caesar. If there be any man, either a private, or publique person among the common people, that will not obey their ordinances & decrees: he is interdicted from coming to the sacrifices, which is the most greivous punishment in all their Nation. They that stand forth interdicted from the sacrifices are reputed among the number of lewd and wicked people: All men flye from them, and every man stands in feare to speake to them, or to keepe company with them, as dreading some Contagion or Plague should happen to them by such frequē- tation. And if they demand Law or Justice it is denied, and may not be granted them, neither may they enjoy any preferment or honor, or the least reverence done unto them by any. But what manner of sentences or iudgements do the Germanes observe? What penalties and punishments are amongst them? It appertaineth to none but Priests, who have the full power of commanding (saith Tacitus) to impose silence in publicke consultation. Moreover, it is not permitted but to Priests only, to chastise, beate, or bind them, not as the paine or punishment of the offence, nor by the command of the Prince: but even as by divine permission, & as a commandment given by God, whom they make account to be then in presence, and to be assisting in their fights. In Warre also they carry certaine Pictures and Images, which they bring away from their hallowed places. The difference of punishment is answerable unto the delict. Traytors, and such as forsake their Captainties of their Nation, to doe any service unto a Stranger-enemy, are hanged upon the Trees. Vagabondes, Rogues, idle livers, and all such as are noted of foule infame, are drowned in mudd, or in some Marshy place, & covered all over with fish. The variety of punishment is much respect- ed there, to the end, that the enormity of the offence, may be knowne by the qualitie of the infliction, and that vice may by no means be covered. But in crimes of lesser nature, the parties which are convicted, are condemned in Fines, of a certaine number of Horfes, or other Beasts, whereof one part of the forfeiture

is given unto the King, or to the Citty: and the other part is given to him, for whom the penalty is done, or to his nearest Kindred.

Returne we now againe unto the Druides of the Gaules: for, Caesar detreibeth the times and the places, where they did vie to keepe their Sessions. The Druides (saith hee) upon certaine dayes in the yeare, and upon the Borders of the Carantes (the which Countrey is reputed to bee the verie middlest of all Gaule or Gallia) do vie to keepe their great dayes meeting, in a certaine consecrated place, where all sortes of men, that have suites or Controversies, make their Assembly, being obedient unto the sentences & iudgements of the Druides. Caesar doeth not distinguish the times of the yeare, but only the place, which was on the Li- mites and Confines of the Carantes, as being the Center and middle of Gaule, where the Druides of all the Countreies of Gaule (even as of all the world) were wont to meete together. Neuertheless, the Citty of the Carantes, named Chartres, was (in those ancient times) of much larger extendure, then now it is; and it is very likely, that it contained not only the Charraine Dioecesse, but that also of Orleans. For before that Caesar arrived there, it was a Realm, which afterward was put by Caesar into the power of Tasgetus the Carant, as himselfe hath written in his 5. booke.

In breefe; it seemeth that the Realme of Orleans, which afterward was a long time maintained to bee a Realme by the Franconians, was the very same of Charr- tres: Considering withall, that Genabum or Genaba, was one of the Townes in the Carantes Kingdome, and seated vpon the River of Loire, beeing in the time of Caesar beyond Orleans, a farre off by a great many Miles, and which hindered him in his way, when hee went from Agendicum to Gergovia. But those Druides assembled themselves together in that place from all partes, as in the Center of Gaule, according as Caesar hath spoken. I say then, that in all Gaule, and in the Cittyes, Townes, and Villages of Gaule, there were Druides, who governed in suites and Controversies, and likewise in the Ceremonies of Religion: In breefe, the care of all things was committed to them. The Druides were then dispersed thoroughout Gaule, as now adayes are the

Julius Caesar  
in Com. lib. 6

People about  
Chartres in  
Celtica.

The generall  
meeting of all  
the Druides  
of Gaule toge-  
ther.

Jul. Caesar  
in Com. lib. 5.

A Towne  
situate in  
Celtica, call'd  
Senus or Sen-  
nus.  
b The Towne  
of Clermont  
in Auvergne

A common  
Council, or  
general mee-  
ting for all  
suites.

A Noble  
Council in  
Greece, so na-  
med of Am-  
phiction the  
son to Heli-  
nus, who ap-  
pointed the  
same.  
Paus. in lib.  
de Phocis.

The royall po-  
wer and au-  
thoritie of the  
Gaule Druides.

The order &  
degree of the  
Gaule Com-  
monwealth.

Jul. Caesar  
in Com. lib. 6.  
Particular fa-  
cilities throu-  
ghout Gaule,  
in every City,  
Towne, and  
Village.

the men of the Church: notwithstanding the Princes were wont to refer to a common Council (at certaine times of the yeare) all the suites of their Citizens and subiects, wherein the chiefe Priest of the Druides governed only.

Such (in elder times) was the Council of the Amphictiones, which during the liberty of Greece was kept in Delphos (as Pausanias reporteth in his Phociques) & in the middlest of Greece. Whereby appeareth, that the Druides of the Gaules, were like to the Amphictions of Greece, and their place as sacred in the Charraine Countrey, answerable to the Temple of Delphos, made so famous by the Oracles of Apollo. The matter would have beene a little the more noble, if Caesar had called the place Delphos, which was consecrated within the limites of the Countrey of Chartres. Herein is shewen the authority, and (almost) royall power, which the Druides not only held in private and particular, but intirely over all the people. The profession of Disciplines was in great reputation; the estate of iudgment a most famous authority; the power to performe sacrifices, and to speake of Divination, appertained unto royall Maiestie.

The first degree of the Gaulish Commonwealth, was that of the supreme Magistrate, next, the Princes; then, the Chellualiers; the people made election according to his advice, and for his benefit and the commodity in generall, the Princes gaue him order how to make his warres; and such as did not well by their instruction, they would expulse and banish them. But you may demand of me, how this is to be proved? I will answer from Caesar, who speaketh thus in his sixth Booke. In Gaule (saith he) there are certaine factions, not only in all Cities, Burroughes, and quarters, but also in every particular Household, & the Princes or Heads of such Factions, are they whom they conceiue (in their iudgment) to be the worst persons for authority: by whose advice and determination, the verie greatest matters of warre or importance, either for publique affaires or Council, are wholly disposed. Upon which occasion it seemeth, that this matter hath ben thus ordered from reuerend Antiquity, that none of the meanest should be capable, against a rich or potent superior. For there is no man,

that will endure or suffer, that such as appertaine or depend upon him, shall any way be oppressed or circumvented: for if he offered to do otherwise, hee shall not beare any favour among the people.

Thus you heare what Caesar saith, whereby may be vnderstood, the Timocraticall government of a Commonwealth, which Plato and Aristotle so much commended, and which Greece (being in her libertie, and Italy also) did keepe so carefully: wherein, all the kinds of a iust and equi- table policy are comprehended. Note the selfesame reason, in the whole charge of the affaires of Gaule; for there was royaltie in the annuall Magistracie, whereas Aristocratie was discerned in the Senate, and briefly, Timocratie in the plaine power & authority of the people, by whom the Senators and Magistrates were created. And therefore let vs goe somewhat neerer, and examine the testimonie of Caesar a little more narrowly, speaking of the Common-wealth of our Ancestors.

Such was the freedom and liberty of Gaule (saith Caesar) that in every City, Towne, and Burrough, and almost in every house, there were certaine factions, and it was in such sort, that every one was permitted to deale closely and secretly, by voices and suffrages: so that the very meanest and simplest, had power to give their sentence, and deliver their voyces. Here then we are to vnderstand, that the Electors of the Magistrates amongst the Gaules, were such kind of men. And hereby wee plainly perceiue, that the authority of the people was not small in their Commonwealth: in regard that by voices and suffrages of the people, the Magistrates were then created. But what was hee that had the power to make election of these men? He that was reputed to be in the greatest authority: beside, all the affaires of consequence, and the whole deliberation of the Council came onely to him. But why wast requisite, that so much authority should be in one Magistrate? Caesar himselfe makes answer unto this Obiection. Because (upon this occasion) it seemed that Antiquity (reuerably) had so instituted it: to the end, that no man among the people (how meane or poore soeuer) should stand in neede of ayde against the richest oppressor. For he might not endure that any of his faction should be oppressed or circumvented. This then was the end of the

The Timocra-  
tical govern-  
ment of a  
Common-  
wealth allow-  
ed by Plato &  
Aristotle.

Caesar in com-  
ment lib. 6

Authority of  
the people a-  
mongst the  
Gaules crea-  
tion of their  
Magistrates.

The voyce of the people in election of their Magistrates.

The punishment of one that beginneth well, and neglecteth his care of the weale-publique.

The political authority of the people.

Strabo in lib. 4. cap. 7.

\*Marfilius in France, citie in Provence, which was as famous for Learning as Athens. Strabo in lib. 4. cap. 9.

Jul. Caf. in com. mont. lib. 1.

the Magistrate, and the reason why the people said, *We will not have this man, except by his vertue, and by his authority, he do defend that no man offer vs injury. We will not have this man, because he is both bad and ignorant.*

But if a good Prince, who (at the beginning) hath made proofe of his vertue, happened afterwards to change his manners; and as one that hath no longer care of the weale-publique, proposeth his owne particular profit before the publike, and carry himselfe otherwise then the Ordinances of the people have commanded: he is excluded and banished, and (as *Cæsar* saith) *deprived of all power and authority among his owne people.* And to the end that this might not be imagined to be observed in some one City only, *The selfe same course* (saith *Cæsar*) *is kept throughout all Gaule.* Herein then may be noted, the political authority of the people, when Magistrates are not onely chosen by the people, but also depofed & expelled. But *Cæsar* saith nothing, whether this principality was confuted in the authority of many, or of one onely, neither for how long time it continued. Nevertheless, *Strabo* (in his fourth booke) defineth both the one and the other, saying: *There were many kinds of Aristocratical policy, in ancient times they elected every yeare a Prince, as the people elected a Chief or Commander for the warre. Thus we see, what Strabo saith: but a matter so goodly and commendable, should bee enriched with some examples.*

*Cicero* hath so highly extolled the commonwealth of the *Massilians*, that before the people of Rome, in the defence of *Fontenay*, hee sayde: That the Discipline and gravity of the City of \**Marfilius*, deserved not onely to bee preferred equall to Greece, but almost with all other Nations of the world. In that City (saith *Strabo*) there were fixe hundred Senators, whome they tearmed *Timouches*, as men honourable, and who (all theyr life time) enjoyed that honour: from forth of which number, were elected and chosen fiftene Princes, to iudge such suits & causes, as happened day by day amongst them. And questionlesse, these were the fixe hundred *Marfilians*, and the fiftene cheefest men among them, whereof *Cæsar* speaketh in his first booke. But let vs

go on with the words of *Strabo.* Out of these fiftene (saith here) they elected three, which had the most authority and power. In this manner *Strabo* describeth the Common-wealth of the *Massilians*, which nevertheless I alledge not as a name of Gaule onely, because it was better beloued and esteemed to be Greekish, rather the Gaulish: but also, because none of those *Timouches* was to bee elected, that had not bin a childe borne there, and had not bene a Cittizen, euen to the third race or descent, as the same *Strabo* saith. Vpon this occasion, *Aristotle* (and very deferentially) calleth the Common-wealth of the *Massilians* *Oligarchie*, and not *Aristocratie*: for this declareth her *Oligarchie*, that Princes were not elected by their vertue, but in regard of their race.

I doe not alledge (I say) this Common-wealth, as an example of the Gaules Common-wealth: I desire to deliuer their owne true citizes indeed, and those that truly were of Gaule, and first of all in generall of all Gaule; next, of the Nations, and then particularly of every Citie. The sixteenth Booke of *Julius Cæsar*, shall serue as a sufficient Testimonie in my common example, wherein Gaule is intirely described, both in orders, and all reuennewes: albeit in the sixteenth yeare of the warres in Gaule, great store of the afflicted Townes and Citties, had diminished much of their reuennewes. First (by a Common Councell) *Vercingetorix* was elected for cheefe Commander, as *Cæsar* himselfe saith, when the *Hedunians* fought, that the Empire might bee given to them, as the matter came then in controversy. The whole Councell of Gaul (saith here) was called *as Bibraçte or Beaulne, where arrived a great number of men, and the Election was appointed to the most voyces: but by general consent it was concluded that Vercingetorix should be Emperor, & the cheefe Leader of their Armes.* Onely *Cæsar* saith, that the name of *Rhems*, the *Lingones*, and the *Tremains*, were not present at this Councell: but hee maketh no mention at all of the *Aquitaines*.

Afterward, when *Vercingetorix* was befieged neere to \**Alesia*, the Gauls then called another Councell; wherein was ordained, that a certaine number of martial men should command ouer every towne. And it was concluded, that fixe & thirtie

The nature of the timouch election among the people.

The Common wealths state of Gaule, and according as they were in the sixteenth yeare of the Gaulish warres.

a Bibraçte the Towne of Com. in the country of Rochell in France.

b A Towne: Champaigne in Belgia. c Langres the most famous of Tulla Celica. d Treves, at the Countie thereof about Ailet, Langres, or Ailet.

The powers that commanded ouer the federal towns and Citties.

a The whole Country of little Britaine.

4. Captains to ioyne with the other Councells.

b Aletius in Belgia. Jul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 7.

The Celts did differ from the Gaules in the ceremony of Councell.

c The people of Vannes in Britaine.

thousand men should command the *Hedunians*, and their neighbors the *Secanfians*, *Ambinets*, *Aulerkes*, *Armonikes*, & the *Bramanians*. The like number was appointed to the men of *Auerner*, together with the *Cadurcians*, *Helutians*, *Gaballes*, and *Vellamians*, who were under the dominion of the *Auvernians*. To the *Seguanes*, *Senones*, *Niturgians*, *Santorigians*, *Kuthenes* and *Carantes*, were appointed twelve thousand men. To the *Bellouacanes* ten thousand, and as many to the *Limoſines*. To the *Poitouines*, *Tourangeans*, *Parifians*, and *Helutians*, eight thousand to each. To the *Suessones*, *Amiangeans*, *Mediomatricians*, *Petrocorians*, *Nervians*, *Mornes*, and the *Nitobrigians*, fixe thousand to each. To the *Aulerkes* and *Cenomanians* as many. To the *Atrebatians* four thousand. To the *Bellocians*, *Lexobians*, and *Aulerkes Eburones*, three thousand to each. To the *Rauracians* and *Volians*, two thousand a peece. To all the Citties that border vpon the Ocean, and (according to their manner) are called \**Armorica*, six thousand.

Heere we haue a view of the publike Councell, vniuersally obserued throughout Gaule, and one selfesame manner of behaviour, and answerable to the *Amplyfities*, of assigning by a Councell publike, the citize and reuennewes of every City. Notwithstanding, one onely man did not command ouer all these Companies: but there were foure captains, with whom were ioyned some Councillors of these Citties. *Cæsar* in the same place saith, *That the whole charge of these affaires of the Empire, was given to Comius the A-trebatian, to Viridomarus to Eporadix the Hedunian, and to Vergasillus of Auernegne, Cosue Germane to Vercingetorix by the mothers side: and vnto them were assigned certaine other chosen persons of the Citties, as Councillors for the warre.* Neuerthelesse, we may obſcure, if in all the Gaulish Nations, the same estate of commonwealth was kept, as among the Celts, Belges, and Aquitaines.

In the time of the warre in Gaul, it neuer happened, that the Celts kept the like ceremony of Councell: for the greater part of them were associated with the Romanes, either by amity or alliance, or by what kind of dutie else, I know not. Notwithstanding, in the war of the \**Venetes*,

a conſpiration was made of the *Armorican* Citties, the \**Venetes*, the \**Oſifines*, the \**Lexobians*, the \**Nannets* or *Nannetians*, the \**Drabinters*, the \**Curigolites*, the \**Puellians*, the \**Ambulantes*, and the *Eburones*. Suddenly were *Ambasadors* sent (saith *Julius Cæsar* in his third booke) and by aduice of their Princes & Noblemen, they conferred together, to do nothing without Councell, and to abide such disasters as Fortune should send vnto them. Soliciting the rest of the Citties, to chooſe rather to continue in the liberty which they had receiued from their Ancestors, then to endure the ſeruitude of the Romanes. Neuerthelesse, the cheefe Head or Commander of all the Army, is not named by *Cæsar* in any part whatsoever. And yet in the publike councell of the *Belgians* (whereby was plainly and openly determined against *Cæsar*, the intire liberty of all Gallia) the maine and eminent charge of the affaires (by the wil and consent of all men) was put on *Galba* King of the \**Suessones*, as well in regard of his owne good deſerving, as for his wiſedom and prouidence.

In this warre at that time, the *Bellouacanes* contributed to the number of three ſcore thousand armed men; the *Suessones* fifty thousand; as many the *Nervians*, the *Atrebatians* fiftene; the *Ambians* ten; the *Mornes* fixe and twenty; the \**Mensapians* ſeuene; the *Caletians* ten; the *Velocastians* & *Veromandunians* as many; the *Adunaticians* nineteene; the *Condrasians*, *Eburones*, *Celestians*, *Pemansians* (which al by one name are called *Cernames*) forty thousand. Here is to be ſcene a Common Councell indeede, and thereby likewise, the intire power and authority of every Citie. Such a conſpiration alſo was amongst the *Aquitaines*, of whom *Cæsar* writeth thus, *Then the Aquitaines began to ſend forth Ambasadors, and to enterchange ſuitages, to maſter men of warre, and to craue ayde of the Cantabrians their Neighbors: as alſo to elect for their Captaines, cert. unmen that had ſerued (all their time) with Q. Sertorius: & therefore were reputed to be moſt expert in the action of Armes.* It is then plaine and apparant by the places before alledged; that the policy propoſed by *Cæsar*, was not onely common to all Gaule; but likewise generally in recommendation to all the Nations.

d People of Landranger in Britaine. e Of Londull, in little Britaine. f Or Nannes in Britaine. g Or Cornuel in little Britaine. h Of Perche. i Of Auriche in little Britaine. k Of Liege in Belgia.

k The people of Soylons in Belgia.

l The people of Beaumoyin in Celtica.

m The people of Gelderland & Cleueland.

Jul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 4.

n The people of Bilcay in Spaine.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Of the forme of Government obserued in the Common-wealths of the severall Cities and Nations: and what their Rulers and Magistrates were: as also how they attained to their authority.*



ET vs now particularly illustrate the Governments in the Common-wealths of the Nations and Cities of the people. And first of all, let vs speake of the Celts, among whom the Heluetians haue bene reputed to be the most braue and valiant Nation. What administration & government of Common-wealth hath bene obserued in their cheefest City? The City of the *Heluetians* was situated betweene *Rhein* & *Rhone*, as also the Mountaine *Jura*, in a triangular forme or shape, hauing twelue towns, and foure hundred Villages, & the whole diuided into foure Regions: yet not for warre onely, but likewise for Iustice, and for doing right to all men. There were two, named by *Cæsar* himselfe, *Tigurine* and *Verbigena*. These Regions were as one Parliament, that had the whol charge of the affairs of the Realme, and for matters of consequence, were wont to come into a publike Councell; where for the Election of a Prince, hapned a coniuration amongst them of the Citie, to burne all their Townes, Burroughes, and Villages, to forsake their own limites, and by force to seize and surprize the kingdome of the Gaules.

For the better execution of this enterprise, *Orgetorix*, one of the most apparant and Noblemen was made choise of; and this act declared at the first, even a meere and certaine *Timocraticall* affiction. *Orgetorix* overcome with a couetous affection of Soueraignty and reigning, imbraced this Conspiracy; but the issue requieth obseruation, after the matter came to be discovered. This happening to the knowledge of the Heluetians, by some presumptions and conceitures; *Orgetorix* was taken prisoner, and they would haue

compelled him (according to their manner) to confesse the truth: which if it fell out to be approued, their Law condemned him to be burned with fire. *Orgetorix* summoned to this Sessions all his friends, kindred, and alliance, who were in number ten thousand men, together with his seruants and cōbers, who were a great company, that they might assist in the case of iudgement. Hee prayayled so well by this multitude of men, that hee freed himselfe from answering to his enditement, or disclosing vpon what occasion hee was incited to this matter of conspiracy.

In the meane space, while the Citie (being offended) fought to maintain the execution of their Lawes by the sword, & the Magistrates mustered men from all parts: *Orgetorix* dyed in prison, not without suspicion (as the Heluetians imagined) of murdering himselfe. *Kingdames* (saith *Cæsar*) were bought in Gaul, by such as were most potent and abounding in riches, and such as had the meanes to command most men at their pay. But what the kingdoms were, is easily to be coniectured, by the example of *Orgetorix*, and by others beside, whereof we are to speake hereafter. The Commonwealth then of the Heluetians, was parted in this manner by Regions, as at this day that of the Switzers is, who vsurp and make vse of the borders of the Heluetians. Next, there were three great Cities of the *Hedunnes* and *Aneruans*; let vs now survey these Common-wealths, and first that of the *Hedunnes*, who were the very brauest and most valiant people, when *Cæsar* made his warre in Gaule. Let vs make a good obseruation of this Common-wealth, and how (in three kindes of a iust and commendable government) it was iudicially ordered & maintained.

By a yearly election of Priests, in a certaine place, at a certaine time, & of diuers deicents, amongst the *Hedunnes* was chosen one called *Vergerbet*, who had full power as a King, and absolute authoritie of life and death; but he was not permitted to go forth of their iurisdiccions. *Cæsar* in his first booke, making mention of the *Hedunnes*, speaketh in this manner. After he had summoned together the cheefe Noblemen and Princes in his Campe; amongst whom were *Druicius* and *Liscus*, who at

*Orgetorix* supplicated his had cause by power.

*Orgetorix* thought by the Heluetians to kill himselfe in prison. *Id. Cæsar. lib. 1.*

\*People by the Ruler of Leyre in France

The election yearly by yeare of a *Vergerbet* among the *Hedunnes*.

*Id. Cæsar* in comment. lib. 1.

The particular government in every Common-wealth of the Nations.

The situation of the Heluetians in their Cities, towns and villages.

\*The Canton of Zurich.

*Orgetorix* cheefe in the conspiracy against the Heluetians, which hapned to be reueried, and hee imprisoned.

The *Hedunnes* in edition about their Magistrate *Id. Cæsar. lib. 1.*

Two Magistrates indicall of one *Conuictolitan* & *Cottus*.

Great digress grow out of particular vantages.

*Cæsar* goeth in person, to appeale the diffention amongst the *Hedunnes*.

that time was the cheefe Magistrate, and by the *Hedunnes* called *Vergerbet*, created yearly by yeare, & hauing power of life and death.

The rest is reported in the seauenth Booke, where is declared how the Senate and people of the *Hedunnes*, were in a great sedition about their Magistrate, for the appealing whereof, *Cæsar* was called: these are his own words. The Princes Ambassadors of the *Hedunnes*, came to *Cæsar* & intreated him, that he would come to succour their Citie, especially in a time of such necessity, when their Common-wealth was in great danger. For whereas (in former time) they were wont to haue but one Magistrate yearly, who had authority Royall: now there were two that bare this Office, yet both making their vniuit, to be created by order of Law. One of them was called *Conuictolitan*, a man in the floure of his youth, of great power, and well aduised: the other named himselfe *Cottus*, of a most ancient race, and one that was able to doe much: whose brother, named *Valericius*, had borne the same Office the yeare before. Moreover they sayd, that all the Citie was vsed in Armes, that the Senate and the people were diuided, each holding a part vnder severall factions: And if this mutinie should be suffered for any long time among them, and no other means of help were afforded, they would make prize and bootie of one another, and all must goe to generall ruine.

*Cæsar*, though he knew it to be a dangerous matter, to forbear his wars, and depart from his enemy: yet, in regard he was not ignorant what great inconueniences do grow out of such diffentions; and fearing withall, that such a Citie, so well allyed to the Roman people, which he had alwayes maintained, and furnished with all things he could deuise; least also the part that was most distrustfull of him, should send for ayde to King *Vergerbet*, he resolved to go thither, & prevent the perill betimes. And because, by the Lawes of the *Hedunnes*, the cheefe Magistrate might not absent himselfe out of the countrey, as doubting thereby, that hee should diminish any part of their right & Lawes; hee went himselfe in person vnto them, and called before him all the Senat, and they also among whom the strife had happened. When the whole Citie was (well-neere) assembled together, and hee was fully informed, that by the consent

of a few, priuily congregated together, in an vnlawfull place, and at an vnlawfull time; vnderstanding withall, that one brother had subrogated the other in his place, contrary to the lawes, which plainly did prohibite, that two of one Linage and family (being both liuing) should not onely be disabled from creation in the Magistracie, but also not admitted into the Senat: *Cottus* was compelled to giue ouer his Office, and *Conuictolitan* (who according to the custome of the City, vpon the ceasing of the former Magistrate, had bene created by the Priestes) had the full authority appointed to him. *Cæsar* wrote all this himselfe, about the commotion of the *Hedunnes*, whereby most clearly appeareth: that the royall dignitie was in the *Vergerbet*, and the authority of the Seigncurie in the Senat; and finally, the Democraticall power in all the people.

But to know what, and how noble this City was, we need not more then to look vpon so many Towns, as were in the protection of the *Hedunnes*, whereof *Cæsar* speaketh in his Commentaries. Among them of greatest note in this Common-wealth, is *Bibracte* named, whereunto *Cæsar* (as he writeth in his first booke) meant to go (as to the principal place of the *Hedunne* Nation) to haue Come of the *Hedunnes*. And to this place (as it is recorded in his seauenth booke) *Litanius* had withdrawne himselfe, because this was a Citie highly authorized among the *Hedunnes*; and there the Magistrate *Conuictolitan*, with a great part of the Senat came vnto him. Thither also were all the hostages of Gaule brought, when *Cæsar*'s Guards were slaine at *Nonodunum*. And there likewise was assigned the Councell of all Gaule, against *Cæsar*: and thither also (finally) *Cæsar*, after that he had recovered the *Hedunnes*, betooke himselfe to winter for that season. This Citie (I say) was the very principal of the *Hedunnes*, & (as the ambassador said in the Panegyricke of *Constantine*) it was after called *Julia*, *Pollia*, *Florentia*, *Flavia*. Moreover (in his 7. booke) *Cabilone*, & *Matifcon* on *Arar*, are named among the *Hedunnes*, and *Nonodunum* on *Lezere*. These that I haue named were their Tributaries, but their honours were the greatest in all Gaul. For the *Bibractis*, where in elder times were the ancient Kings of the Gaules; the *Senones*, and

*Cæsar*'s sentence concerning this important diffention.

*Bibracte* a cheefe Citie among the *Hedunnes*, & whereunto *Litanius* had made his retreat.

a The Towne of Chabons in Burgundy.  
b The Ruer Soane.  
c Matifcon, a city of Celtica by the Ruer Soane, now called Mellecon.  
d Lezere, Loyre.

§ The People of Beauvoysine in Celtica.

Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 6.

Florus in Lib. 2. cap. 17. & 18

The Commonwealth of the Aruernians, and the extendure thereof.

Strabo in lib. 4. cap. 7.

The two famous battles of the Gaules.

Titus Livius in lib. 61. cap. 10.

Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 1.

and (by the same meanes) the *Parisians* (who were in the protection of the *Senones*) and the *Bellouacians*, are called by *Caesar* their Clients, as being vnder their protection. So then, the City and Commonwealth of the *Hedunnes*, had the most absolute authority in all Gaul anciently: according as hee hath written in his first Booke, but as we may sooner see in his first booke; at all times it had the principality throughout Gaul, especially before it had alpired to the friendship of the *Romane* people. But after that the *Hedunnes* were called Cousins and Brothers to the *Romans*: what decrees of the Senate, how many times, and in what honourable manner were they pronounced on their behalfe? VV e see then, that such and so great a City of Celtic Gaul, hath had this *Democraticall* Common-wealth, and *Pliny* numbers it not among the Tributaries, but among the Cities allied together.

Now, concerning the commonwealth of the *Aruernians*, it was sometime the cheefe of Gaul; for (anciently) there were two leagues throughout Gaul, as we read in the first booke: the *Hedunnes* were the ring-leaders of the one, and the *Aruernians* of the other. And *Strabo* hath related in his 4. booke, that that of the *Aruernians*, was more potent than the other; extending their Seignieury so farre as the confines of the *Narbonians* and *Mysilians* to the Pyrenean Mountaines, to the Ocean, and to the *Rhine*. In like manner he speaketh faithfully, concerning two cruell battailes of the Gaules, giuen vnder the conduct of *Bituitus* the *Aruernian*: and *Strabo* reporteth them in the same place, & *Titus Livius* in his 61. booke. The one was against *Domitius*, at the confluent of *Sulgo* and of *Rhone*; and the other against *Fabius* at *Tisara* & the same *Rhone*; whereby we may plainly perceiue, that there was the same forme of Common-wealth, as formerly we haue spoken of.

For the *Romane* Senate, as it is in the first booke, being willing that the vanquished Gaules, or repulged (at least) from the confines of the *Roman* Province, should continue in their franchises and liberties: nay, which is more, to the end that Gaul might remaine in the greater libertie; ordained, that *Bituitus* himselfe (King of the *Aruernians*, according as *Titus Livius* termeth

him in his 61. booke) who was gone to Rome to purge himselfe, should be kept in guard within *Albi*: but *Congentiatus* his son was taken and brought to Rome. Afterward, *Celtius* the Father of *Vercingetorix*, although he had held the principall place of all Gaul in a warre, yet notwithstanding, because hee pretended to make himselfe King, as it is in the 7. booke, the City put him to death. *Vercingetorix*, by the meanes of his own people, was saluted as King of the *Aruernians*, and likewise it is said in the same booke, that all the Gaules called him King: neuertheless, vpon the same occasion hee was charged with treason, and hee came in iudgement before them as ioueraigne Iudges, and in the end, couetousnes in desire of rule, produced alike to the father and son.

Thus the Kings were excluded out of the Commonwealth of the *Aruernians*, & they remained at liberty, euen to the time of *Caesar*. And *Pliny* (in his time) remembreth it amongst the Cities of the *Celts*, which were at freedom: and then it had no lesse protection, then they of the *Hedunnes* as is already made manifest by the numbering of military forces formerly declared. The city then of the *Aruernians* hath anciently bin the Lady ouer that of the *Hedunnes*, and after that, the *Hedunnes* affected rather to bee brethren and cosines of the *Romans*, then of the *Aruernians*: they became like vnto them in habits and manners. And when at the last coming of *Caesar*, the *Hedunnes* were overcome & spoiled by the *Germanes*, yet were they then far greater in forces. Finally, when (by the courtesie and fauor of *Caesar*) the *Hedunnes* were not only replanted in their former condition, but it plainly appeared that they had more countenance and authority, then euer before: yet the other were equal to them, and alike in wealthie possessions. But in fauour and esteem throughout all Gaul, they were much greater, as the election of *Vercingetorix* hath sufficiently shewne. VVherefore we may perceiue, that the liberty of a Commonwealth remained in these two cities of Celtic Gaul. For the remainder of the other that were of meaner ranke, hee speaketh not so much as of any one King, or of a Prince: but only we heare no other name, then of the people, and of the City.

The city of the *Senons*, was accounted among

Bituitus & his Congentius sent to Rome to the Senate.

Vercingetorix and his brother both put to death.

King expelled out of the Aruernian Commonwealth.

The Helvetians spoiled by the Germanes.

The freedom of a commonwealth, in Celtic Gaul Cities.

\* People of Senon in Celtica.

\* Villanovian Loraine.

Cassius K. of the Senons but expelled by them.

Iul. Caesar in Com. lib. 7. The commonwealth of the Parisians.

The Cities Chautes in Lionnois.

Tafgetius K. of the Carnutes, slain by his enemies.

\* People of Montpelier in Celtica.

The commonwealth observed among the Belgians.

among the principals, and of great authority among the *Celts*. Of so many store of Towns that were vnder it, *Caesar* hath named two, *Agendicum* & \* *Vellunum*. *Caesar* wrought by certaine meanes, that *Cassius* was their King; because *Moritasius* brother to *Cassius* and his ancestors, had held the same authority in that realme, for *Caesar* had vnderaken this colour, only to establish a kingdom there. Neuertheless, the *Senones*, although *Caesar* was present, essayed by a councill pebble-like, to put *Cassius* to death. And as he (hauing intelligence thereof) fled away, they pursued him so far as the Frontiers, expelling him from his house & kingdom. The commonwealth of the *Parisians* was the like, by that which we read in his 7. Booke. For the *Parisians*, by a Common Councill of diuers Cities, vnderooke warre for the liberty of their country, electing *Camulogenis* to bee their commander, by reason of the experience he had in actions of Armes, and the good will they bare vnto him.

*Carnutum* also was a great City, as already hath bin shewn, & *Caesar* wrought the like meanes to establish a kingdom there. Among the *Carnutes* there was one *Tafgetius*, a man descended of a great place and whose Ancestors had held dominion in that City. *Caesar* (as he saith himselfe) in regard of his vertue, and for the good will he had found in him, because he had bene a great helpe to him in all the wars, planted him in the same place which his Ancestors had held. He had reigned but 4. yeeres, when his enemies being authorized by many men of the city, openly slew him. These Cities then had their *Bruti*, as well as Rome. So *Caesar* named the Senate of the *Eburones*, *Lexovians*, and *Veneters*. At the same time, *Teutomatus* was king of the *Nitobrigians*, but by a publike Councill of Gaul, hee yielded obedience against *Caesar*. This may serue as sufficient, concerning the government of the *Celtis* Cities.

What then is to be said of the Cities of the Belgians? By what manner of Empire were they particularly gouerned? The extendure of the men of *Rhemes* was very great: because it ioyned with the *Seguans*, *Mediomatrics*, *Treuirians*, *Veromandians*, and the *Suessones*. Notwithstanding, in all these parts, he nameth but two towns

or Cities, \* *Durocortorum* and *Bibrax*. In the first Booke, the councill of Gaul was assigned at *Durocortorum*; and in the second booke *Bibrax* was beliedged. Concerning the men of *Rhemes*, in the time of *Caesar*, they hadde the managing of the Gauls, and held the second place in dignity, next to the *Hedunnes*. *Caesar* nameth their Senate, and the Prince and Prouost of the city, as that *Tertius*, whereof we haue already spoken.

In the time of *Caesar*, the *Suessones* had *Diuiticus* as their king, who was the most powerfull man in all Gaul. and who opened a great part on this side of the country which he holde, holding also the Empire of Great Brittain. After *Galba* (of whom he hath spoken) he succeeded. But we may well perceiue hereby, what manner of kingdom this was: in regard that the *Suessones* (who were brothers & cosines to the men of *Rhemes*) vsed the same course of authority, and the same lawes, hauing one and the same Gouernement, and one Magistrate, as they had. For such are the vvorde of *Caesar* himselfe, by whom one only Magistrate was allowed in their cities. But yet notwithstanding, the *Suessones*, although they were brethren; yet they had a field (apart) of great largenesse, and very fertile, and twelve towns, vvhich of *Caesar* nameth onely one, vvhich is *Nauio lunum*, and vvhich *Caesar* (after the Belgians were retired to him) pausing thorough the countrey, essayed to surprize. But hee could not compasse it, by reason of the deepnesse of the ditch, and height of the wall: and yet there were but verie few people to defend it.

We come now to the *Bellouacians*, what kind of commonwealth was kept among them? These men were highly esteemed with the Belgians, for their vertue, authority & number of people. For their extendure was from the limits of the *Suessones*, & also fro the *Normans* so termed at this day (euen there where the river of *Seine*, throwes it selfe into the sea) so far as *Callete*, known by the name of *Calice*. *Caesar* nameth *Bratupantium*, a city of the *Bellouacians*. But by what forme of commonwealth did they gouern their city? They chose their Princes, as (among other) *Corbus*, vvhich though his Army had bin defeated, yet would he neuer for any discomfort hapning, or possible to befall him; neither

\* T. City of the Senons in France.

Diuiticus K. of the Suessones, and held the Empire of Great Britain

A Towne in Belicene, nere to Paris, called Noyon.

Belgar. 68. diff. celtum.

b Rising nere the borders of Langues, and low Bourgaundy.



The Senate & Communitie of the Bellouacanes.

\*People inhabiting about Tourney in Belgia.

Hannoyers, Flemings and Brabanters.

Cæsar his journey to the Neruians.

\*The River Skeld, running through Tournay & falling into the Maze.

Jul. Cæsar in com. lib. 5.

ther forlake the fight, nor retire into the woods, but fought valiantly, & in wounding many, compelled his conquerors to runne in vpon him, and so to kill him in their rage and fury. Cæsar also maketh mention of the Senate of the *Bellouacanes*, and authority of the Comminalty: whence ensued the excuse, which the Senate of the *Bellouacanes* made to Cæsar: That during the life of *Corbus* the Senate had neuer the like power in the City, as the common ignorants had.

But now concerning the most potent Citie of the \* *Neruians*, after what manner of order wer they gouerned? The body of the *Neruians*, is diuided into members of diuers names, as of *Hannonia*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, and the name of the *Neruians* signifieth no more then a Citie or Towne, including (as now adays our words are) of *Hannoyers*, *Flemings*, & *Brabanters*. And why you may aske mee? Whereto I can make no other answer, then as already I haue done, when as the *Neruians* had neither Towne or City: but I will discourse the bounds and limites of that sometime most noble Citie, according as Cæsar himselfe hath described it; obserue then what I shall say vnto you.

When the *Ambians* had submitted themselves, Cæsar went thither, to goe to the *Neruians* which were their Neighbors. And hauing made three daies journey into the Country of the *Neruians*, he found by report of some that hee had taken: that there was no more then tenne miles distance from his Campe to the riuer \* *Scaldus*. This *Scaldus*, which passed thorough the middle of the *Neruians* Country, runneth now through the middle of *Hennault*: wherefore the Country of the *Hannoyers* is comprehended within y of the *Neruians*. Of Cæsar himselfe we may learne the limites of the country of *Flanders*, which is in firme land, and also of *Brabant*, for there is a passage in the fift booke, which maketh well to this purpose. VVhen *Ambiorix* (after that *Sabinus* and *Cottus*, Lieutenants Generals, were ouercome with a Legion and fife Companies neere to *Patuca*, which is in the *Eburones* land) exhorted the *Neruians* to doe the like to the Legion that passed the winter season to their country, vnder the charge of *Quintus Cicero*. Hee perswaded easily (saith Cæsar) the *Neruians*, and there-

upon dispatched messengers immediately to the *Centrones*, *Grudians*, *Leukes*, *Pleumosi*, *ans* and *Gordunes*, who were all vnder their obedience, and toynd together the greatest forces that they were able to make. These are the very words of Cæsar. But the *Grudians* & *Leukes* were enskirted with *Louane*, in the Countrey of *Brabant*; and the *Gordunes* (as much to say as the men of Gaunt) were in the Mediterrane countrey of *Flanders*. Likewise the *Pleumosi*, whom some doe hold to be them of *Cor-troy*: And they that are of this opinion, do plant the *Centrones* in the Diocesse of *Lege*.

This so great Commonweale of the *Neruians*, and which was of such large extendure, elected a Prince, such as *Bolauognatus* was in the first warre of the *Neruians*. It had also a very great Senat, for Cæsar reckoneth vp fixe hundred Senators of the *Neruians*. After that the *Atrebatians* were vanquished, Cæsar gaue them *Comius* (who was of the same country) to bee their King: that is to say, that of a Prince, which was but for a time, hee created one that should continue. Hee maintained the franchises of the City, & gaue to them their laws and rigths, and annexed the \* *Morines* to his Empire. Neuerthelesse, this King enioyed his authoritie no long while, for after that the *Atrebatians* had put themselves vnder Cæsars obedience: his sway ceased, & *Comius* bare Armes against Cæsar again. The *Eburones* then also had two Kings, *Ambiorix* & *Catualenus*, but their authority was such, that the commons had no lesse command ouer them, then they had to contradict them.

The commonweale of the *Morines* was answerable to that of the *Heluetians*, although it was diuided by diuers villages, & had extendure farre off from them: as to *Callis*, and all along the coast of *Picardie* and *Flanders*, in the Forreits & marshes; euen so far as the \* *Menapians*, who dwell vpon the confluent of *henn*, as also of the *Meuse* or *Maze*, and who were their neighbors, as is to be scene in the *Teutoburgers* war, in the 4. booke. But the *Treuirians*, as well for a kinde of gouernement, (wherein they were very skilfull) as also for the occasion of tumult and sedition, very frequent among them; resembled in quality the *Heduns*. *Cingetorix* & *Indiciomarus* quarrelled for the principallitie, euen

Centrones, Grudians, Leukes, Pleumosi and Gordunes.

The Prince & Senate of the Neruians.

\*The people of Tournay in Belgia, or a little further Northward.

\*The people of Gelderland & Cleueland, or of Lullers in Belgia.

\*The people of Santone in Aquitaine.

\*Soldurij (as Cæsar sayth) were in the Gaulish Language, such kinde of men, as defined & vowed themselves to the amity of any, to take part in all their good or bad Fortunes.

Cæsar in comment lib. 4. & 5.

Great Brittain had the same gouernement as the Gauls, and the Germanis very little differing.

Com. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 7.

euen as did y other two, *Conuictolitan* & *Cottus*, but Cæsar feared again *Cingetorix* as he had done *Conuictolitan*. Thus the gouernment of the Belgian Cities, were mingled with three formes of estates.

The \* *Santone Aquitaines* seemed to bee gouerned by such a kind of commonweale. For that City, when she made proofe of her own vertue, by fighting both on foot and horseback, and well to sustaine all assaults in her own defence: she rendered hir necke to such authority. But *Adcantunus* their Prince (of his owne power) stept in to do his duty, and fallied forth with 200 \* *Soldures*, or *Soldurij*. Wherefore I think that the gouernment of the Gauls Commonweales, hath bin already sufficiently explicated, and by so many examples, as we may well conclude, that the principalities of the Gaules (according to Cæsar) were such, as would not suffer that the subiects should be oppressed or circumvented; but if any Prince did otherwise, hee helde no authority amongst his subiects. VV e haue spoken then enough of the gouernment and authority obserued among the ancient Gaules.

Let vs now listen vnto the Commonweale of *Great Brittain*, and that likewise of the *Germanis*. There is mention made in the fourth Booke, concerning the Princes of the Britains, with their conferences and consultations held among themselves, for the common good of *Great Brittain*. And in the fift booke, the common counsell is obserued by Cæsar; and that the whole charge and command of warre against Cæsar, was put into the power of *Cassibelaine*, and the diuerty of Kingdomes which were subiect vnto that common Counsell, doe sufficiently declare, that *Great Brittain* vied the same kinde of gouernment that *Gaul* did. Cæsar also deliuereth (almost) the very same gouernment of the *Germanis*. When a Commonweale (sayth he) either endured war made vpon it, or attempted any, *Magistrates* were elected to undertake the charge of the war, and they might also take or saue life. In times of peace, there was no common *Magistrate*, but the *Lords* of the Countreys, and of the *Burroughes*, who exercised law to their *subiects*, and appeased all their contentions.

In the time of *Tacitus*, *German* had some Kings; but they were such as had more honor then power; in other mat-

ters they were like to the Gauls manners. They made Kings (saith he) for their Nobility, and Captaines for their vertue. Nor had those Kings any undefined or free power, & the Captaines were obeyed more by example, then by command: either, whether they were deliberated, in fight, or doing their deuoye vpon the point, making wonderfull proofe of their prowesse. As concerning the Captaines or Princes (as the same Author relateth) & likewise for them, termed companions of the Princes, thus it followeth.

The Princes also they elect in the publique Councils, which doe hold the iurisdiction of *Burroughes* and villages. Every man hath an hundred Companions, who are of the popularity, and doe giue assistance vnto them in Council together, and also in their Authority. A Noble or generous stock of fame, whose high deserts of their Fore-fathers, doe challenge to haue the dignity of a Prince, amongst the younger sort of people: They are accompanied with other of more robust complexion; and such as haue had (long time) good proofe made of them: and yet they blush not a little, to bee scene amongst such Companions, albeit there are some degrees in this company, according to his iudgement whom they follow. VVhy then I may safely say of the *Germanis* (according to *Tacitus*) that their *Magistrates* haue bin answerable to their Kings, Captaines, or Princes, and likewise to them called the Companions of Princes.

I come againe vnto the Knights of the Gaules, which (in the times of warre) haue the managing of the affaires. And these Knights (thus saith Cæsar in his fift booke) when there is neede, and any warre happeneth: they are all employed, and according as each man hath authority and meanes, so hath he most seruants and clients about him, & this is the only fauour and power that they doe know. Heerein is continued the ancient Gaules manner, for election of *Magistrates*, and we may learne by a new argument: that the Gaules Princes were chosen for their Vertues, and for their deserts towards the Commonweale; and that this eminencie came from Vertue onely. For every Prince would not suffer his subiects to bee oppressed, nor deceived (so hath *Julius Cæsar* formerly said) but if hee should do otherwise, he must beare no authority among his people. And hereto doth this

Concerning Kings & Captaines among the Germanis, and the Companions of Princes.

The election of their Princes.

The stronger ought alwayes to helpe the weaker.

Jul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 6. the knights of the Gaules. The words of Cæsar himselfe

justly make answer: That this is the only favour and power which the Knights knowe, if according as they have most meanes and authoritie, so they shall have the more servants, and the more Clients about them.

By servants or vassalles, are meant such as stand obliged or indebted (of whom I have formerly spoken) and who, yppon that occasion are dedicated to the service of those Knights: for, these vassalls serve as Waggoners to their Masters, and carry their shields. And the Clients (as it is in the seaventh Booke) never dare, even in the extremitie of all misfortune, forsake or leave their Lords. Thus then the vassalls or servants, do accompanie their Knights and Masters in warre, and the Clients doe attend on their Lords, and these are the companions of the *Germans*, whereof *Tacitus* speaketh, as already hath bene saide.

There is great ielousie amongst these companions, who shall haue the chiefeest place about his Prince: and amongst the Princes, who shall be followed by the most and best companions or attendants. It is held a high dignity, to be dayly rounded with a great troope of young and choyse men: it is an honour in time of peace, & security in time of warre. This honor, and this glorie is not onely in euerie Nation, but euen in the neighbouring Cities, coeuring as much to be accompanied with such a company of men, as with so manie vertues. Whereof practise is made by Ambassages, and plenty of presents sent; nay, oftentimes, they will vndertake Armes, for the bare name to be termed a souldier. When a man is in the fight, it is shame to a Prince to be surmounted in vertue: and it is a more shame to his follower, if he doe not equall the Vertue of his Prince. It is a most infamous & shame full thing, and not to be washed off in a mans whole life time, to return from the battell, his Prince being there slaine. The principall Oath that he takes, is to defend and sustaine him, and if he doe any braue or worthy acte in his owne person, to referre it to his Princes glory onely. Princes fight for victory, companions and followers fight for their Prince. *Tacitus* writeth: The Prince recompenceth such as follow him: for they receiue (saith he) from the Princes liberality: this Horse of service, that

victorious and blowdied Sword: for such Bankets, although they are not properly seru'd, yet are they sumptuous to them, & men are well contented with such wages.

But can you tell me, what were the recompences of the Knights amongst the Gaules, and who managed this other part of their Common-wealth? As for the recompence of the *Druides*, it hath bin spoken of already, which was honor, the greatest payment that could be, and only proper to vertue. Neuerthelesse, the Common-wealth it selfe could not be ingratefull towards them in recompences: considering that there were *Impolls* & *Tolles*, which appertained to each Citie, as to be seene in the first Booke, and their greatnesse of Tribute, in the first Booke. *Tacitus* hath declared among the *Germaines*, what worthy recompences were performed to Princes. Cities had a custome, to collect (with their owne good liking) by the poll or head, either of their cattle, or of their fruites, to giue to their Princes: which being receiued as an honor, serued also to supply necessity. Aboue all, they tooke delight in presents giuen by their neighbouring Nations, not onely by particular persons, but in generalis of choise Hories, faire Armour, trappings for seruice, and also of Chaines. And since then they haue taught vs to accept of money.

But let vs pursue other manners of the Gaules Common-wealth. *Cæsar* doth often accuse the infirmity of the Gaules, because in aduice they were sodain and mutable: but especially in this place of his 4. Booke. There is a common custome (saith he) amongst them, to compell passengers or way-faring men, to say whether they will or no, and to enquire of them, what each man hath heard, or knoweth of euery matter what soeuer. The popular and common people, they flocke about Merchants in the Cities, and constrain them to tell, out of what countries they come, and what things they knowe, or haue heard of there. The ancient Gaules, had not onely this wonderful desire, to know matters of nouelty: but besides, that they should be imparted, and made knowne to them and theirs.

I will set downe two examples of some admiration, the first is in the first booke, of the victorie which *Iulius Cæsar* had against the *Neruians*. During the bruite of *Cæsar*s victory (this he writes himselfe) the

Recompence to the Gaules Knights, for their seruice.

Recompence to Princes amongst the *Germaines*.

*Cæsar* his blaming the Gaules for their variablenes & inconstancy. *Iul. Cæsar* Com. lib. 4.

The difference betweene seruants and clients.

Strife for popularity, and emulency in the Princes followe.

Princes and their followers should be alike in their vertues.

Corn. Tacit. in lib. 1. c. 11.

*Cæsar*s victory of the *Neruians*. *Iul. Cæsar* Com. lib. 4.

Strange cries and noises observed among the Gaules.

*Virgil* lib. 9. de Æneid.

Rumor is commonly a babbling.

*Iulius Cæsar* in comment. lib. 6.

the men of *Rhemes* (with incredible swiftnesse) carried tidings thereof to *Labienus*, in such, that where as he was about threescore miles from the Garrison of *Cicero*, and that *Cæsar* came thither after the ninth hour of the day: yet notwithstanding, there arose such a cry or noise before the gates of the *Campe*, and before it was midnight: that the men of *Rhemes* (only thereby) gaue understanding to *Labienus* of the victory, & made a signe of their reioycing with him. But the other is an especiall, and most notable cry or noise, when the *Romans* were overthrowne at *Genabum* before Sun-setting: yet before the first watch was set, the cry was heard to the *Aruernians*, the noise running through all the Townes of *Gaul*, as *Cæsar* affirmeth in his seuenth Booke. For so soone as any important matter happened, by a cry they made it knowne in the fields, and so along thorough the Countries, and till as it was heard, others sent it in like manner to their neighbours, and according as it came to them. And that which had bene done at *Genabum* before Sun-setting, was knowne in the confines of *Aruerne* before the first watch, & yet the distance was aboue an hundred & sixty miles. So saith *Cæsar*, and haply it may seeme, that that singular description of Fame, which is set downe in *Virgil*, tooke hence the first originall.

Fame, an euill, unmatched in swiftnesse, Is sudden, moving, gadding with rashnesse.

*Cæsar* describeth the like celerity and effect of this cry, as *Virgil* doth of Fame. This concerneth the bruite and cries among the Gaules, whereby being moued, they often held Councils of important matters: whereof (not long after) they repented themselves, in regard they gaue credite to vncertaine noyes, and found them in the end to be nothing but fables. But hee that thus reproued the common people of *Gaul* of lightnesse; commended their constant & politicall wisdom. Those Cities (saith he) which are accounted to gouern best their Common-wealths, haue their Lawes, which or daigne, that if a man that hath heard any thing of his neighbour (either by report or otherwise) concerning the estate of the Common-wealth: he is to impart the same to the Magistrate, and not to any other whatsoever, because it hath bin oft seen, that rash-

beaded men, and of small understanding, are afflicted by false noyes, or provoked on to unhappy attempts, and (dreadfull) enter into important enterprizes. The Magistrate concealeth what he thinketh fittest; and discourseth to the Commons, any matter needfull to be knowne.

His last passage of *Cæsar*, refuteth (very strongly) popular seruitude, for it testifieth, that euen in those Cities, which gouerned best their Common-wealths: that yet the Commons haue their authority, because the Magistrate imparteth to the people, what is necessary for the to know. *Strabo* auoucheth in his fourth Booke, that this was also vled in the Councils of the Gaules. If any one (saith he) did interrupt him that spake: the publike Minister leapt up with a drawne sword, and vying threatnings to the party, commanded him to hold his peace. If he would not do it, he aduersified him in the same manner a second and third time. In the end, he would cut off such a peece of his garment, as the rest should afterward do him no service. *Tacitus* expresseth it more plainly, as hee doth many other things; concerning the manner of electing Magistrates, and the Councils kept among the *Germaines*.

The Princes (saith hee) hold a Councell, wherein matters of meanest importance, and such also as are of greatest consequence, are handled together: And yet in such manner, that those affaires which appertaine vnto the people, are managed and ordered by the Princes. They assemble together (if there happen no sudden accident or aduerture) on certaine daies, either at the new Moone, or the full of the Moone: For they beleene, that those seasons are most happy to treat on their affaires. And they do not make their account by the daies, as we vse to doe, but by the nights. The fault ensuing on their liberty, is, that they are not altogether on the day assigned: but two or three daies is lost, to attend for such as slacke to come.

The same Authour declareth another strange thing of the *Germaines*, affirming, that many times they deliberate at Banquets, to reconcile enemies, to make alliances, and to gaine grace of Princes, yea, euen then to consult of peace or warre: because as then (rather then at any other time) they haue their spirits most open, eyther to simple thoughts, or more earnest to of greater importance. This

A good observation to prevent ydle rumors.

Popular seruitude represented by *Cæsar*.

Strabo in Lib. 4. cap. 7.

Corn. Tacit. in lib. 5. cap. 3.

Ceremoniall daies of meeting for generall conference.

Matters consulted on at Banquets by the *Germans*.

Nation,



Nation, which is neyther subtile nor cautelous, will discouer the secrets of their soules in iesting manner: for the minde being naked and discouered, bethinks it selfe better on the day following, & then hath more regard to eyther time. They deliberate when they know no dissembling, and determine when they cannot erre. Such also was the custome of the Country, when the Gaules helde their chiefeft consultations: as hath already bene declared, in the leuying of their men for warre.

Tit. Liv. lib. 3.  
Decad. 6.

The ancient  
Gaules came  
armed to  
Councell.

Titus Livius, speaking of the Gaules, reporteth the same in his one and thirtieth Booke, saying. *Then is seene in them a new and terrible apparance, because (according to the custome of their Nation) they are armed when they come to Councell.* Why then the *Pallas* of the ancient Gauls, came herselfe armed to the Councell: and because they would not do any thing, but it should expresse the courage of the *Gauls*, their assemblies were alwayes made by sound of Trumpet. For *Ennius* writeth so of the *Bellouacanes* Senate, hauing knowne their misfortunes by all contrary things. *Corbus* being slaine, all their Cavalery ouerthrowne, and the very valiantest of their foote-souldiers, when they thought that the Romans drew nere vnto them; then suddenly they assembled a Councell by sound of Trumpet, crying all with one voyce, to send Ambassadors and Hostages to *Cæsar*.

The garments  
of the german  
sitting in coun-  
cell.

What shall wee say of the Germanes? What garments did they weare whē they came to counsell? *They did not any thing (saith Tacitus) neither in affaires publike or particular, but all in Armes. They went armed about their daily negotiations, and came in the same manner to their Banquets.* Blame not then the counells of the Gaules to be done in Armes: for the Romane Orator could say in his owne Language.

*Let Armes giue place to Gownes.*

The habite of  
Warre and  
Peace.

Because Armes are the accoustrements of Warre, and the Gowne is the habite of Peace, followed and attended on by Eloquence. And when the Court of Rome was enuironed with souldiers of Armes, at the pleading of \* *Milo*: the spirit thereof was not onely terrified, but the whole body also trembled with feare. But Elo-

\* The Roman  
that was de-  
fended by  
Tully.

quence vnited it selfe with the Armes of the Gaules, so that there wanted not at one time and place, both Commanders of warre, and learned Orators: for the Gaules Orators (by the irradiation of Armes) were encouraged to speake the more brauely. Princes were pleading Orators in the Gaules counells, where (in generall) all might heare, that had interest in the case in question, as is euident by the examples of *Cæsar*.

Princes were  
pleading Or-  
ators.

*Among the Germanes (saith Tacitus) in publike Councells, the King or Prince, according to his age, according to Nobility, according to the place for warre, and according to his readiness in utterance: was much rather heard for authority in perswading, then any power in commanding. It was also permitted in a full Councell, to accuse of crimes deserving death. The cry or noise of the people, by listning fauourably, or otherwise: signified to the Romane Orators, that their Oration had found good or bad successe. But the counsell of the Gaules, which was made in Armes, as it was reasonable, made a signe by their Armes (although the clattering of weapons was a signe among the Gaules) how they tooke liking of that which had bene said. *Cæsar* writeth so in his 7. Booke, speaking of the Oration of *Vercingetorix*: All the people made a cry (saith he) and according to their custome, made a clattering with their Armes, as they do, when they approve the Oration of any man.*

Corn. Tacit.  
in lib. 9. cap. 9

Julius Cæsar in  
comment. lib. 7

*Marcellinus* declareth in his 21. Booke, that after *Julian* had made his Oration: the Army of the Gaules applauded him, and mingled dreadfull cries, among the loud clashings of their Targets. The Gaules consultations were in Armes; their Orations were approved by Armes, and the oath they take, was vpon Armes. The *Carmentis* (as it is in the 7. Booke) promised in a full counsell of the Gaules, that they would be chiefeft in the warre against *Cæsar*, and because they could not in field giue assurance by the meanes of Hostages, fearing how matters might come about to the end that all might be certaine and sworne, after they had brought together all their Ensignes of warre (as alwayes they vsed to do in very ceremonious manner) they requested, that they wold begin the war, and the other would not forsake them. And in the same Booke there is a most holy oath, to assure the bartel giuen by

Marcellinus

The Cymon  
in the war  
against Cæsar

A sacred oath  
made in war  
in open field.

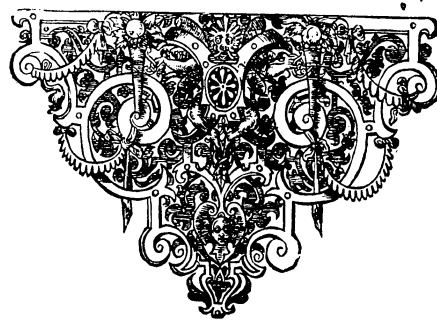
by the horsemen. They on horse cry altogether, that this holy oath may be imposed on euery man: Neuer to be receiued into his house; neuer to goe backe to his parents, nor to his wife, vntill hee haue twice thwarted ouer the enemies armies. Wherto that of *Marcellinus* conformeth, speaking of *Julian*: All were commanded to sweare in his Name, & setting solemnly the points of their swords vnto their throates, made execrable oathes and curses on themselves, if they brake their vows.

But now it is time to finish our discourse. Having thus reported the man-

ners and customes of ancient Gaule, the temperance of the peoples liues, their assurance in dangers, their wisdom in artes and disciplines, their iustice, in ruling and establishing the best meanes, for good ordering and gouerning their common-wealth: There remaineth now no more, but if we can recover the like leysure (having finished some other studies already entred on) we hope to proceed in the manners and customes of our new Gaules or Frenchmen, which will yelde the more delight and pleasure, because the subject is of a farre more excellent nature.

The Authors  
conclusion of  
his long labor

## The End of the first Booke.





## THE SECOND BOOKE.

## CHAP. I.

Of the new Gaules, or those that are called (now adies) Frenchmen, or the people of France, succeeding after their Predecessors, the Ancient Gaules.



S among all parts of the Earth, Europe, (though it is the least) holdeth the verie cheefest rancke, as beeing the principall, and most worthy: So

it is not to bee doubted, but that among all the Countries of Europe, France must needs be the most excellent in all respects. The people of *Arabis* that now are, haue a customary kinde of saying, that if the world were a Ring, the City of *Ormus* must bee the Beziell, Collet or Head, wherein the most precious Stone is to be enchaſed. By much better reason then, may it lawfully be saide of France, and a true saying:

Rowland  
Cant.

It is the lesser eye, & the Pearle of the world.

France abound-  
ing in the  
richly of all  
things.

As one of her owne Poets formerly hath sung. Which no way can be accounted strange, when consideration is iustly made, of the great blessings, commodi- ties, and graces of Heauen, wherewith the Land is and hath beene endowed. For there is nothing else found to be compared therewith; be it if we regard the fertility and abundance of all things, not only necessary for the life of man, but also for all sorts of pleasures and delights. Bee it also, for the sweetnesse, temperance, & amenity of the Ayre: not hauing any other, more graciously regarded by the cie-

of the Sunne. No lesse commendable (for valour) is the courage and spirit of the people, which haue inhabited there to this present time, who not onely haue extended their renoune through all Lands habitable: but also haue excelled in whatsoever can bee applied to the height of minde.

About all (as most admirable) is the dignity, greatnesse, and Maieſty of their Kings, redoubtable and exalted (for their vertues truly heroicall) about all other on the earth. In this excellency then, there are three things to be discounte: the first is that of the Land it selfe; the second is of the People; and the third is of their Kings, which result as well from the two Precedents, as from their owne proper vertue.

Concerning the goodnes of the Land, it were an infinite labour to expresse to many blessings, and all things else which it produceth, euen of best vie for the life of man, and that in such abundance, as sufficeth not only for the people; but also are imparted and diſperſed to other Nations, without any incommody to it selfe, and (in a manner) not to bee discerned. The fat fields, covered with good wheate and all graines else of any kinde, fill the Graunges & Garners euery harvest season. The Mountaines and Hillies, clothed with goodly Vineyards, which bring forth most healthfull and delicate wines: & almost euery where flored with all kinde of fruite trees. There is not a tote of vnprofitable Land, all is laboured and husbanded, or serues for pasture for feeding beaſts, which causeth such plenty of all sorts of flesh. There ye may likewise behold goodly Woods & Forrests, filled with all kinde of game and Venison. Most excellent Flax & Hempe, wherof cloth is made in great abundance. Dyers woad also, Scarlet holme-oake, Saffron, with many

The Maieſty  
and dignity  
the Kings of  
France.

The three  
quarters of  
this in-  
discoute.

The goodnes  
and excellen-  
cy of the  
Country.

Cornes.

Wines.

Fruities.

Pastures.

Woods and  
Forrests.

Flax & Hempe.

Nauigable &  
fishing riuers.

Houſes, Cit-  
ies, Townes,  
and Villages.

The great  
plenty of  
people.

Of Where &  
other Corne.

Strabo in lib. 4.  
Polybius in lib. 4.  
Pomponius Mela  
in lib. 3. c. 11.  
Cicero pro P. Clodius.

Plin. in lib.  
18. cap. 7.  
Nidifium  
grain. & qua-  
ntum lib. 18. p. 1.  
penit. redore,  
quam far aliud.

many singular Plants and Hearbs, not onely for Medicine, but also nourishable.

Heere to I may adde, the admirable sight of great and goodly Riuers, both nauigable, and abounding with fiſh, diſperſing themſelues through France, as veins in the body of man: making the mid-land Regions as apt for commerce, as thoſe on the Sea-coaſts. Beſide a great number of other waters, great Pooles & Pondes, Fountaines, and cleere running Riuers, all meruailous and delectable. Then haue ye goodly houſes and build- ings, an infinite number of rich and great Cities, Townes, Burroughs, Villages, Caſtles, and other Edifices. Moreouer, greater plenty of people, then in any other Region of the world. This is that which is ſo much wondered at by ſtrangers, who haue thought France to bee a terreftriall Paradiſe: making more account (in this caſe) then Frenchmen do themſelues, be- cauſe it is ſo ordinary and frequent vnto them. But to ſuch as haue ſayled into farre remote ſtrange Countries, or otherwiſe haue had intelligence of them: they hold it a happineſſe to themſelues, to ſee the felicity of France ſo farre beyond other, and thereby to know their owne good. All theſe graces might much better bee acknowledged, if we did but ſeuer and conſider them particularly.

Fiſt, for V heate and other Corne, which is the principall ſuſtentation, to maintaine and ſtrengthen the bodye of man: it encreaſeth and aboundeth ſo in France (and that of the beſt that can bee) more then in any part of the world, and likewiſe all other ſorts of graine. It is not a time now to acknowledge ſo great a happineſſe, for we ſee that our Elders haue better knowne and felt it, when the Land was not thoroughly ſo well husbanded and tilled. As wee diſcerne by that which is written by *Strabo*, *Iulius Solinus*, *Polybius*, & *Pomponius Mela*, who ſpeake thereof expreſſely. Alſo *Cicero* reporteth, that (in his time) was brought to Rome, and into Italy, great quantities of Corne from the Gaules. *Pliny* the Great hath alſo obſerued the ſame, for ſpeaking of the Corne of France, he ſaith: That it was moſt cleane Corne, and that it yielded foure pound of Bread, more then any other. It is well known in theſe dayes, that *Spaine*

furniſheth herſelfe with the Wheate and Graine of France, and that it is to her as a nurſing Mother. And *Portugall* it ſelfe, which is deſcribed to bee one of the moſt happy and fertile countries of the Spains, hath recourſe to France: as we may ſee by y which *Ozorius* ſaith, a Portugall Biſhop of *Sylues*; & the ſame is reported likewiſe by others, who haue written of Relations.

And for Wines, the country is no leſſe fruitfull, in producing ſuch as are very good, and in great affluence. This hath alſo beene confeſſed by our Ancients, according to the teſtimonie of *Solinus* and *Pliny*, who renoune *Bituricum* citem. Perhaps this may be interpreted, not of *Bourges*; but of the wine about *Bordeaux*, whereto the people are called *Bituriges Puiſci*. He ſpeaketh alſo of the wine of *Beziens*, whereto hee giueth the cheefſt place among all them of Gaule. And *Julian* the Emperor ſaith, that there were good vines in the grounds of *Paris*. Behold how *Colonnella* makes his moane, at that which the Italians did, for planting of Vines: forſaking their owne country, they went to ſeek in the delicate grounds of France, in the Iſles *Cyclades*, and thoſe of *Andolozia*. Wherby we may perceiue, that he equalleth the grounds of France and their wines, with them of *Aſicadella*, Greece, and of *Spaine*.

*Pliny* ſaith, that in Italy they highly c- ſteemed the Grapes of France, making mention alſo of a certaine kinde of admirable Grape there growing; which daily turneth it ſelfe to the Sunne, like as the *Heliotropium* doth, and therefore is called after the Greeke word *Streptos*. Wine is tranſported from France to Rome, which is there accounted very delicious: eſpecially, that which is gathered in the grounds of *Vienna*, which they call *Picatum*, as *Plutarch* declarerh in his *Symposiakes*. Notwithſtanding, there is a difficulty found in theſe wordes, as namely, that which *Oppian* ſaith, in the life of the Emperor *Probus*. That he had permitted to the Frenchmen to hane and plant Vines. Notwithſtanding, it appeareth, that they were in France before his time.

The reſolution of this, dependeth thus; that by the Ediſt of the Emperor *Domitian*, he had enioyned to the inhabitants of the Prouinces, to cut all the Vines, ſewer excep-

Of the plenty  
of Wines.  
Polybius cap. 24.  
B. Strabo lib. 4.  
Plin. in li. 14.  
cap. 2.  
B. Strabo lib. 4.  
cap. 2.  
Plin. in lib.  
14. cap. 6.

In Miſopogone.  
Strabo in li. 4.  
cap. 2.  
In iſta lib. 1.  
de re Ruſt. & in  
diſcrim. condi-  
mex inſuſit  
Cyclades ac  
regionibus Gal-  
licis actiſſis.

Plin. lib. 14. c. 1.  
Marian. ubi que-  
cum Sole cir-  
cum g. v. v. v.  
que ed id Stre-  
ptos dicatur &  
in Italia Gallia  
cum placeat  
trans Alpes ve-  
ro Picenum.

Plut. lib. 5.  
quell. 3.





Herodot. in l. 3.

Ile De Los  
Ladrones.

obtained. The Ethiopians (saith Herodotus) contemning gold, doe value copper beyond all other; and at this instant, silver is made more account of in China, the gold is. The people dwelling in the Ile De Los Ladrones, in the Sea called *Su*, although they have no more store of gold, then of other mettals: yet notwithstanding, they couer not, or demand any of passengers Ships laying by them; but call to them with loud cries, to let them have yron, which they acknowledge to be most necessary.

The French were neuer  
cousious of  
gold or silver.

It is to be credited, that there are no lesse store of Mines (both of gold and silver) at this day in France, then formerly hath beene knowne, and spoken of by our Ancients: as daily might bee discovered, if men would give their mindes to search and breake open the ground for them. But the French were neuer affected to such greedy desires, the earth yeelds and fush them vp commodities sufficient, goods & treasures in abounding plenty: without violating or deluding into the earths entrailes, and very profoundest deeps, euen (as if we should say) to burye men alive, renting and tearing hard Rocks in peeces, Jewelling high Mountaines, to melte and fine them, with the losse of an infinite number of liues. Day and night is spent in these extreme passions, to get this vile mettall, and then to adore it as a God, being the true cause & originall of the greatest miseries that can happen to man: albeit Nature (in her purity of wisdom) placed it to be trodden on vnder our feet, and hid it close in the earth, as a thing unworthy to be seene.

Plin. lib. 32.  
cap. 2.

There are many other treasures & gifts of Nature, which are afforded vs by France. *Quantum apud nos margaritis Indica precium est, tantum apud Indos in Corsilio: gignitur in Rubro mari, laudatissimum vero in Gallico sinu ad Stachades.* Looke how much (in these quarters) we esteeme the Pearles & precious Stones of India, as much reckoning there is made of our Corall. And though it encreaseth in the gulfe of Arabia; yet notwithstanding, the most excellent commeth from the Isles Stachades, now called the Isles of Ieres, so saith Pliny.

Of Salt.

Among so many benefits and commodities, Salt likewise is one, the best & most wholesome that can be in any Country: in which regard, it is sought for by stran-

gers, euen whence commeth great store of gold and silver into France, beside that which is of her owne ordinary vie. *Botero* ranketh it among the foure things which aboundeth in France, teamed by him Adamants, as drawing to them the gold of strangers countries. *These foure Adamants* (saith he) are *Corn Wine, Flax and Hemp, and Salt.*

In diuers parts of France, are the materials fit for all kinds of building. Hard stone and other matters, wherof infinite are to be seene in goodly, great, and rich buildings, Castles, and publike Edifices, wherewith the Country is wel filled, and cities beautified. Nor is it destitute of the fairest Marbles, in which respect, wee may not omit that which hath beene obserued by our Ancients, as a thing particular giuen to Gaule: that those Stones and materials do encrease in the Quarries, how liberally fouer dispersed abroad, as *Vpian* the Lawyer hath left vs in writing.

It was not then without great reason, that the Poet *Mannius* call'd France *Rich*. And *Dion* teames it *Flourishing* in riches. It seemeth also to be knowne to *Iosephus*, who declareth, how King *Agrippa* deliuering to the Iewes, what inconueniences might come vnto them, by reuolting a gainst the Romanes: demanded of them if they could speake of more wealth then the Gaules had; more strength then the Allemaignes or Germanes; and better vinity and vnderstanding, then among the Greekes, all which (neuertheless) were vnder the dominion of the Romans. And the better to perswade them, in the commodities and advantages of all those people, being vnder their yoke & obedience: he saith of the Gaules, that they were (in multitude) three hundred & fise kinde of people. And had among them (by his manner of speaking) *Welles and Springs of all happines and felicity, watering and bedewing the whole Land habitable, with riches and good blessings.* He addeth beside, that there were then in Gaule, about twelue hundred Townes and Cities.

Inlike manner, *Casir* hauing bent all his hopes, one day to make himselfe Master and Monarch of the whole estate, power and dignity of the Romane Empire, and finding himselfe in want of money, charged with great debts, and yet (necessarily) to lay out greater largesse and expences,

Velle de la  
Cauille de la  
di. 220. d. 11. 11.

Of hard flax

The fairest  
Marbles.L. Fr. 1. 1. 1.  
L. Fr. 1. 1. 1.Dion. lib. 4.  
Agrippa.I. Josephus  
de lib. 1. 1. 1.  
I. Josephus  
de lib. 1. 1. 1.Cassius  
de lib. 1. 1. 1.  
Cassius  
de lib. 1. 1. 1.Sueton. in l. 10.  
cap. 23.Economia  
procuratorum  
Gallias possi-  
mum elegit, cu-  
ius commendatio  
& opportunitas  
maioris tri-  
umphi.The cunning  
of Casir to  
compasse  
that which he  
aymed at.Sueton. cap. 26.  
in l. 10.Plut. in l. 10.  
Cassius  
de lib. 1. 1. 1.  
Cassius  
de lib. 1. 1. 1.Sueton. in l. 10.  
cap. 23.Plut. Marcel-  
lus in l. 10.  
Cassius  
de lib. 1. 1. 1.P. 1. 1. 1.  
de lib. 1. 1. 1.

ences: to compasse the maine Master-peece wherat he aimed; Among the multitude of mighty Provinces, hee chose principally the Gaules (saith Suetonius) whose profuse riches, occasion, and opportunity, was to him subiect & matter sufficient, apt & commendable for so great triumphing. Shewing thereby that it was the goodliest, richest, most potent, and worthy Province of the Romane Empire, & thought it there the fittest, to exalt himselfe to the Maiesty of Rome. Which accordingly came to passe, for by the means of the Gaules riches, not onely he discharged himselfe of his great debts: but enriched likewise all his friends, practising with diuers, & winning an infinite number of Lords in Rome, yea, they that were the cheefest Magistrates. In briefe, hee omitted not any kinde of bounty, as well publike as particular.

Among other matters, hee attempted the building of a Pallace, for the iudging of causes, the meere place costing him aboute 1400000 crownes, and altho this came from the pillage of the Gaules. He feasted all the people of Rome, which was a thing (well neere) impossible and infinite. He doubled the pay of his Legions & companies of soldiers, to perpetuity; enriching the rest with good gifts, beside great distributions, as well of monies as flanes, as also lands and victuals, which he caused to be giuen to euery Citizen of Rome, & likewise to his Captains & Soldiers. For *Plutarch* saith; *He emptied out of his owne Coffers, the riches of the Gaules, to such as help him to the publike gouernment of Rome, euen what they would haue. He acquitted Curio the Tribune of a great sum of money, which he ought him: And gaue to the Consul Paulus, 1500. Talents, amounting to 900000. Crownes of french coine.*

All this bounty, all these goods & treasures, were taken in Gaule, & (as Suetonius saith) without any spare of the Temples, which he knew to be rich in gifts: & many times sacking Cities, rather for the greedy desire of booty, then any other iust cause. And *Cicero* saith: *That he had ouercome Nations, abounding in all things & in all the several kinds of power; this he meant of the Gaules. For not only was that true which *Procopius* saith; That Gaule is much more powerfull then Spaine: but also about all the other Provinces of the Romane Empire, according to the iudgement of*

*Casir*. So then, it may iustly be saide, that Gaule, as well for riches, as for the me that he found there, gaue entrance to the great power of *Casir*, & was the cause, means, and instrument of his designs, & obtaining the Empire of the world, which hee enjoyed, in despite of so many Romane Lords, his aduersaries and competitors.

But among so many prosperities, it is a matter both rare & admirable, that there are to be found few or no discommodities at all, wherewith the land should be annoyed. There is not any Region in the world, how goodly or happy soeuer it may be said to be, but is subiect to sundry inconueniences, that make a counte poise to the felicity thereof. *Arabia*, which carrieth the surname of *Happy*, wherein, beside so many blessings it affordeth, the odors & perfumes there growing, maketh the aire all embalmed, as it were: yet in counterchange, it hath two very great discommodities. One is, that in those Forrests of most odoriferous trees, throughout in euery place, are found a great number of small and short serpents, of the same colour as the earth is, that subtilly sting and byte men, before they haue any power to perceiue it, or defend themselves against it; and being thus bitten, they cause their death in a million of torments. The other is that these so happy people are subiect to a strange disease, proceeding fro their ouermuch ease, and hot perfumes of the country: so that to helpe themselves, they are enforced to find out all kinds of stinking and infectious smells, euen the foulest that can be, so saith *Diodorus*. So that there is no happinesse in any part, neither any such pleasing sweetnes; but it is conioynd & neighbored with one greete or other.

The Regions of *Africa*, those that are the most delicious of all, are ordinarily afflicted with an infinite number of wilde beasts, horrible Dragons, Serpents, & other venomous creatures: beside Lions, Leopards, Panthers, Ounces, & prodigious monsters, which *Africa* produceth from time to time, often rayfing sledge against the inhabitants, compelling them to seeke out new dwellings. *China*, which is described to vs to be so fortunate, and abounding in all things: hath many afflictions. Fire falls fro heauen there vially and such wonderful rauage is made, that not only it embraceth & consumes parti-

No matter of  
discommodi-  
ty robe found  
in France.The inconue-  
niences that  
are in Arabia  
Felix.Small sting-  
ing Serpents.A strange  
disease.Diod. Sic. in l. 10.  
cap. 18.The infelicities  
of Africa  
Dragons, Ser-  
pents, & dan-  
gerous wilde  
Beasts.The afflic-  
tions of China.Fire from  
heauen.

cular houses; but Villages, Burroughs, & great Cities altogether, yea, many times whole Provinces. Deluges and inundations have also wrought there strange effects, spoyling, overthrowing, and defacing whole Countries, & that very often Earthquakes, ingulfings, and impetuous showres of raine, are (as a man should say) there daily: thus you see what delight and happinesse, is in the greatest & most renowned kingdome of the East.

There are Countries, which suffer colds and insupportable freezings: as other are meere burnt and wasted with heates. Witnesse the \* *Namones*, who in regard of this heate (they dwelling beyond the Torride Zoane) do curse the Sunne when it passeth ouer them. Ihus then other Regions, being esteemed so happy for perfumes, odours, & such kinde of delights: doe sometime pay very dearly for their pleasures: perill is euermore neighbour to ioy, and contentment is close followed at the heeles, with some or other mishap.

Whosoever thinketh to gather the sweets of their fairest flowers, or the iuyce of their most delicious plants; may as soone meete with deadly poyson, and in stead of sweetnesse, finde such bitternesse, as quickly will bring him to his graue. Either by the Aspicke lying close hidden, whose pricke causeth sudden sleepe, & procureth death in that sleepe. The Snakes byring, bringeth a deadly drought with it. The Viper filleth the whole body full with venom, by his byting. The Basilike slayeth by his very sight onely. The earth by quaking, endangereth to swallow men vp, or overthrow and kill them in their houses. A deluge suddenly carrieth away, and couers all with water. The Lyon or the Tyger comes onely to deuoure.

*Strabo* hauing related the goodnesse of *Batica* in *Spaine*, which is now *Granada* & *Andalouzia*, saith withall, that the country is perfected with an afflictio very strange yet reputed to be ridiculous. It is by the great and immense multitude of Conies or Rabbits, which feede on, and consume their feedes, plants, and rootes of trees. He also saith, it hence enlueth, that almost throughout *Spaine* yea, and the neighbouring Isles, are thereby afflicted. Adding beside, that the inhabitants of the Isles *Gymnasia* or *Baleares*, now called *Maioque* and *Minorque*, sent Ambassadors, to

request aid of the Romanes, against these hurtfull creatures, and to chafe them out of their country, as being vnable to endure their multitude. And succour was necessarily required in so great a warre, which doth not alwayes happen (saith he) but when the country is subiect to be infected with some plague of pestilence, famine, or such other affliction and punishment sent from Heauen.

*Marcus Varro* writeth, that a Towne in *Spaine* was wholly vndermined, and ruined by those Conies, & another in *Thessaly*, by Moales. Some that haue bene dispeopled & forsaken, in regard of the great multitude of Frogs. Another in *Africa*, by Locusts. Also, that the inhabitants of the City \* *Gyaros*, now called *Gura*, in one of the *Cyclades*; were expelled thence by Rats: and that in *Italy*, an ancient City called *Amylea*, was vtterly ruined and lost by Serpents. There is a Region in *Africa*, where a great extensure of the country is become desert, the people which dwelled there being driuen to all extremities, and quite exterminated, onely by Scorpions and Pistemires, which are a kinde of venomous Ants. *Theophrastus* reporteth, that others were expelled by \* *Scelopendraes*. And *Strabo* saith, that *Spaine* was ordinarily infected with a strange multitude of Rats: whereupon (oftentimes) followed contagious diseases. The like happened once to the Romanes, when they were in the countries of the *Basques* and *Astures*: so that they were glad to hire men to chafe them away, the Rats came so fast vpon them, and hardly could they faue themselves from them. An ancient Philosopher, named \* *Dicaearchus*, wrote a Book, of the ruine of men, and had collected together, how many ruines had happened in diuers countries, by reason of the inopinate multitude of beasts: by whose impetuous violence, he sheweth, that some Nations haue bene lost and consumed.

*France*, on the contrary (God be praised for it) neuer was subiect to so many miseries, & there is nor any Region found in all the habitable world, being so happy, tasteth lesse inconueniences. Deadly poyson cannot deceiue him that gathereth there her wholesome flowers & heabs, or perfumes. The Lyon or Tyger, the rauenous Beare or Panther, cometh not to set vpon the traueiler, or driue the husband-

*Plin. in li. 8. cap. 29. Diad. in Lib. cap. 13.*

\* An Isle in the Aegeum sea, one of its Sporades.

\* A worne that hath no ny feete, and is very vtoluous.

\* A Sicilian Philo: bet, Aristotle Scholier.

*France may compare with any Region whatsoever in the world.*

The Gymnasian Islands or Baleares plagued with Conies.

Perill of the Aspicke.

The Snake.

The Viper.

The Basilike Earthquake.

Deluge.

*Herodotus in li. 3.*

The misery of *Batica* in *Spaine*.

*Strabo in Lib. 3.*

No venomous creatures in all France.

Of the Aspicke in France.

*In li. 8. cap. 2.*

The flesh is fouer sign for diseases. *B. id. Ang. Ab. latus li. de Vigna.*

The Egyptian hieroglyphick of health.

None of these nouelties are in France.

*Lib. cap. 80. Gallie terre modum minime quauit.*

man from his home. The Serpent cannot annoy the passenger or haruest Reaper by his byting, because there is none at all to be found there. A man may safely take the Evening or Mornings benefit on the greene grasse, without dread of any venomous creature, which are most dangerous in other countries. But admit that there were some kinde of Serpents or Snakes in some peculiar parts: yet are they very few, and no harme at all discerned to come from them. No Egyptian Aspicke is there to be found, and that which is termed in *France* an Aspicke: it is no Aspicke at all but rather a Viper, as is verified in the Observations of *P. Bologninus*. Neuertheless, it is rare or seldome to be seene there, and benefit (rather then any harme) is to be receiued thereby. And say that this Serpent were very venomous: yet notwithstanding, it serueth most commodiously for the life of man, and Treacle is compounded thereof. The verie learnedst Physicians do hold, that the flesh thereof is soveraigne for many diseases, and that which is much more, it hath power to lengthen the life of man, in such as make ordinary vse of it, as manie of our Ancients did, and other healthfull people yet liuing, who haue heretofore referred the cause of their so long healthfull continuance. Thus our Ancients, and especially the learned Egyptians, vsed the Snake as an Hieroglyphick, marke and signe of health: presenting it to theyr Goddesse *Sanitas*, rouled about with other creatures.

Moreover, *France* is not subiect to the miseries and horrors of Earth-quakes. Neuer shall ye there heare the earth grone, bellow, then tremble, shake, and swallow vp houses, Burroughes, & whole Townes, making groweth of Mountaines, by leuellling and plaining other places, to drie vp waters and riuers, and then sodainly to let loose Flood-gates of Nouelties; to stay their violent course of a streame, and then to make it run directly against his currēt: to let forth flaming fires, to finish that with greater defolation, which the former Earth-quake had left behinde it. By an especial priuiledge of heauen, *France* stands exempted from all these; experience hath made it apparant, & *Pliny* long ago witnessed it, when he saide: That the *Gauls* were not shaken by tremblings of the earth.

To know the quiet condition and felicity of *France* in this case, wee may compare and consider other Nations & Provinces, and what great afflictions and ruines haue insued to them by such harmes, in most part of the worlds Regions. Wee finde, that in *Italy* and other Countries, in the time of the *Punicke* warres, the people were tormented with Earth-quakes, seven and fifty times in one yeare. VWho would not be amazed, to heare that two hills should approach neere each to other, to iustle (as it were) together; then, to retire and auancer on againe, after the manner of fight, stirring and moving furiously, with an horrible noise and breaking? A great fire and sinoake rose vp betweene them; and by this their rude encounter, houses and villages (seated in the valley) were bruiued and beaten downe, & both men and beasts smothered to death: euen as it happened in the Territorie of *Modena*, in the yeere 622. and in the City of *Rome*, in the time of the wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*. This was seene in broad day time, by a great number of passengers & Romanes Cities, who beheld this wofull spectacle, from the neere-neighbouring high-way, or hill ascending to the Capitoll.

It was a strange thing, that trembling or Earth-quake, which happened vnder the Emperor *Tiberius*, and in the 5. yeare of his Empire (to the end we may not, as *Orosius* doth, confound it with that which chanced twelue years after, miraculously, euen at the passion of our Sauour: *Tacitus* reporteth, that in this yeere (which was the 770. of the City of *Rome*) in one night, twelue great and famous Cities of *Natalia*, were ruined and vtterly overthrowne, such as was *Ephesus*, *Sardis*, *Cuma*, *Philadelphia*, and other of the same ranke. And that which was most terrible, they had not the means of open flight, an ordinary succour in such misfortunes: yet thereof they were deprived, because the earth shrinke and opened vnder their feete, and swallowed them vp immediately. Herewithall arose shinings and flames of fire among the ruines; and that which was plaine champaigne grounde before, was exalted to Mountaines, and contrarywise, Mountaines became euen and leuell ground.

Heere might also bee alledged, the vfall

*Plin. li. 2. cap. 9.*

Two great mountains met together.

*Plin. li. 2. cap. 9.*

*Corn. Tacit. Annal. 1.*

*Plin. in li. 2. cap. 9. English in Chron.*









Strage plague  
in Constantin-  
ople, and in  
the Graue  
Caire.

mented with a pestilence, which doeth greatly dispeople it: to the no meane amazement of many, that haue made deep search into the cause. So it is in like manner affirmed by diuers, that the *Grand Cairo* is euery year afflicted with the Pestilence. Vndoubtedly, when I consider with my selfe, that great *Louis*, vulgarly called *Chlouis*, stayed his opinion, and made *Paris* the seat of his kingdom, leaving many other Cities which were then far greater: and that before him, the Emperor *Julian* (being come into France) established there his ordinary abode, and called it *Amiable* or *Louely*. I am compelled to admire therein, their great Wisdom and vnderstanding, in choosing a place so commodious, so pleasant and answerable; although then it seemed to be one of the least Citties of Gaul. It would require an entire volume to speak thereof, and yet none will credit what it is, except they haue the happinesse to see it: & the fight may much better satisfye them, then all that can be sayde or written of it. Therefore I wil end this discourse, adding onely that which is sayde by *Botero Parigi*, *Città che di popolo, & di abbondanza d'ogni cosa, ananza di gran lunga tutte l'alre di Christianità. Paris a City that in people and abundance of all things, goeth farre beyond all the rest of Christendome.*

### CHAP. II.

*Of the People dwelling in this fruitfull Land of France, what they were being ancient by Gaules, and afterwards Frenchmen: their Manhood, Valour, and successfull Fortunes.*



Enough hath bene sayde (though too vnskillfully and altogether weakly) concerning the beauty, bountie, perfections & excellencies of the

Land it selfe in all things: let vs now see (according vnto our intended purpose) what the people haue bene and are in their condition. Such as haue heard of

so extraordinary felicity, perhappes may quickly condemne mee, by alledging it as a matter impossible: that in a Region so pleasant, gracefull, and abounding in all kindes of goodnesse: the inhabitants can any way be vertuous, valiant, and courageous. Great *Cyrus* was of that Opinion, when his victorious *Persians* laboured to change their Countrey, in regard it was sharpe, rough, rude, and Mountainous; for one of them which they had conquered, that was more pleasant, consisting of goodly plaines, and euen *Champaigne* grounds. Which hee would not suffer them to doe, but shewed them, that like vnto seeds and plants, so are the liues of men made conformable vnto those Regions where they abide. As if hee would haue sayd, that in a fair & fortunate countrey, the mindes of men alter, and quickly become effeminate.

*Hanniball*, not onely inuincible by the Armies of the Romanes, but also by so many victories ouer them, bringing them neerer to their viter ruine, then euer they were or had bene: was ouerthrowne and confounded, by the soft and easfull delights of *Capua*. The sweets of his winter sojourning there, did enurate and weaken both him and all his army, which the rough Alpes and freezing snowes, had formerly made vnconquerable. Euen so we may say, and very truly, that the high and mighty courage of *Alexander*, was softened by the luxury, sumptuousnes, and dissolutions among the Persians.

It is a matter verie frequent and ordinarie, that the Provinces of greatest happinesse, become a prey to others, in becoming voluntarily destitute of courageous men. For, a more warlike people coming to invade them, after they haue continued there for some time: they forget their former generosity, as if they were wholly changed, and with the very ayre of the countrey, had deriued to themselves the verie same Nature. Sicily hath alwaies bin the butt and ayne of all warlike people, as of the *Grecians*, the *Carthaginians*, and the *Romanes*, and of many other beside.

Also in Egypt, which is one of the verie choicest, fertilest, and richest Nations of the worlde: the most martiall people that come to stay there, doe after enter into such a lazic condition, that they stand in neede of chafing thence, euen as they

The wisdom  
of Cyrus  
against the  
folly of his  
soldiers.

Hanniball  
victorious  
against the  
Romanes, lost  
his honor at  
Capua.

Alexanders  
dissolutions  
Persia.

Sicily the  
Land of  
warlike  
people.

The fruit-  
fulness of  
Egypt  
doth to make  
all people.

\*A Spring  
neere to Ha-  
lycarnassus.

Amorall Al-  
lusion of the  
Fable.

Frenchmen  
are truly born  
warriors.

\*Zozim in his  
Imp. P. alexand.

they did to the first inhabitants. The like great and frequent changes haue bin often obserued, as well in ancient as more moderne times; and namely, vnder the *Mahometane Califfes*. It is reported of the Wel \* *Salmacis* in *Caria* (which is one of the regions of *Natolia*) that such as drinke the water thereof; of men, doe immediately become women. But the truth is, according to the relation of *Vitruuius*, that it is a place so goodly, pleasant, and where the people liue in such delights and dissolutions; that the courages of men, after they haue liued there any long while, becometh altogether effeminate or womanish; which gaue such a subiect to the Fable, as if they had bene changed into women, and receyued into another Nature. Some haue attributed (to the felicitous reason) the vnmanlinesse of the latter Grecian Emperors of *Constantinople*, through the ouer-much delicacie of the Countrey.

All this is contrary in France, for amidst such a great affluence, and euen among a world of pleasures; generous spirits are borne, truly warriors, and of men excelling in all vertues, it yeeldeth withall the like abundance of euery other thing; yea, euen among those Frenchmen as suffer themselves to be led into all pleasures, in peacefull & vndisturbed times; yet are they not thereby softened a iotte, neyther loose any of their courage, valour, and addresse to actions of Armes. But euen, as if they were meere borne thereto, nor euer learned any other kinde of exercise: being euermore readie to giue ouer all pleasures, to follow the warres, march to fights, and throw themselves first into the mouth of danger. This is their true exercise, their naturall inclination, vvhich they knowe not how to forget or giue ouer; and whensoever they delight in hunting, yet are they more readie to returne to Armes.

The like naturall disposition is described by *Zozimus*, of the Emperor *Valentinian*, who although hee was a man giuen to much pleasure, and addicted himselfe thereto at due seasons: yet notwithstanding, when occasion required, he was alwayes readie to vnder take Armes, whereof as patiently hee endured all the paines, toiles, and incommodities, euen as if hee had taken a great pleasure and felicitie

therein. Such a man was *Demetrius* King of Macedon among the Grecians, and *Marcus Antonius* among the Romanes; and *Scipio* giues very little ground vnto them in martiall disposition. *Cæsar* also, speaking of his Army (composed for the most part of Gaules) saide: *That his Soldiers, howeuer they were perfumed, yet they left not (for all that) to fight valiantly and courageously. Milites non etiam unguentatos, bene pugnare.* The like account was heretofore made, that the Belgians were the most hardiest and valiant amongst the Gaules: because, they would permit no Merchandizes to be brought into their Countrey, that any way might serue to soften the naturall inclination of Men. But he knew well enough soon after, that valiance and Militarie vertue was so naturall, vnto them that were borne and nourished vnder the ayre of Gaul, as it could not by any meanes be quailed in them, or separated from them, by the plenty of any thing seruing vnto voluptuousnesse.

Some haue held opinion, that the rigor and austeritie of the Persian youths, and their continuall manner of liuing in so stricke a kinde; prooued to be the onely cause, that they were much better men of warre, then their neighbours. And surely, the Lacedemonians differed not from this coniecture of them, when they saide: They made no great meane why they went so boldly to warre, and exposed themselves vnto death; considering, what small delight and contentment they tooke in life, in regard of the harsh and rigorous discipline of their lawes. But the Gentlemen of France, although they be borne and bred delicately, they do neuer faile in generous courage: Armes, and verie hard Trauailes in Warre, are vnto them as sportes and pastimes; and, to speake iustly, they are born thereto, without neede of so much cunning and instruction, as others haue to exercise and prepare them.

Those people that Fraunce hath bred and yeilded, haue alwayes bene redoubtable for their Armes, to all other Nations of the world. The Romanes well felt it, when they were hewed in peeces by the Gaules, on the day at *Alia*. And afterward, when (vpon their fodaine coming on them) they were constrained

Men a li-  
d to armes  
by nature.

Sueton in Tiberio,  
Cap. 67.

The stricke  
forme of life  
obserued among  
the young men of  
Persia, ordered  
at amongst the  
Lacedemonians.

The Romanes  
felt the man-  
hood of the  
Gaules to  
their cost.

in Mithras.

Lib. 1. Delle  
coste della  
grandezza delle  
Città.

He proceed-  
ed on with  
his second dis-  
course.

The error of  
the Roman  
historians.

Решение. 1.

Suet. in vit. Ti-  
berio cap. 7.

 $\ln L^2 = 1$ 

Cicero in Orat  
De provinciis  
consularibus.

In fine Bel. Ing  
 " (sue ad nostr  
 ueniamiam Ro  
 mani sic habue  
 re, alia omnia  
 virtutis sue pro  
 ne esse. f. Gal  
 lis pro salute, p  
 pro gloria cert  
 ri.

to hide themselves in their Capitoll, the which yet was not sufficient to save them till (in the end) they were gladde to pay a great quantity of golde and siluer to the Gauls, for their ransom. And although their historians labour to make men beleue, that *Camillus* the Dictator exterminated the greater part of the Gauls, & brought back againe that which was giuen for ransom; yet notwithstanding, *Polibius* a very ancient Author, neede enough to those times, well experienced in the history, & being an excellent writer beside, hee declareth the contrary, saying: *The Gauls went away victorious, having granted peace to the Romans, by means of a great summe of gold, which they brought thence with thē.* Which is moreover confirmed by *Suetonius*, who sayeth: *One of the house of the Neroses, Ancellors to the Emperor Tiberius, having made warre on the Gauls called Senones, descending from them that surprized Rome: brought backe the gold of the ransom which had him payed thence; & that it was not recovered by Camillus, as the rumour ranne.* And beside, those very men that sacked Rome, returning thorow Italy, made alliance with the elder *Dionysius*, the Tyrant of Siracusa, and aided him with their troopes against the Locrians and Crotones his enemies, as it is auouched by *Troius Pompeius*.

If the losse of the Gauls had bin so notable, as *Linus* hath defcribed it: they could not have peached a greater country in Italy, & made war so often on the Romans, as at diuers times they did. *Wee had enough to do, (saith Cicero) to resist them, & to defend our selves, being continually assailed by them. And our Captaines and Commanders in war perpetually accounted, that it was fitter to defend, & beare off their blowes in such a war, then to set on or assault them.* It is wel known of *great Marius*, when he opposed himselfe against the efforts and stratagems of the Gauls, that hee neuer durst attempt to enter their Lands. They to whome all other war was easie, lost all their fencing tricks against the Gauls. *Hitherto (saith Salust) the Romans euermore conceined, that all things came way, and were to be yoked by their vertue. But only against the Gauls, when they were to fight with them, not for honour and glory, but for defence of their lives.*

Nor did they tearme this warre but tu-

mult & insurrection, because that by the promptitude of the Frēsch, in vsing arms; they had not the leisure to beate their drum; to raise or call their companies; but suddenly, without any choise, tooke such for soldiers as could carry Armes. They had a particular Exchequer or Treasurie by it selfe, destined to be employed onely about the charges of the Gaulish warres, whensoever they hapned: as being one of the greatest & most extreame necessities belonging to their City. And though in all other wars some good exempted from going to them, as such as had spent their time in war, being called *Veteranes*, or ancient seruitors; yet (in such a case) they must needs march, without any regard at all of such exemption. *It oportet bello Gallico ut maior a iura moreq; praescribant, nullo offi Citius Romani: qui sibi iura excusant, non utendum puer.* According to the Lawes of our Ancestors (saith *Cicero*) and according vnto ordinary custome, there is not any Romane Citizen, that must thinke only to pro-pound any exemption, when there happeneth any war with the French.

Nay, that which is more, the *Romains* quitted and gaue them freely the honour belonging to actions of arms. *Cato* voluntarily confesseth in *Salust*, That the *Greeks* had gone beyond the *Romans* in eloquence and the *Gauls* them, in the glory of war. And this is the reason, why they alwaies stood in feare of the country that brought forth a people naturally warriors, & in so great a number. When they named that Province, they would say, *It was too fearefull for the Romaines*. Neuer was any speech of the least stir or tumult in *Gaul*, but they would all tremble. And thereupon, immediately after the death of great *Cæsar* the Dictator, it was propounded to the Senate to give out *Gaul*, leaving it to full liberty, although it was formerly conquered and assured. These are the very words of *Appian*: There was (saith hee) made a Decree and arreet to the Senate, concerning *Gaul*: all the Senators being possessed with feare. A little lower hee saith: Some amongst them were of the minde, That they must needs give over, and forsake all the whole Countrey and People, leaving them as libertie, and to enfranchise them from subjection unto the Empire. So much they stood in feare and dread of the Neighbourhoode of *Gaul*.

And

An Exchequer in Rome only for the Gauls war

*Cicciopra* Fr  
te. 2

In Coniur. Ca-  
tilin. Facundia  
Græcos, gloria  
belli Gallos Ro-  
manos ante ju-  
stic.

ier. de proxi.  
 rys Consulats  
 Gallia Rom. in  
 adeo timenda.

in lib. 3. de Eccl.  
mil.

Called also  
Gallia Tog  
ta, and Cite  
rior Gallia,  
now named  
Lombardie

\*People of  
Celtic in  
France, pla-  
ting them-  
selves by the  
Ruer Iber

\*A Citie of Celtiberia, Spain, besieged 14 years by the Romans.

And *Cicero* saith; *Nature* hath munited  
Italy with a rampier of *Alpes*, not without  
divine providence. For if that entræce (sayth  
he) were laid open to the fury and multitude  
of the *Gaules*: ever would the City of *Rome*,  
the seat and dwelling place of the Emperre,  
only Souveraigne of the worlde, bee besied-  
ged.

It is not to the Romans only, that the French haue made knowne their vnconquerable corage; and to feelle the strength of dreadles armes; what Canton? what quarter of the world is there, where they haue not planted their conquering Engins? the Celts (forso the Grecians termed the French) are found to dwell in most parts of the vniuerse, as hauing lefte France, in regard of their ouer-great multitude, to seeke new countries elsewhere, which they conquered with their sword, and became Masters of them. They are dispersed ouer all Europe, and hardly is there any quarter, where they haue not left the markes of their victories, and records of their name. Spaine is full of such Colonies, whose names would be considered out of diuers countries, according as ancient Geographers haue tiled them. And first to speake of the *Celiberians*, who are prooue sufficient to our purpose, and accounted to be the most valiant people in Spaine. No doubt, as they still retain the name, so doe they (in like manner) keepe the vertue and valour of the Gauls their Ancestors, that came to inhabit there, and also to make a Plantation of their name.

Some fourethousand of those *Celiberians*, defended most courageously the city of *Numantia*, and sustained the siege for foureteen years, against the Effortes of many Roman armies, yea, and of theyr very cheefest Captaines, vntill such time as they were enforced to fend their *Scipio* thither. In the end, the so long besiedged Celiberians, chose rather to burn themselves and their City together, then to yeeld to theyr implacable Enemies, vnto whom they left nothing to adorne theyr triumph, but theyr very name only.

At this very day, *Portugal* and *Gallizia* do carry the names of their first founders the *Gaules*. They entred also vpon a great part of *Italy*, comprhending (in the same respect) the name of *Gallia Cisalpina*, where they first entred in the reigne of *Tarquini-*

as *Priscus*, King of the Romanes, about the year of the world, MMM. CCC. LX. Therethey founded *Milann*, & afterward *Presidia*, *Nerona*, and other Cities: this courageous, hardy, and warlike Nation (As the very wordes of *Trogus*) the cheetivest next to *Hercules*, and iustly deservting to be called immortal, they (I say) overwent the sharpnesse and bitternes of the Alps, vnpaisible for the snowes & colds. They are found to dwell thorow all Germanie, where are the *Boemes* and *Carnes*; in *Pannonia* or *Austria*, and *Hongaria*; in *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, and *Albania*; in *Thrace*, where they have reigned a sufficient length of time. This may be the reason, why some of our Ancients named Europe, *Celtica*, *Keltica*, because that the most part of the inhabitants, called themselves *Celes* or *Gauls*, as is plainly aouched.

For the same respect, an ancient Geographer saide, that the Northern part of the earth, was inhabited by the Scythians; the Eastern by the Indians; the Southern by the Æthyopians; and the Occidental or Western by the Celts or Gauls: each place and part of the world taking fith denomination, according to the excellency of the people, that were the principal and most renowned in euerie part. The very same Gauls haue made all Macedon and Greece to tremble, and haue sold peace to all other people, who came to buy it, before they were any way assailed, as affrighted with the name of the Gauls onely. *Trogus* reporteth it in this manner: *Tantus terror Gallici nominis erat, ut etiam Reges non laceffit, ultra pacem ingenti pecunia mercarentur.* Such was (saith he) the terror of the Frenchmens name, that Kings neuer being encountered, came of themselves, and by their owne meere motion, to purchase their peace with great summes of Money.

All the lesser *Asia* were as slenderly able to resist them, for it hath bin wholly subdued by them. In like manner, such account was made of their man-hoode, that there hapned not any war in the East, but they were the forwardest partakers therein. It was euermore to them, that afflicted Princes fled for succour, as is declared by the fame *Trogus*, and heere you may read his owne verie Vords. *Gallorum ca Tempelate tante fecunditatis inuentus fuit, ut Asian omnem velut eximiam*

Trog. Pomp. 1  
:b. 24

Many Lands  
inhabited by  
the Celts.

Plat. lib. 2.  
Quadrupet.

The four  
quarters of  
the world, and  
how inhabi-  
ted.

Tree Point, L.I.

The lesser A-  
sia subdued  
by the Frésh

Trog. For: p. 1.10

12

अतः-

Gallo-Græcia  
is named of  
the valiant  
Gauls, that  
declared their  
valour there.

aliquo implerent : Deniq, neq, Reges Orientis  
sine mercenario Gallorum exercitu colla bella  
gesserint, neq, pulsî regno ad alios quam ad  
Gallos confugerint. Tantius terror Gallici no-  
minis sine armorum inuicta felicitas erat, ut  
alter neq, Mæstetatem suam tutam, neque  
amissam recuperare se posse, sine Gallica vir-  
tute arbitarentur. Deniq, in auxilium à By-  
thinia Rege innocati, regnum cum eo par-  
ticipatio diuiserunt, eamq, regionem Gallo-  
Græciam cognominauerunt. There was then  
such an abundance of youthfull French, that  
they filled Asia, euen as if it had bin swarms  
of Bees : in such sort, that the Kings of those  
quarters of the East, attempted not any war,  
wherein they had not Frenchmen under pay.  
And if they chaced to be expelled from their  
estates, they had no other recourse, but to  
throwe themselves into the armes of the  
French. Such was the terror of the French-  
mens Name, or the invincible felicity of their  
Armes, that Kings knew not howe to pro-  
vide, nor conferre their Mæstie, or to re-  
couer it againe being lost, without the valour  
of the French. To conclude, being called by  
the King of Bithinia, to lend him succour, af-  
ter they had parted away with victory, they  
also parted or diuided his kingdom with the,  
and surnamed the Countrey Gallo-Græcia, or  
French-Greece.

Those verie Gauls whereof we now  
speake, were come away from Thrace,  
where they (before) had established a  
Kingdome : which continued afterward,  
till the time of *Charius* their last king, ac-  
cording to the report of *Polytius*. The  
people of Thrace, of *Bizantium*, and of  
*Cherronefus*, being then their tributaries.  
All this is affirmed and maintained of the  
ancient Gauls.

Nowe, as concerning such as have  
caried the name of Frenchmen or Gauls,  
ancientlanders, and dwellers in partes  
neerer hand, as well on this side, as be-  
yond the *Rhine* : they long time made  
warre with the Romanes, pursuing them  
with their Armies, and ouer-labouring  
them by so many courtes ; that at length  
they expelled them quite from amongst  
the Gauls. They were first obserued to  
appeare vnder that name of French-  
men, in the time of the Emperor *Galen* ;  
and from thence onward, the *Romane*  
Histories are copious, how manie times  
they passed and repassed the *Rhine*, to  
make warre with the Romanes, vhen

they thought to teare away Gaule out of  
their hands. Panegyricall Authors, exal-  
ting those Emperors with praises to hea-  
uen, that had in any encounter (how silly  
foeuer) got any aduantage against the  
French; do yet make it sufficiently known  
what great account was made of this  
people and generous Nation, yea, more  
then of any other, as being most fearefull  
to them, and to whome (for this cause)  
they yielded themselves tributaries.

Vnder the Emperor *Claudius* the 11.  
they invaded *Holland*, and other neigh-  
bouring Countries, and made thence their  
courtes and wonted expeditions, as well  
by Land as Sea; untill they extended their  
power fo onward, that they entred some-  
what farre into Spaine. *Zozimus* and the  
Rhetorician *Eumenius*, doe report a cer-  
taine voyage of theirs, and a chance well  
deseruing memory. The Emperor *Probus*  
hauing made warre on them, and wonne  
the vpper-hand in some encounter; hee  
tooke diuers of them prisoners, which he  
led away into Asia. Soon after, they made  
an escape, & being embarked in certaine  
small vessels, which they found fitting for  
their purpose : they ouer-ran and raged  
the coasts of Greece, and the Isles of the  
Ionian sea, besieging and taking *Siracusa*;  
and afterward passing the straites of *Ce-  
baltare*, returned home againe into their  
owne country. The verie greatest affairs,  
that euer the Romanes had with Straun-  
gers, were alwaies against the Gauls, or  
French, who neuer would suffer them to  
liue in quiet.

In the end, the Emperors well vnder-  
stood their valour, and made vse thereof  
to their seruice. *Constantine the Great*, in  
the warre hee made against *Licinius* : had  
great store of them in his Armie, vnder  
conduct of a verie valiant French Cap-  
taine, named *Bonicius*, whose manhood is  
well noted by *Ammianus Marcellinus*. At  
the same time, partly by conquest, partly  
by conuincence of the Emperours ; they  
extended the Gauls name very farre, and  
did so great seruices to the Romanes, that  
they filled whole Legions of them. Espe-  
cially vnder the Emperours *Constantius*,  
*Constantius*, *Valens* and *Valentinian*, as is to be  
seene in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Zozi-  
mus*, and diuers other Historiours of those  
times.

Afterwards, *Gratian*, hauing sworn  
more

The invasion  
of Holland,  
and other neigh-  
bouring Countries,  
by the Gauls.

The success  
of the Gauls  
that were in  
prisoners in  
Asia.

The warre  
Constantine  
against Licinius  
and the use of  
the French word

Marcellinus

Melbands.  
The affection  
of the Empe-  
ror Gratian to  
the Gauls for  
his own good.

Claudian his  
words of the  
Gauls.

The passage  
of the Gauls  
into Asia and  
Africa.

The Gauls  
gave great  
succour to the  
Emperours of  
Constantino-  
ple.  
*Nicot, Chomatius*

more (strict alliance with them, could find  
out a *Melbands*, Prince of the French,  
beside many other Captaines and Soldi-  
ers : by whose meanes he assured his owne  
estate, and carried away great Victories  
from the Germanes, whereof thirty thou-  
sand were laine in the field. This Prince  
did so highly esteeme of them, as they  
serued him in all occasions : yea, they fil-  
led vp the Army which he gaue to *Theo-  
dofius*, to make quietnesse in the East, and  
to repulse thence the Gothes, Moreouer,  
he fauoured and aduanced them to great  
charges of his Court, and euen (as if (in  
respect of them) he began to grow in dis-  
taste with his Romanes ; so prouoed it  
(partly) to be the cause of death.

It is most plaine and apparant, that for  
the space of about 200. yeares, they were  
the threshing Flaile, the terror & amaze-  
ment of the Romane Empire : wherto (to  
vse the same words that *Claudian* sayth of  
them) *They sold peace and quietnesse at the  
prizes of money, and tooke great recompences  
to cease their fights*. The Epithets vvhich  
the Authors of those times gaue them,  
were the names of *Terrible, dreadful, and  
redoubted Warriours* : as being the onely na-  
tion, that (more then all other else could  
do) amated, bruiised, yea, & vterly brake  
in peeces the Romane forces.

After that this Monarchy of the French  
in Gaule was fully established : they could  
then vnderake other great enterprizes &  
voyages. How many times did they passe  
in Armes, both into Asia and Africa, to  
chafe thence the Infidels, Sarazens, and  
Turkes, to deliuer the Holy land, and the  
Christians that were there in their serui-  
tude : There hath not bene any expediti-  
on in Christendome, wherein they haue  
not bene heads and conducters, yea euen  
the better part it selfe. Many times haue  
they succoured & re-established the Em-  
perours of *Constantinople*. And in the end,  
to reuenge the death of *Isaacius Angelus*,  
(whom they had defeated som short time  
before) cruelly murdered by the Tyrant  
*Mursuffle* : they took in their assault that  
great City, where they commanded (al-  
most) foure hundred yeares. They made  
themselves so knowne thoroughout the  
East and South parts, and haue so liuely  
engrauen there the memorie of their vic-  
tory : that (euen to this day) all the Ori-  
entals terme the inhabitants of Europe,

by the word *Franki*, as thinking that name  
to be vniuersall. As in like manner the A-  
rabians and the Abyssines, who call Eu-  
rope by the name of *Frankia*.

*Ozorius*, the learned bythop of *Sylves*  
reporteth, that the *Indians* when the Por-  
tugals make warre against them : they call  
them by no other name then *Franki*, as  
confessing naturally, that since the braue  
expeditions of the French, against the  
Turkes and Sarazins ; this name (full of  
admiratation among those people) had so  
spread it selfe thoroughout all Asia and  
Africa, that alwaies afterward, the same  
was to be attributed vnto all the Western  
people.

But to deliberate no longer at this time  
on all the expeditions of warre, and voya-  
ges attempted by the French for the chris-  
tian name, for the defence of religion &  
the Church, against Moores, Sarazins,  
Turkes, and other Mahometanes, in di-  
uers Countries of the world, and the glo-  
rious and goodly actions thereby they  
performed : Can any thing bee rearmd  
more hardy, valiant and generous, then  
that which they did for conquest of the  
holy Land ? Vndertaking so long a Voy-  
age, crossing fo many Countries, & with  
such store of difficulties : Nothing could  
dant or turne them ; nothing seemed im-  
possible to them, beeing altogether infla-  
med with a zealous & diuine desire. They  
exposed themselves to all kindes of dan-  
gers, inconuenience of places and passa-  
ges, famine, thirst, pestilence and warre :  
meerly prodigal of their liues, for religi-  
ous zeale. In whatfoeuer we read concern-  
ing antiquity, yea euen of the fabulous a-  
ges, neuer are to be found such deedes of  
prowesse, as they did in that conquest.

Let *Godfrey of Bullen* set himself before  
you, with his gallant French troopes, tra-  
uersing al *Germany & Hungary*, & arriuing  
at *Constantinople* : there is assailed by diuers  
ambuscadoes on the Emperours behalf, yet  
ouercoming them all, euen as if it were a-  
gainst his wil to preuaile. Then looke on  
him passing the straits of the *Hellepont*, be-  
sieging the city of *Nicea*, one of the stron-  
gest in all the East, munited with all things  
sustained and defended by a people re-  
solved, as wel for assaults giuen, as sallies re-  
pelled, or by any cunning to bee circum-  
uented. During this siege, the Army  
of *Soliman*, consisting of 500000. men,

The Por-  
tugals warring  
on the Indians.

The painefull  
travailes of  
the French,  
for conquest  
of the Holy  
Land.

*Guilielmus*  
lib. 1. c. 23. c.  
De Bellis Sacris.

Nicea taken  
by the Franks

comming expressely to rayse the siege,  
is ouercom,broken, and cut in peeces,&  
the City surprized in the end.

A battell giue  
by the French  
in Caramania  
against Soli-  
man and his  
Turkes.

After this, behold another battell giuen in *Cicilia* or *Caramania*, by thirty thousand French onely, against an Armie of two hundred thousand Turkes and Mahometans, led by the same *Soliman*, and the Sultane of *Persia*. These two hundred thousand Turkes, hauing (at they first charge from farre off) covered all the Christian Army with a cloud of Arrows; and making a counterfeit shew of flight, sent another shower of shafts in the same manner, and then a third, they nor hauing any meanes to ioyne or comener them. So that there was scarcely one man among the Christians, but was wounded with their steeled Arrowes; some in the armes, others in the legges, and many in diuers parts of their bodies, notwithstanding the helpe of their Targets: euen as if we saw the like Army of the Romanes led by *M. Crassus* against the Partians. Vntill such time as *Godfrey* resolved to make a pretence of flight, and (indeed) retired; as if he had bene no longer able to endure them. Which moued the Turkes to pursue after them out of order, as if they were altogether ouerthrowen and dishonoured. But when the French behelde them within their compasse, that they might deale with them by handy stroakes: all wounded as they were, they gae such a couragious charge vpon the Infidels, that they foiled and vanquished the whole Army. So proceeding on, the Citties of *Tharsus* and of *Edessa*, and all the other betwene them, were likewise taken.

A worthy stragem of  
Godfrey of  
Bullen, in an  
vrgent need:  
ty.

*Antioche* besieged by a long sledge, the besiegers being incessantly affayed, as well with the ystingh sooth of an Army that was within, as by the ambuscadoes of many troops at liberty abroad, besides cutting off victuals, and all other commodities from them. In these extremities they were also oppressed with contagious diseases, famine, and other kinds of necessities and miseries, every thing being opposite and contrary to them, and the Emperor of *Constantinople*, doing his every utmost to endanger them. All which notwithstanding, they lost not a jot of courage, or became any way at all disheartened in this their enterprize, although to make their misery much more:

The sharpe & severe besieging of the City of Antioche by Godfrey of Bullen.

there came alſo on them another dreadful Army, containing all the powers of the Eaſt, and appearing impoſſible to be reſiſted. But the Chriſtians conducted by *Gouſfrey of Bullen*, over-ſpent and wearied as they were, having given the battle; overcame the great Armies, and drove them to flight.

Itt passe an infinite number of particular charges, encounters, combates, fights,ambushes,surprizes and assaults, to come to the siege of Ierusalem, where they met with all resistance possible, both by force and cunning: which newwreth lesse (in the ende) after infinite famous actions of Armes, was wonne by lively force, and in a general assault. All this was done in lesse then two yeares, from the yeare 1097.to the yeare 1099. when Ierusalem was wonne, and in the Month of Iuly. Then was *Goffrey* refulen King of Ierusalem, who yet refused the crowne of gold, saying; *It fitted not him to weare that pompe, where his Lord and Saviour wore one of sharpe pricking thornes.* Euery one of the other Princes & French Lords, which made vp the body of the Army, were also parakers in the chiefe posselsion of Cities and Prouinces thereabout; & there was not a man among them, but was capable of holding the Empire of the world, and by farre greater reason, then is reported of *Alexanders* Captaines. And this may iustly be the cause (in part) that the successe was not so great as it might haue bene; they being able to haue passed on, so farre as the extremest parts of the East, to conquer all the Country, and plant their Ensignes on the banks of the Indian Seas. In briefe, there was neuer any thing comparable thereto, neither for religious piety, nor manhood in Armes

It was also a matter admirable in Godfrey, that being Souldier; he should be culpable of so great providence, justice and moderation of spirit. It is reported of him, that although he was King; yet he clothed himselfe, and liued to simply, as the very meaneest Souldier about him. So that vpon a certain day, diuers Lords of the Country being come vnto him, to present him with gifts, but (to speak truly) to espie and take knowledge of what they could: being brought before him, they found him sitting on a Sacke full of straw, & vpon the ground. After they had well

The happy  
success of  
the Christi  
against the  
Infidels.

The conquest  
of Jerusalem  
by Godfrey  
of Bullen.

The honor &  
rewards off:  
great defer-  
ring.

Gedult. Tyrosin  
in lib 7.5 gr.

## Chap. I.

The admirable  
humility  
and modera-  
tion of God-  
frey of Bull-  
& his answer  
to certaine  
Lords.

obserued it, being driuen to no meane admiration, they made enquiry; how for great a Prince, being a Lord of such matchlesse merit, hauing shaken all the East, and seized on the very great kingdom, should be feared so poorly, without any pompe, no rich hangings, nor any Guard about him, to make him dreadfull to such as should come neere him. But he demanding what they had said, replied thus: *It is the best fate for a mortal man, and by good right the earth should suffer and serue to beare him for a time: in regard that (afterward) it may be the house for his body to dwell in.* Which when the Lords had heard, admiring his answer, humility, and wisdom, they returned thence saying: *this is (indeede) such a man, as ought to rule over all these Regions: and to him (in equity of desert) it belongeth, to commaund over all other people whatsoeuer.*

How long  
time the fire  
held the king  
dome of Je-  
rusalem.

I Thus the kingdome of *Ierusalem* was held for the space of about fourescore & twenty years by the French, who (in the meane while) made warre vpon the Infidels, being succoured from time to time by the Kings of France: among whom, *Lewes the Iewenth*, called the young, and *Philip Angustus* went thither in person. But afterward, this kingdome was conquered by *Sadaine*, first *souldan* of *Egypt*: And then the French, vnder conduct of their Kings, ceased not alwayes to attempt voyages and expeditions, as shall be declared in place more conuenient. Heere I forbeare to speake of the great warres and goodly exploits in Armes, of the French againt the Allemaignes, Hunnes, Danes, Normans, Saxons, Sarrazins, Gothes, Lombards, and English, which are to be discoursed hereafter.

The apparatus  
singularity of  
the French,  
boue all othe  
Nations.

There is not any other people, that have caus'd themselves more to be spoken of, to spread their renowne so far, an enterprize matters more great, goodly, & difficult, then they have done. Other Nations neuer could come neere them, no, nor the *Spaniards*, of whom *Strabo* yieldeth testimony, that they neuer did, or ever durst vnderake great occasions. *They being* (saith he) *exercised and inured to slender exploits, & loose or bafe enterprizes; as some light ambuscadoes, courses, and brigandages, or theeneties.* But concerning the valour of the French, and the greatnesse of their

co rage; there remaineth very sufficient  
proofes in antiquity. Some haue attrib-  
uted this quality to them, to be voyd of  
fearre, and boldly to cast themselves into  
the midst of dangers. *Strabo* reporteth  
that certaine Frenchmen being brought  
to *Alexander the Great*, when he de-  
manded of them, what it was they most  
feared; made this answer: *Nothing at all,*  
*except the Heauens should fall on our heads.*  
Signifying by this manly reply, that they  
had no power to freeze their blood, or in-  
surpe any place in their warlike soules;

In like manner, they neuer knew what it was to flye, or turne their backs in the most dangerous fights; neither to gulle so much as the least inch of ground: as the Emperour *Leo* declareth in his *Art Military* or *Taſticks*, and *Chalcondilus* the Grecian, in his *Turkish History*. Both of these Authors do affirme, that they hold this the heauiest thing, which can happen to be committed by them. The selfesame is also auouched by *Aethnius*, who deliuereſh these very words. *Among all men, they that most affect dangers, and most valiantly expose their liues to perilles, I would wisend them to be the Gaules.* The whole subject of their Songs, is of such men of vertue; is tied valiantly in foughten battels. Crowned with combats, and adorned with *Markis* & *Trophies* of their victories: as well to honor the worthy acts which they haue done, as to refer for memory to posterity, according to the manner of the Grecians. But woe all flight is held so dishonorable & shameful among them, that very many times, they will not get themselves, or make escape away from a towering hoſte, though it be ready to fall upon them, or all on a flame, and then; daer in immediate danger to be burned. This may seeme very strange, and rather blame worthy, then commendable: yet it is done in no other regard, but only to shew what their resolution hath alwaies bene, as shunning all occasions, wherebey they might be reputed timorous.

In like manner, the Emperor *Julian*, speaking of his sojourning among the *Gauls*, saith; *That it was with the most warlike, and only courageous people of all other Nations.* *Pauzanias* declareth, that although they were wounded quite thorough their bodies with the sword, and even cleft in twaine with axes sharpe flices; yet notwithstanding; not a fore of their

*Strabo in lib. 7.*

A brauc an-  
siver of the  
French to A-  
lexander the  
Great.

Leo Imp. in T. c.  
Chalcom. in  
Hist. Turk.

Adrian. De var  
Hist. lib. 11.

*In Mesopogone.*  
 ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΛΕΣΙΝ  
 ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ  
 ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ  
 ΤΗΣ

Pasien Phobis

Vnconquerable resolution in the French and what opinion the Greekes had of them.

Arist in Ethic. lib. 3. cap. 7.

No distinction of years among the Gauls from marching in Armes.

Marcellin l. 1.

\* One that cutteth off his thumb, because he will not go to war.

their courage abated. And when they were shot through with darts and arrowes, so long as any respite of life remained, or the very last gaspe or breathing; they fought still manfully, and made a massacre among their enemies: yea, there were many among them that snatched the Arrowes & Darts out of their own wounds, and shot them backe against the Greekes, or being neerer hand, slew them with the same Arrowes and Darts, even by meeke stabs. Whereat the Greekes being amazed, to behold such wilfulness in fight, such courage, contempt of death, & prodigality of life; not knowing whereto they should attribute it, nor (to speake truly) what to say of it, (being wont to commend no men but themselves) they saide; *This goes quite beyond the nature of men.*

In the same case and respect, *Aristotle*, imagining that such strength and valiancy was without example, and above the capacity of any humane spirit: attributed this viuacity of soule, to a kinde of furious and naturall insensibility, not fearfull of any thing; neither earthquakes, nor the roughest stormes or tempests: *Even like (saith hee) as it is reported of the Celts or Gauls.* VVarre was their true trade & exercise, there was not a man among them, that would excuse himselfe from marching to the field, without any distinction of ages. The olde man, wearied and spent as he was, went to it as cheerefully, as hee that farre greater force and vigor. A yong lad, euen in the first floure of his time, found therein no difficulty at all; he made offer of his youthfull members freely, to be hardened by colds, and inured to traualles, alwayes disposed and ready to support most difficult occasions, yea, and the very dreadfulest accidents of war.

In briefe, as it is confirmed by *Marcellinus*, a faithfull Author; a Souldier or mā fit for the warre, who hath liued any time among them; shall neuer be there mette withall, as among the Romanes: where there were some, that to shun the warres, would cut off some member of their owne, especially their thumbs; *Whom we termed (saith he) in derision and mockery, \* Marci.* To men of such base and seruile condition, as will thus cutt off a ioynt, to make themselves vncapable of being Souldiers, may bee referred that iniurious French

disgrace, *Poltron*, a police trunco; A knave hath his thumbs cutt off.

This generosity and greatnesse of courage, is likewise familiar among the women of France, wherof we haue testimony in the same Author *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who writeth thus. *If a man of Gaule enter into a quarrell, his wife being with him; there is not any troupe of strangers able to resist or stand against their strength. Especially, when the women are moued & enflamed with choller, stretching forth their brawny armes, gripping their strong knit hands together great and white as snow: so that both with feet & fists, they discharge blowes as liberally, as if they were stones from slings, or quarrels from Crossbowes.* And as they are thus excelling in magnanimity, so are they as complete in other perfections: but chiefly in providence, discretion, and good aduice.

VVe reade, that before the Gauls passed into Italy, a strong sedition happened to grow among them, which disperfed it selfe into a ciuill warre. But the women, euen as the two Armies were ready to meete each other; threw themselves into the middlest betwene them, and questioning the reason of their difference, drew them to so great equity, and fullnesse of content on cyther side; that they began admirable and reciprocal loue and kindness among them, not onely betwene the Townes and Cities, but also in the houses neighbouring together. Whereupon, after that time, they continued all consultations of their affaires (as well concerning warre as peace) with their wiues, and pacified all quarrels and differences with their neighbors and kindred, onely by their meanes. And therefore, in the composition which they made with *Hanniball*, when he passed by the Gauls, they concluded (among other Articles) in this manner. That if it so came to passe that if the Gauls pretended any wrong to be done them by the Carthegenians; the Carthagenian Captaines and Gouernours (which were in Spaine) should be the Iudges thereof. Contrariwise, if the Carthegenians could alleadge, that the Gauls had offered them any iniury; the women of Gaule should bee Iudges therein. And therefore *Plutarke* had great reason, to ranke those Ladies in number, among them reputed to be vertuous women.

The spiritlike courage of the Gaulish women. Marcellin l. 1.

Plut. in De Cleare. Mulier.

The composition that was made betwene Hanniball &amp; the Gauls.

The

The Gauls called their wiewro consultations and counsels.

Kingdomes in India where Noble men admit not marriage.

Of Bertrand du Guesclin, and his noble minded Lady, Tiphania.

Behold what generous words of a woman can doe.

The Gauls euer called them to their counsels and consultations, as well for warre as peace, because they knew their naturall disposition to be such; as not a woman among them, would seeke any to soften and weaken (willingly) the boldest or most courageous enterprize her husband could vndertake. And this may be the cause, why the ancient Romane Souldiers would not be married: As now at this day, there are certaine kingdomes of the Indies, where the Noble-men will by no meanes admit marriage. But the Gauls knew well enough, that this sexe were so farre off, from any way hindring their Martiall designs; that they would by no meanes permit the very least inclination to negligence or cowardise; they rather serued as sharpe spurres to their vertue, to excite, encourage, and animate them more and more.

To this purpose, I may not omit a notable example, though not of the ancient Gaulish women; but of a French Lady, as yet recent and fresh in memory. *Bertrand du Guesclin* had bene alwayes a most valiant Knight, and one highly renowned in all Histories. After he had performed many worthie enterprizes, euer to his fame and honour: he married with a beautiful Lady, named *Tiphania*, descended of a noble family. After which marriage, he growing to leaue, and discontinue his former exercise of Armes; as he sate discourting with his Lady, she gently began to blame and reprove him, declaring, that (before their marriage) hee followed the warres, wherein hee had atchieued the cheefest reputation. And that it neyther suited with the nature, nor duty of a true Gentleman, to lose the least repute of honour wonne before, by ouer-much affecting a new made choise. As for mee (quoth shee) who ought to shine by the bright radiance of your fame, I shall account my selfe too low deiection, if you giue ouer a course so well begun, and lose your spirits in doating loue, w<sup>ch</sup> it to one more worthy then my selfe.

These words did so neerely touch the Knight, that hee began againe to follow Armes, wherein he carried himselfe so valiantly, that they did well and worthily attribute it to him, to stand as a stout Rampier for France, in the very sharpest times of warre, and euermore made a meere

Barre of his body, against the hottest insulations of the English. By vertue of his valour, King *Charles* the fifth, hauing reconquered most part of those territories, which had bene insulded on in the reignes of the precedent Kings: alwayes helde head against that valiant *Edward*, turne the Blacke Prince, and Prince of Wales, and disappointed all his hopes. It was he that re-established *Henry* the 11. King of *Castille*, in his kingdom, in despite of all the Armies and English forces. Hee was also made Constable of France, by King *Charles* the fifth, who helde him in such endeared affection for his valour, that hauing bestowed great gifts on him in his life time; after his death, hee did him so much honour, as to let him be buried at *S. Denis*, at the feete of the same *Toombe*, which this King had prepared there for himselfe.

VVhat courser is heere set downe, concerning this honourable Lady *Tiphania*, hath bene, and is as familiar to all the Ladies of France, who partake in the selfe-same affection; and couer rather to enflame, the freeze their husbands forwardnes, in winning honour by Armes; and the like they are (in all respects) to their children. For whose euer will but aduisedly well consider, on the admirable generosity, and greatnesse of courage in the people of Gaule; they will make no meruaile at all, of those bolde words vied by the braue Souldier *Vercingetorix*. *If I could (quoth hee) write together all the French: I should compose such an Army of men, as if the whole world did conspire, and bend all force against them, they were not able to withstand them.* Take it as a vaunt or brauado who will. The very prooue of their fights and conquests, made but by some part of their people, may yeeld sufficient testimony, that if the words spoken by *Vercingetorix* had bene put in execution; they would haue proued true, and the same effect must needs haue followed.

And to speake truly, if we conferre them with other Nations, we shall apparently perceiue, that the French haue gon beyond all in Military vertue. So many expeditions, and yet in so farre remote Countries, so many warres attempted, & fortunately finished; so many foughten battels, and so many actions of Generosity,

The honorable actions of Bertrand du Guesclin.

All the Ladies of France are equall to Tiphania.

1st. Cefin. com. lib. 5.



sity, have made them sufficiently knowne to the world. The Greeks and the Romanes (albeit their sworn enemies) doe render but too true testimonies thereof: not speaking (in the like tearmes) of any other people whatsoever. But especially the Romanes, who neuer feared any Nation so much as they, whom they acknowledged to be fatal to their City, and the greatnesse thereof. So that when the Gauls of Italy, but particularly those on the higher side of the Alpes, made but a countenance of removing themselves; or designed any enterprise: they were immediately possessed with terror, and in a continuall apprehension, omitting no needfull prouision of all things, euen as if their City were to be besieged againe, or halfe surprized. *Polybius* faith. They verily persuaded themselves, that they should neuer become Masters of Italy; no, nor conserue their owne lands sufficiently; so long as they had the Gauls to be their neighbors.

They felt againe the force of the warlike Gauls in the second Punicke warre, when *Hanniball* went to encounter them in Italy. That great Captaine passed then through Gauls, and made alliance with the Gauls, whose valor was well enough knowne vnto him: and hee conducted them into Italy, where they did him great seruice against the Romanes. And notably doth *Polybius* remember them, when in that great day at *Canus*, there were slain 4000. Gauls in the field on the Carthaginian side: That were (saith he) the principall instruments of the victory, wonne by their blood for the Carthaginians, which was the most deadly day for the Romanes, next to that of *Albia*, where the Gauls overcame as many. I forbore to speake of all the other encounters, batailles, and most signale warres, which this courageous Nation had against the Romanes, for the space of about two hundred yeares. It is easily discerned (euen out of their owne reports) how many times the Gauls had the vpper hand of them, and what difmal feares and amazements they haue put them to. Also, where they haue noted downe any conquering of the Gauls, it may be well obserued, that it was compassed only by some stratagem, deceit or cunning, whereby (according to their own saying) they brought all their purposes to passe.

The Gauls had war with the Romanes about 200. yeares.

Stratagems & cunning, argue the least part of manhood.

In a word, after that the Gauls of Italy were emptied of men (by continual wars) and brought into subiection, *Polybius* reporteth, That there was the end of the Gauls war, she like whereof was neuer heard or seen, be it for courage, boldnesse, and resolution in Soldiers; be it for greatnes of fights; be it for numbers of slaine men, or multitude of their troups. Further he proceedeth on in the accidentes of their wars, by way of giuing some encouragement to weak minds, against the dreadfull attempts of the Gauls: Who made seizure (saith he) on the Greeks not only before, but also in my time. Of any other nation, he findeth none but the Grecians & the Romanes, that can deliuer any such true testimonies of them: which rendreth faith sufficiently on their side, (amongst other people) they neuer could be followed. Albeit *Cicero* in his time, speaking of the Spaniards and the French (saith he) That the Spaniards exceeded in number, but the Gauls or French in valiancy. Wherby is evidently seene, that in the comparison of these two Nations, he giueth the honour to the French, attributing to the other, nothing but number.

And yet me thinks it is strange to be credited, that the Spaniards should exceed the French in multitude of men, considering that Spaine (as hath bin spoken herebefore) is described to be but badly inhabited, euen by ancient Geographers, and them more moderne: whereas contrariwise, that France is so filled with men, and so greatly inhabited, as it is wonderfull to behold. But it may bee, that the mighty numbers of the Gauls were not (as then) knowne, Gauls being not subiect to the Romanes, as Spaine was, which they held almost wholly. For whatsoever shall consider, what Armies the Gauls gathered from time to time, to make warre vpon the Romanes, according to the recital of *Cæsar* himselfe, will iudge that Spaine, nor any other Prouince of Europe, could not be so fully furnished.

Moreover, it would not be much differing from our purpose, if wee should set downe, what troups of strangers the Romanes then kept at their pay: & namely, that they had more mercenary Soldiers out of Spaine, then euer they could get from France. Because those people being more barbarous, lesse ciuiliized, & polished with good carriage; gaue themselves

*Polybius* lib. 7.

*Polybius* lib. 9.

*Cicero* Pro. to *Hortensius* lib. 1. *de* Gallis.

Concerning the slender inhabiting of Spaine.

*Iul. Cæsar* in *com.* lib. 7.

The Romanes had more mercenary Soldiers from Spaine: then from France.

The naturall breeding and quality of the Gauls.

The negligence of the Spaniards in tilling their grounds, leaving them to be done by their wives.

Learned Students among the Gauls.

*Cicero* Pro. *M. Cato*.

All Countries subiect to the spoiles of Strangers. Italy & Rome.

themselves to no other exercises, but to wander at randome among the Mountaines, there to pilfer and rob from one another, or else to serue as mercenaries, partly to the Carthaginians, and partly to the Romanes, after they had once got footing there. On the contrary, the Gauls (of whom no question was at any time made to be bafe a manner. And although they had such plenty of warlike people, yet wanted they no means of freeing themselves from ydenesse, when their grounds were to be tilled and husbanded, or other Arts and Trades vsed, necessary for the life of man, as well in times of greatest turbulence, as seasons of more security. For no where can it bee read of them, as it is of the Spaniards, that they left their Lands barren, because they would not till them, but referred them wholly to their wives to take that paines, who both before and after their times of childing, were feigne to toy toyle and moyle themselves.

Other of our Gauls employed themselves in the studie of Letters, and exercises of Religion, and contemplation in celestiall matters: witness so many skillfull *Druides*, and such beside as followed after them, renowned for their Learning through all the parts of the world. So that the Gauls dwelling beyond Gauls, serued but very slenderly to the Romanes, vntill such time as they had conquered Gauls: then they found the sufficiency of their assistance, and acknowledged not only their vertue and valiancy, but also their infinite number of warriors. And this was the reason, why *Cicero*, speaking afterward to *Cæsar*, concerning his victories in Gaul, said: That hee had overcome Nations, innumerable in multitudes.

Now, to speake of all other Countries, there is hardly any one of them, but it hath bene as prey to strangers. Italy, sometime the Conquerresse of many people, with her Rome, calling her selfe, cheefe Lady of the world: was free not (for long time) exposed to the rauages, irruptions and pillages of the *Vuisigothes*, *Hepuldes*, *Ceripides*, *Ostrogothes*, and *Lombards*: who intirely sacked and rent her in peeces (each after other) and droue the people out of their dwellings? Spaine

became inuaded in the same manner, and afterward was canted by the *Vandales*, *Alanes*, and *Suenes*: yet were they also expelled (in following time) by the *Vuisigothes*, who established their owne abiding there. Next to them, came the *Ostrogothes*, who held the Country powerfully to long, till the *Sarrazins* ouercomming them, were vntirpally possessed of well neere all Spaine. *Allemagne*, or *Germany*, was not it likewise made subiect to the inuasions of those people which dwelt more Northerly, who at length ouerthrew the whole Romane Empire? I say nothing of some other quarters of the world, where the like fortune hath many times happened: yet this is most certaine, that thorough all the Prouinces of the earth, there haue bene changes of people, and of frequent Colonies.

But to speake more particularly of Spaine, at the first it was filled with people of the French Nation, as along the Riuer \* *Ana* or *Ana*, now called *Gudiana* in *Castille*, so farre as the Promontory *Artabrum*, or *Cabo de finis terra*, in *Gallicia* in *Portugall*. Also the *Celtiberians* in *Castille*, by the testimony of *Strabo*, *Ptolomie*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Pliny* and *Appian*. From whence it ensueth, that some ancient Geographers, as *Ephorus* and others, haue comprized them vnder *France*. But be it howe soeuer, Spaine hath continually bene taken, held and commanded by strangers: as by the *Ionians*, *Lydians*, *Thracians*, *Rhodiens*, *Phrygians*, *Cypriots*, *Phoenicians*, *Egyptians*, *Phoenices*, and *Carthaginians*, according as their owne Historians haue acknowledged. Since then, by the *Vandales*, *Alanes*, and *Suenes*, that inhabited there for a long time: and afterward by the *Vuisigothes* and *Ostrogothes*. At last, wholly filled with *Moor*es and *Sarrazins*, who held it in possession about seuen hundred yeares. And there they remaine yet to this day (according to some Writers) in the Mountaines of *Andalouzia*, called *Alpuexarrus*, whether the Armies of Conquerours could neuer come or reach.

Heereby may be gathered, that they are a mingled people, and composed of so many feuerall Nations, as haue dwelt there in the countries from time to time. As their very language it selfe (euen the best polished and most frequent) sufficiently

Spaine in the same condition.

*Allemagne* or *Germany* in no better estate the other.

\* The Riuer *Gudiana*, which diuideth *Granada* from *Portugall*. *Strabo* in lib. 4.

*Diuers strange Nations* commanding Spaine. *Vaisut* & *Tarshish*.

*Moor*es and *Sarrazins* yet abiding in Spaine.

The Spaniards are a compounded people.



The pure and entire condition of France

\* A Rhetorician of Alexandria, teaching in Pompey's house.  
Marcel, in l. 11.

Marfeilles in France, built by the Phoenicians.

Marcellinus.

The Bretons expelled by the English Saxons.

Cornel Tacitus in vita Agrippae.

Colonies planted in Armorica or Bretagne.

ently sheweth, consisteth (for the most part) of the Gothish and Arabick. It would aske an infinite and wearisome labour, to make search for all the mutations that haue ther happened. But France is a Country, which hath least bene that way ill entreated: as hauing kept herselfe more pure, entire, and neate from rauage, and incursions of so great numbers of strangers.

\* *Timagenes*, an ancient Greeke Author that flourished in the time of *Augustus*, cited by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, saith; That according to the opinion of his Nation, the Gauls were *Autochthones*, that is to say, Originaries, and borne in and of the selfsame Country. Declaring thereby, that they were not come or deriued of any strangers Colonies: which the Athenians also attributed to bee a matter of great honour. I know well, how it may be objected to me, that *Marfeilles* was builded, and inhabited by the *Phoenices*; yet there was none other but that only Colonie, beside that which is reported of the children of valiant *Hercules*, which he had by the women of France, and who there commanded for sometime, as is testified by ancient Monuments and Antiquities of the Gauls which *Ammianus Marcellinus* saith, *That he himselfe had seene in Gaul*.

As concerning the Britanni or Bretons, who being expelled out of *England* by the *English Saxons*: they withdrew then selues into *Bretaigne*, the called *Armorica*. I hold, agreeing with the iudgement of many learned men, that they being ancient Pillars of the French, parting from the firme land of the *Gauls*, to dwell in the Isle which was before it: coming backe afterward, to refuge themselves in France; did but re-establish their owne ancient Country, and returne to their true originall. Naturall reason, for the neighbourhood both of the one and other, doth apparently shew it selfe. The same is confirmed by *Cornelius Tacitus*, & by the common opinion that then was, as also by the similitude and likenes, both in faces and manners of the inhabitants. And beside, there is to be seene in the Geographicall description of that Island (according to *Plolomy*) the names of many Gaulish people, who vndoubtedly had planted Colonies there. Such were the *Belgians*, the *Parisians*, the *Atrebatiens*, &

the *Cornubians*.

As for the French, they were no strangers, they entered among the *Gauls*, not as enemies, but as friends and brethren into the *Gauls*: to deliuer them from the tyranny of the *Romans* and *Goths*, who had expelled them, and were (in that manner) restored to their former freedome, and so the *Gauls* and French became but one people, as shall hereafter more plainly be declared.

The *Goths*, hauing so long time kept their reuels in Spaine; to speake truly, came also among the *Gauls*, but yet for a very short while: nor was there any Engage or remarkable valor in these *Goths*, making comparison of them with the French. It is said, that their property was to be fearfull, and soone put to flight: so reporteth *S. Gregory Florentinus*, Archbishop of *Tours*, who liued somewhat neere to those times. And *Salustianus* that eloquent Priest of *Marfeilles*, acknowledged the *Goths* to be the most feeble and slothfull, among the generous Nations of the North parts. When they were in Gaul, and stood to encounter with the French: they durst not tarry, or make any head against them. The Kings *Mercureus*, *Chloris*, and *Childebert*, beheld them to passe ouer the Pyrenean Mountains, yet they assailed and overcame them in battaile, even in Spaine, hard by *Toledo*, their capitall abiding. The *Burgundians* and *Germanes*, who had invaded some small parcels of France, were soone cut off, and quite extermined.

So the French and *Gauls*, conserued themselves within their own limits, without hauing any strangers mingled among them. And as (in former times) they filled the world with their Colonies or troops of people, so did they continually the like afterward: hauing againe peopled Germany and Italy, vnder the Emperour *Charles* the Great, and his successors. So that it is not without good reason, that (at this instant) the very greatest houses of Germany, deriue their originall from the French: as is declared by *Hermanus*, Count of *Near*, in an Epistle which hee sent to the Emperour *Charles* the 5. on the the *Annales* of *Peppin* and *Charlemagne*.

True it is, that the *Gauls* haue bene overtaken by the *Romans*: but what people knew how to resist them; considering their

The entrance of the French among the Gauls.

The Goths came among the Gauls.

S. Greg. Florentinus in l. 10. c. 14.

Alaricus Rex Gothicorum tuens ne pro Syagium in Franciam conuenerit: Gallicumque uice non habuissent: tradidit. Ed. 1637. 1649. 1651. 1652. 1653. 1654. 1655. 1656. 1657. 1658. 1659. 1660. 1661. 1662. 1663. 1664. 1665. 1666. 1667. 1668. 1669. 1670. 1671. 1672. 1673. 1674. 1675. 1676. 1677. 1678. 1679. 1680. 1681. 1682. 1683. 1684. 1685. 1686. 1687. 1688. 1689. 1690. 1691. 1692. 1693. 1694. 1695. 1696. 1697. 1698. 1699. 1700. 1701. 1702. 1703. 1704. 1705. 1706. 1707. 1708. 1709. 1710. 1711. 1712. 1713. 1714. 1715. 1716. 1717. 1718. 1719. 1720. 1721. 1722. 1723. 1724. 1725. 1726. 1727. 1728. 1729. 1730. 1731. 1732. 1733. 1734. 1735. 1736. 1737. 1738. 1739. 1740. 1741. 1742. 1743. 1744. 1745. 1746. 1747. 1748. 1749. 1750. 1751. 1752. 1753. 1754. 1755. 1756. 1757. 1758. 1759. 1760. 1761. 1762. 1763. 1764. 1765. 1766. 1767. 1768. 1769. 1770. 1771. 1772. 1773. 1774. 1775. 1776. 1777. 1778. 1779. 1780. 1781. 1782. 1783. 1784. 1785. 1786. 1787. 1788. 1789. 1790. 1791. 1792. 1793. 1794. 1795. 1796. 1797. 1798. 1799. 1800. 1801. 1802. 1803. 1804. 1805. 1806. 1807. 1808. 1809. 1810. 1811. 1812. 1813. 1814. 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3309. 3310. 3311. 3312. 3313. 3314. 3315. 3316. 3317. 3318. 3319. 3320. 3321. 3322. 3323. 3324. 3325. 3326. 3327. 33



Greece spoyle  
d & wasteth  
by the Goths.

The Gauls  
hated to be  
commanded  
by a diſolute  
Emperour.

Titell. Pella-  
nus. Tyri-  
us. De Poſthu-  
mis. 2.

Proſper in  
Caſar.

The Gauls  
were neuer  
truly ſubi-  
ected to the  
Emperours.

France alwayes fit them with men for the warres. The ſame Author ſaith in another place, that vnder the Emperors *Arca- dius* & *Honorius*, about the time of the inſurrection and reuolt of *Gildas*, a great Army, compoſed (for the moſt part) of Gauls, was brought to ſuccour Greece, then rauaged and ſpoyled by the *Goths*: and they performed there ſuch deeds of valour, as holpe the Country to recouer her right. So that being (for long time) wel entreated by the Romanes, partaking in the honours and adminiſtration of the Empire: it was no matter of maruaile, that their peace ſhould be of ſo long continuance. One onely thing alſo was likeſom & burdenous to the, in regard whereof, they troubled the Romane Empire with ſome ſtirres and perturbations, the Gauls being naturally addicted to vertue and ſeuerty. And therefore they hated to be commanded by ſuch Emperours as were negligent, diſolute, and quite giuen ouer to all vices: which made them deſpite ſubiection to ſuch as was *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Commodus*, *Helioſabius*, *Galen*, and other ſuch like monſters of their names. They would endure none but vertuous Princes, and ſuch Governours were the fitteſt men to confirme and keepe them continually in peace.

Heereupon was it, that the Emperour *Valerian*, in a Letter of his ſaid; *That hee had made a certaine man, named Poſthumus, Governor of Gaule. A man (ſaith he) well worthy of the Gauls ſeuerty.* A word ſufficient to rectifie the obſeſion of leury, wherewith ſome would haue reproched them. Another Author, writing the life of the Emperour *Carus*, confeſſeth: *That to command the Gauls, there needed an Emperour very conſtant and vertuous.* So that being vnable to ſuffer the deteftable vices of many Romane Emperours, they departed (at euery occaſion) in this reſpect from their obedience: whereby it may be juſtly ſaid, that they continued alwayes free, and being not truly ſubiected, gaue their ſeruite to no other Emperours, but ſuch as themſelves reputed worthy. Vntill ſuch time, as vpon the declination and fall of this great Empire, by the inſatiable auarice of Romane Governours, and other inſupportable charges: they altogether fell off from them, and gaue ayde to their compatriots the French, and ſo wholly

did roote out the Romanes name.

But to examine a point (heerebefore handled) ſomewhat more particularly, it cannot bee ſaide with any reaſon, that France was conquered by the Romanes before Spaine: neither that the Spaniards made any more reſiſtance, or continued longer time from ſubduing or ſubiection. For on the contrary, it appeareth, that the Carthagenians poſſeſſed themſelves (in few yeares) of a great part of Spaine: euen at ſuch time as the Romanes fell likewiſe on it, and carried away their ſhare without any difficulty. Vntimes the treaty of peace, made betwene the Romanes & *Hadruball*, chiefe Captaine for the Carthagenians, wherein it was cōtenuanted, that the Riuer *Iberus*, now called *Ebro*, ſhould bee the bound of the Empire for theſe two people, and that the *Saguntines*, free people originally of Greece, who were betwene them both, ſhould conſiderate with the one and other.

After this, it is ſufficiently knowne, that the Romanes had long time made warre againſt the Carthagenians in Spain, who gaue them there many valiant fights. During which while, no eſtate, or fewe, made mention off among the Spaniards; who ſtood but as ſpectators, in expectation of the yſſue, to ſee which of theſe two people ſhould haue command ouer them. This was at the beginning of the ſecond Punicke warre, when the *Scipios* (after they had ſpent eight yeares in war) were ſlaine by the Carthagenians. And afterward, Great *Scipio*, ſurnamed *Africanus*, being ſent thither, after diuers encounters, and taking Townes from the Carthagenians: expulſed them wholly thence, & firſt of all made it a Romane Province, in the yeare of the Citie of Romes foundation CCCCXLI. All the buſines which he had with the Spaniards, was for ſome reuolts of particular people, whom he likewiſe as ſoone ſuppreſſed. So that very truly *Amianus Marcellinus* hath ſaide: *That all the Provinces of firme Land in Spaine, were the firſt conquered by one Province by the Romanes.*

All Hiſtorians agree together, reporting alſo, that in the yeare CCCCCLII. two Pretors were created at Rome to gouerne Spaine, which was then diuided in two parts, and termed *Citerior* & *Posterior*, to wit, on this ſide, and beyond *Ebro*.

France ne-  
uer conquereſh  
the Romanes  
before Spaine

Tit. Liv. lib. 28.

\* Saguntines  
City in Spaine  
between the  
Rus and the  
Iberus (from the 31)

The ſecond  
Punicke warre  
wherein the  
Scipios were  
ſlaine, & the  
commanding  
great Scipio  
into Spaine

Marcell. lib. 1.

Tit. Liv. lib. 28.

22.

Cato Senior  
ſent into  
Spaine.

Platin Cato  
moſt.  
Tit. Livius in l.  
31. Aut. de  
Vir. illuſt. 47.

At what time  
the Romanes  
firſt entered into  
Gaul.

Strabo in Lib. 4

A deſectiue  
kinde of ma-  
king warre.

\* People of  
Boetica in  
Spaine.  
\* People be-  
tweene Gal-  
licia and Por-  
tugall.

ra. The elder *Cato* was alſo ſent thither, to qualifie the reuoltes of ſome people. When he had overcome them, & made prouiſion, that no more rebellions might afterward happen: he ſent his Letters & command to euery City in particular, to this effect, that they ſhould caſt down to the ground their wals and fortifications, & diſpoſed the action ſo orderly, that his command was obeyed in the Cities, and he arriued ther at the ſame time. So they being verily perſwaded in each City, that this command ſtretched but to that place onely: yeilded the more willingly, which otherwiſe they would not haue done. Whereupon enſued, that in one day, all their Townes were diſmantled, and their wals raced. In regard of which ſucceſſe, *Cato* made his vaunt; *That hee had taken more Townes in Spaine, then there were daies.*

Now, as concerning Gaul, the Romanes neuer had footing there, but in the yeare IVCXXII. & in Provence onely: about an hundred yeares after that *Spaine* was wholly conquered. Nor had they there but a very ſmall parcel, which was a nere neighbor to them: all Gaul being neuer made a Province, but by *Cæſar*. By what likelihood of truth can it be ſaid, that *Spain* was brought vnder the power of the Romane Empire, after France? Neuertheleſſe it is very true (as *Strabo* ſaith) that the difficulties which the Romanes had in *Spaine*, to make it peaceable, grew onely through the reuolts of ſome particular Townes & people, and by the incuſſions of theeeues gathered together in troopes, and theſe (of neceſſity) were to be chaſtiſed. So, making war, not in groſſe, or with a body of iuſt Armes, but by peeces and parcels, one after another, in ſmall courſes and ſurprizals: the Romanes had more trouble to finde out, then conquer them.

Againe, although *Spaine* was held & commanded wholly by the Romanes, yet notwithstanding, there remained ſome people, dwelling in difficult, ſharpe & mountainous places, as \* *Baſques*, & \* *Aſturies*: who afterward, in the time of *Auguſtus*, were wholly vanquiſhed, and added to the reſt of *Spaine*. As alſo (about the ſame time hauing conquered *Aquitaine*) he made it a Province, as the three other of Gaul. Moreover, there cannot bee found ſo great a number of worthy Captaines, af-

foorded by any country, like vnto France. As were among the ancient *Hellonaſians* and *Sigonaſians*, chiefe of the firſt & ſurtheiſt-off expeditions among the Gauls: *Brennus*, that ſurprized *Rome*, and another *Brennus*, who afterward ſubdued the moſt part of Europe and *Aſia*. *Dummoris*, *Dimonius*, *Ambiorix*, *Dumnatus*, *Vercingetorix*, *Diditiacus*, and many more recorded by *Cæſar*. And to ſet Kings aſide, who cā recount all the Dukes, Earls, Barons, Lords & Gentlemen, that haue excelled in the Art of wars. They are not to be numbred, ſuch as haue bene in later times, as *Godfrey of Bullen*, king of Ieruſalem: beſide ſo many Princes and Lords, as went in the expeditions to the holy Land, the wars of *Spaine* and *Africa*, againſt the *Turkes*, *Moors*, and *Sarrazins* at ſundry times. The Marſhall *Montciquant*, in the dayes of king *Charles* the ſiſt, as alſo *Iohn de Saintré*, knight; *Bertrand du Gueſclin*, Conſtable of France; *Enguerrand*, Lord of *Concy*; the Conte de *Dunois*, chiefe of the famous houſe of *Longueville*, the right hand and maine helpe to King *Charles* the 7. for expulſion of the bolde Engliſh. *La Hire*, *Pothou de Saintrailles*, *Tanneguy du Chieſſel*: *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, one of the Anceſtors to great *K. Henry*, hee, that after he had conquered a great part of Italy, bare away the renowned victory of *Ravenna*, trampling (vnder his feete) all the forces of *Spaine* and Italy conſured againſt him. *Odet de Foix*, Lord of *Autrec*; the Captain *Bayard*; the Lord of *Chamont*; *Louis de la Trimouilles*; *Guil-laume* and *Martin du Bellay*; *Charles de Bourbon*, Conſtable of France; *Frances de Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguyen*; *Charles* and *Timoleon de Colſe*, of the houſe of *Brillac*, and an infinite number more, moſt honourably remembered by the beſt Hiſtorians.

What ſhall we ſay of our Kings *Mera-nus*, *Chlonis*, *Childbert*, *Chlothaire*, *Charles Martell*, *Pepin*, *Charles the Great*, *Hugh Capet*, *Louis le Gros*, *Philip Auguſtus*, *S. Lo-nys*, *Philip* the third, *Philip le Bell*, *Charles* the ſiſt, ſurnamed the wiſe, *Leues* the twelfth, *Frances* the firſt, and the valiant *Henry* the fourth, rather to the King now reigning?

On the contrary, *Trogus*, ſpeaking of *Spaine*, ſaith. *Int. ſanta ſeculorum ſerie, nullus illis Dux magnus, præter Viriatus fuit.*

What famous  
Captaines  
France hath  
yeilded from  
time to time.

Godfrey of  
Bullen, King  
of Ieruſalem.

One of the  
beſt Soldiers  
that euer  
France bred.

Famous war-  
like Kings of  
France.

Trog. Pompei-  
us lib. 4.

Virianus the  
hardy Lul-  
tavian.

qui annos decem Romanos varia victoria  
sauguit. Adeo feris propiora quam homini-  
bus ingenia sunt. In long successe of ages, they  
never had any chiefe Guide for warre, beside  
Virianus Lulstianus, who laboured the Ro-  
manes for the space of ten yeeres. So that (saith  
he) they came neerer in nature to savage  
beasts, then to men. And addeth further,  
that they followed such a Captaine, ra-  
ther by occasion, then out of any iudge-  
ment, hauing not made any election of  
him.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Nor can there be desired a better, and  
more certaine testimony of valour, and  
generous nature in the French, then that  
which Strabo deliuereth in these words.  
All those people whom we terme Gaules, are  
Maritall, courageous, & ready of the helmes  
to fight: And yet notwithstanding, they are  
very simple, and no way wicked or euill in-  
clined. Heere to he addeth. That they bring  
nothing to the fight but vertue and courage,  
without any craft, superchery, or brauing.  
And although (saith he) they are full of heat  
to fight, yet are they (for all that) capable  
to vnderstand reason, and easie to bee per-  
suaded. Willing to undertake the quarrell,  
for such as they see to be iniuriously wronged  
and offended.

In Lib. 8.  
Cyprian habet  
in Gallia bul-  
re conuictus, lo-  
dices contra Gal-  
los homines aget  
tunc meque  
v. f. f. f. f. f. f. f.  
per v. v. v. v. v. v.  
non per d. d. d. d.  
d. d. d. d. d. d. d.  
e. e. e. e. e. e. e. e.  
Cicero in  
Philip. 5.

The Author of the Commentaries on  
the warre which Caesar made in Affrica,  
be it Virianus, be it Oppian, or wholoever  
else, saith. That the Gaules were men open-  
hearted, and no way deceiuers, vsing to fight  
by vertue and not by subtilty or fraud. The  
same Strabo auoucheth in another place,  
saying: They are all warriors, and principally  
good Knights. for the best Cavallerie of the  
Romanes, was composed of the Gaules. The  
Romanes alwayes made most especiall  
account of the Gaulish horsemen, for  
Caesar found himselfe to bee best serued  
with them. And Cicero hearing that the  
gouernment of Transalpine Gaul should  
be giuen to M. Anthony, cryed out. Est  
enim opinio decretum aliquem M. Anton.  
Gallum vltimum quam Plinius obtinet:  
Quid hoc est aliud, quam hosti arma largiri  
primum neruos belli pecuniam infuit. An  
inde equitatum quantum velis? Can any  
thing else be done heerein, but only to thrust  
Armes into the hands of an enemy? First of  
all infinite summes of money, which are the  
nerues and finewes of warre: And next, as  
many men well horsed, as he wold haue with  
him. This passage is sufficient, whereby

to conceiue and certainly obserue, the  
wealthy treasures of France, and the opin-  
ion held thereof.

The exercises of these people, spake  
fully the matter of war so much by them  
affected, alwayes louing a manly & cheer-  
full disposition of the body, and concei-  
ning grosse corpulency: so that they con-  
demned (in very great fines) all such yong  
men, whose bellies exceeded the ordina-  
ry measure of their girdles, according to  
the auouching of Strabo. Moreover, the  
French haue bene reputed to surpass all  
other Nations, in these two noble and  
warlike exercises, hunting, and ryding  
great horses. Hunting, which is nothing else  
but a lively image of warre, and an asiduate  
meditation thereof, as Xenophon saith. Ege-  
hard, the nursing-child of Charles the  
Great, and his Secretary, writing his life,  
speake thus. Exercebatur assidue equita-  
do ac venando quod illi gentilitium erat, quia  
rex villa in terris natio inuentur quae in hac  
re Francis possit aequari. He exercised him-  
selfe daily to hunting, and to mount on horse-  
backe. Wherein (saith he) he relished of the  
whole Nation. For there is not any people in  
all the world, that can beerein surpass, but  
only may endeavor to equal the French.

But before I can finish this discourse,  
concerning the warlike vertue of the  
French. I cannot forbear to say some-  
what of that which they performed on  
the day of \* Nicopolis against the Turkes:  
where a man may well say, that a small  
handfull of French Gentlemen, excelled  
(in prowesse) whatsoever were reade in  
Histories, of all the braue exploits in war  
that euer were done. Not Leonides of the  
Greekes at the Thermopylae, nor Caudinus  
of the Romanes in Sicily, is any way wor-  
thy comparison with them: the history  
followeth in this manner.

Charles the sixth reigning in France, the  
King of Hungaria sent Ambassadors vn-  
to him, entreting that some succor might  
be afforded him, against Baiaseth's first,  
Emperor of the Turkes, the most remark-  
able warrior that euer was of the house  
of the Ottomans. The King consenting  
thereto very gladly, many Lords & Gen-  
tlemen of France prepared themselves to  
be seene in this voyage, to the number of  
about a thousand or twelue hundred. A-  
mong others, there was the Conte d'En-  
Contable of France; the Conte de la  
Marche;

The exerci-  
of the Gal-  
people des-  
ed their dis-  
tion to die

Strabo in  
Lib. 4.

Hunting and  
riding great  
horses.

Xenophon.  
In vita Cae-  
saris.

500 hundred  
French Lan-  
ces set upon  
20000 Turkes  
& their lances

A City in  
Thynia.

Frugida  
Lib. 4.

The history  
of the few  
used French  
on the day  
of fight at  
Nicopolis.

The greatest  
rivers in Eu-  
rope, rising  
out of the hill  
Arno in  
Germany. In  
Illyricum it  
receiuethe  
other rivers  
into it, where  
it is cold later  
and there is  
broadest.

500 hundred  
French Lan-  
ces set upon  
20000 Turkes  
& their lances

A far vindi-  
cent army  
of Turkes, to  
meddle with  
so few of the  
French.

Frugida  
Lib. 4.

The history  
of the few  
used French  
on the day  
of fight at  
Nicopolis.

Marche, the Lord of Concy, the Lords of  
Trimonville, and Iohn, Conte de Nevers, son  
to the Duke of Burgongne, who was chief  
Commander. When they were ioyned  
with the king of Hungaria's army, hauing  
past the river \* Danubius, they bare away  
(in assault) the honor of diuers Townes:  
and at length came to lay siege before  
the City of Nicopolis.

VVhile the greater part of the Army  
besieged the City, Enquerrand Lord of  
Concy, taking with him five hundred  
Lances: made vp into the Countrey, to  
seeke some enemies that they might fight  
withall, and it is credibly reported, that  
(verie nere vnto them) there was a troop  
of Turkes, of about twenty thousand in  
number. Now, albeit this multitude ex-  
ceeded their finall companie beyond all  
measure: yet notwithstanding, they re-  
solved to grapple with them. And hauing  
first of all drawne them beyond a wood,  
wherein there was an ambuscado; they  
came and charged them in the rere. The  
fight was (for all that) cruell, and of long  
continuance, wherein the French, al-  
though they were so few against so great  
a number; yet they did performe won-  
ders that day. So that in the end, the  
Turkes being disheartened, fainted ex-  
traordinarily, & more then fifteen thou-  
sand lay slaine in the field.

Some short while after, Baiaseth be-  
ing come with a dreadfull Armie, con-  
sisting of more then three hundred thou-  
sand fighting men: they advanced them-  
selves to deale with the enemies armie,  
being not worthy to be termed any num-  
ber, because they were (in all) but seauen  
hundred, when they beganne the fight.  
The French small troops, made a good-  
ly sight to behold, being all well armed  
and appointed, in rich glittering and go-  
geous Armors, wanting no coit of golde  
and silver, and brauely mounted on gal-  
lant horses, most sumptuously barbed &  
caparisoned; so that such as saw them,  
might well haue termed them an Armie  
of Kings. But (beyond all the rest) vvith  
what force, ardour and courage they  
fought, although they were merely shut  
vp, and round railed or ringed in with in-  
numerable enemies. At the first onfet,  
they wholly defeated and ouerthrew the  
auangard and first battell of the Turke,  
bearing them on stil before them, euen to

the verie midst of the bodie of the maine  
army, where was Baiaseth himselfe.

Many there were, who pertourning  
meer miracles of manhood in fight, cleit  
or hewed out their passage throught the  
preale, and very thickest of all the Turkish  
Army, compelling them to make them  
way, both for going on and returning  
backe again, euen to two or three severall  
times of enforcement. And yet no one  
man among that poore small troop, who  
seeing the vnauoydable danger of death,  
was desirous to take hold on any aduan-  
tage, or shew so much as a countenance  
of retiring, albeit their enemies (gladly)  
offered them many meanes. All resolved  
to loose their liues, but yet the enemy  
bought them at very deere rate, filling  
the field with mountaines made of their  
dead bodies: euen till such time as the  
fight hauing held a great deal of the day,  
the most part of the French lying dead  
on the ground, and the rest (a very small  
number) wearied with killing the Turkes,  
and pierced through with wounds, being  
ouerwhelmed with multitudes, were (in  
the end) taken prisoners. But it was ge-  
nerally held for truth, that if the great bo-  
dy of the Hungarian army (being well-  
neere the number of an hundred thousand  
able men) had seconded them, or vied ne-  
uer so little resistance, in making but a  
shew of withstanding the enemy, to hin-  
der the French from being so enclosed;  
(by any forwardnesse in redeeming them,  
and not fearefully fly away on heaps thro-  
rough the valley, as the Hungarians most  
cowardly did, suffering themselves to be  
murthred, without any offer of fight) the  
day had remained to the Christians. And  
I dare speake it, that the power of the  
Turkes, which afterwards so great enlar-  
ged itselfe (meerly thorow our diuifi-  
ons) had then bin vterly ruined from the  
top to the bottome.

Then you planely perceiue, that of  
this small troope of resolute Champions,  
the greater part of them lay dead in the  
field, hauing made a slaughter of infinite  
enemies, more by fifty times then they  
were, and fought to their latest drop of  
bloode; but verie few of them remained  
prisoners. But on the next day, Baiaseth  
going himselfe in person, to view the field  
of battell, and take acknowledgement  
of the dead, when he found that for one

Most admi-  
rable corage &  
manhood: de-  
liuered appa-  
rently by the  
French, and at  
a time of most  
extreme triall

Great negli-  
gence in the  
armie of the  
Hungarians,  
to faile the  
men which  
fought for die

But few pri-  
soners taken of  
the small  
French com-  
pany.

French

Baiazeth had but little joy in his deare victory, desiring to deale no more with the French.

Frenchman flaine, whole heapes and piles of Turkes filled vp the field, and all his Army left in such pittifull condition, he took it so despitely, and entred into such outrageous choller, as beeing vnable to confider on his losse, or take any means for contentat on, hee commanded a passage vnto death thorough the army, of all the prisoners, except about some twentie of the greatest Lords: as the *Conte de Neuers* the Generall, and others, who being knowne, were faued and put to their ranfomes. *Baiazeth* complaining on so fadde a victory, which cost him so deare, could not depart thence but very pensiuely: and in plain truth, such another ouerthrow would absolutely haue confounded him altogether.

This may seeme sufficient for the valiancie of the French. But som may object, that such warlike people, accustomed to liue among Armes and Martiall exercises, should bee voluntary disdainers of matters appertaining to Iustice, acknowledging no other right then that of armes. *Forbear (said Pompey) till to morrow, to alledge your Lawes to vs, who haue our swords by our sides. This is quite contrary to the French, who are no way to be lesse commended for their iustice then for their valor and excellency in actions of armes, and haue euermore bene accounted to be true louers of Iustice. Agathias a Grecian authour, who liued more then a thousand yeares since, hath prayed and commended the French for their Iustice. Whereof (saith hee) they are verie desirous, as also great louers of their Country. He further addeth, That because they possesse a most assured estate, they haue (as their victories and support) many goodly principles engrauen in the hearts of their Kings and People. Why then let mee vndoubtedly tell yee, that among all other Nations, the Gauls & the French haue most highly cherished and loued Iustice, and haue alwayes religiouslie honoured it, yielding themselves thereto, and making continuall exercise thereof, without any passion.*

And not to make repetition of an infinit number of goodly institutions, and diuers examples of their Iustice, it may well appear by this notable custome, which both Greeke and other ancient authours haue obserued among them. To wit, that if any one haue slaine a Citizen or Bourgeois, he hath no other infliction but banishment; whereas, if hee commit the like offence on

the person of a stranger, he is punished with death: for the paine is augmented in consideration of the stranger, to whom the more easily the injury may be offered, so much the more (they hold) that the offence which he hath done, ought to be feverently punished and reuenged. It may be thought somewhat hard, that a stranger should be fauoured and defended, more then a Citizen. To cut off which difficulty, we see by the diuine law, ordained on the strangers behalfe, that he is so often-times repeated and defended, that a man must very carefully keepe himselfe from harming him, and that Iustice must be rendered him equal with a Citizen. And questionles it may be truly said, that (euen at this day) there is not any country in the world, where a stranger is more humanely entertained, lesse offended, and more defended in all right of Iustice, then among the people of France.

In like manner, we finde by probable histories, that (very often times) Princes and straunge people haue referred their differences to the Iustice of France, as well of the Kings, as of the Parliaments. Among other, the reputation of their Iustice in King *Dagobert*, was spread so farre into strange Nations, that the Hungarians, the Sclauonians, and other people neighboring about, desired him to be the Iudge in their differences. And more, the Sclauonians said, that if euer he came into their country, they would acknowledge & obey him, as if he were their King.

Furthermore, let it neuer be said or imagined, barbarism at any time had entertainment among the Gauls. Continually they were most human, hauing milde and well polished spirits by nature, & being aduantageously shaped or fashioned for the study of all arts & Sciences: especially they studied eloquence in such sort, that the elder *Cato* in his originals cited by *Charissius* hath rendered this testimony of them. *That they were quick conceited & industrious principally in two things, in the Art military, & in well speaking. The proof hereof appeared in that Hercules of Gauls, so much renowned by our forfathers, figured in such fashion, that from his mouth hung dangling downe at his tongue, manie small chaines of fine gold, wherewith he tied & bound the people by the eares, leading them whether so euer he pleased, & with their*

A strange more fauour and defend, then a Citizen by the law of God.

Wards of more power then weapons.

Sut in vult. Ca. ligat cap. 20.

Iuual, in Sat. 1. p. 1.

Strange pictures & people: Gauls referre cases in Court to the Iustice of France. *Sut in lib. 1. cap. 22.*

Say. 15.

No longer since a short time since the Gauls.

Charissius. *Galliarum indolis & ingenij, in bellica & in eloquio.*

Sut declar. Ritor.

Sut de vult. Grammat.

their owne good wills, free from all constraint. Declaring by this figure, what precious account they made of well speaking, and what power wordes had: no lesse (but rather greater) then that of Armes, to subdue people, & cause them become obedient willingly.

Vnder the Romane Emperors, there was a combate of eloquence in the City of *Lyons*, fought in Greeke and Latine; wherein, such as were vanquished, gaue the prizes to their victors, and were constrained (besides) to write in their commendation. And as for such as performed no matter worth the esteeming, they were bound (by necessity) to wipe out what they had done with a Spunge, or with their owne tongues; except they better affected, to be either beaten with rods, or throwne headlong into the River. Wherto may be referred that which *Iuuenal* saith.

*Pallast ut nudis prestat qui calcibus anguem, Aus Lugdunensem Rhetor dicturus ad arā.*

And the same Author makes mention also, concerning the Eloquence of the Gauls, which they instructed vnto other people.

*Gallia caulescos; docuit facunda Britannos.*

I am enforced to extend my selfe somewhat further in this discourse, by making report of a few more testimonies; to ouerthrow the false conceited opinion of some, who haue esteemed, that the people of France (in their first times) were not addicted to Sciences, erudition, nor the study of Letters, wherein they are very greatly deceived. For on the contrary, it is plaine to be proued, that (as in all other things) so therein also they haue most singularly excelled, and taught the same to the Romans. He that first instructed the Art of eloquence or well speaking in Rome, was one *Lucius Plotius*, a Gaul borne; vnder whom *Cicero* (beeing then but young) was some yeares with his Brother *Quintus* also. And about the same time, or not long after, another Gaul was highly renowned in Rome, named *M. Antonius Gnipho*, beeing endued with a mighty spirit of singular memory, and infinitely skilfull and eloquent, as wel

in Greeke as in Latine, and verie liberal (wherefoeuer he came) to teach what he knew. So that for these goodly and commendable qualities, hee bare such sway in those times, as his house was much frequented by the very greatest Romaine Lords.

It cannot be denied also, but that the great Oratour *Cicero* went often thither when he was Praetor. But that which (aboue all other) may make him most famous, was, in being Teacher to the great Dictator *Cesar* himself. Surely, not without some especial prouidence therein, to the end, that this Prince might hold wholly from Gaule (not onely the encreasing and establishing of his Greatnesse) but also this honor, wherein (not a jot lesse) hee excelled, then in actions of armes. Gaule hath euer since kept her selfe in this reputation. *Quintil*, who was a Spaniard, made great reckoning of the eloquence which was taught in Gaule, and about the declination of the Roman Empire, *Symmachus* Gouernour of Rome at that time, in one of his Epistles, sayeth; *That if he would performe any worke worthy of memory, he must goe of necessity, and dreine it out of the Gaulish knowledge and elegance.* The same man also acknowledged, *That whatsoeuer was in him, either of eloquent or polished speaking, ought the due thereof to the aire of France, where hee had learned them.* And in another place hee saith, *That Mount Helicon, sacred vnto the Muses, was transported from her owne place, into France.*

*Saint Hierome* writing to a certayne Father, who was very careful for the institution of his sonne in well speaking, saith; *Post studia Galliarum que vellestissima sunt, misit Romanum non parcens sumptibus, ut vberetatem Gallici nitoremq; sermonis grauitas Romanis condictet.* After (saith he) he hath performed his studies among the Gauls, where they are most flourishing, for sending him vnto Rome, make no spare of expences, to the end, that the abundance, delicacy, and lustre of the Gaulish language may be seasoned with the Roman gravity. The same author sayeth in another place, *That France is fertile in Orators.* In another place also he saith: *That shee hath alwayes abounded in most eloquent men.* As illustrating vnder that title, *Valerius Maximus* in the time of Augustus, afterward relega-

A Gaule was schoolemaster for eloquence to Cicero and Great Cesar.

Quintil. in lib. 10. cap. 9.

Symmachus in lib. 7. Epist. 94. Galliarum facundia huiusmodi requirit.

In lib. 8. Epist. 66. Gallia deus Heliconis.

S. Hierome ad Rusticum Monachum.

Poem Epist. 1. ad Galatias.

Concerning matters belonging to Iustice.

Flutarich in vit. Pompey.

Agathias in l. 1.

The French great louers of Iustice.

A notable example of Iustice among the French. *Stobaeus.*

Corn. Tacitus in  
in Annal. 4.Tacit. eod. Lib.  
Eufeb. in Chron.  
Quint. in lib. 9  
Trog. Pomp. lib.  
45. 2. 3. 4.Nazarius and  
his learned Eu-  
nomia.Claudian in  
Reb. Gall.Ausonius in  
Mofell.Druydet, Vu-  
ates, iuba-  
ges, & Bardes.  
The learning  
of the Bardes.

Strabo in lib. 4.

relegated or exiled into the Islands *Baleares*. *Domitius Afer* of *Nismes*, who came with great charges to Rome, being generally renowned for the chiefeft Orator of his time, and esteemed so highly by *Quintilian*, that he acknowledged him for his Master. Next, the father of *Trogus Pompeius* the historian, of the house of the *Vocontians*: who kept in his hand the ring of the Emperor *Caligula*, as beeing the keeper of his feales. Then *Gabinianus*, *M. Aper*, *Iulius Florus*, *Iulius Secundus*, verie famous Oratours vnder *Vespasian*, and many more whom I omit, to come to more moderne times, wherein *Aquitaine* only hath more furnished Rome with Senators and Orators, then all the rest of the world beside.

A testimony heereof was the Learned *Nazarius*, Author of some Panegyrics, yet remaining with vs. And that which is more admirable, was the daughter of this *Nazarius*, named *Eunomia*, the miracle of her age, who was not a jot inferior to the very worthiest Orators. Beside an infinite number of others, mentioned by the authors of those severall times, too troublesome for vs to rehearse but one halfe of them. Heere to appertaineth the writing of *Claudian*: That *Gaul* with her Learned Citizens, did ordinarily guard the Emperor, and served him in the most part of his affairs. Moreover the greater part of the Roman Senate, and a number of the Magistrates beeing great and famous persons of that age, are especially noted to bee Gauls. So that wee may very well avouch that, which *Ausonius* sung in his *Mofella*: It is no longer Rome, that onely made them of her *Catoes*, in regard that Gaul did every way equal her.

Other Sciences also have carried as full saile there. In the first times these had her *Druydes*, *Vuates* or *Eubages*, & *Bardes*, of whose learning we have yet left some remains and memories. The Bardes composed in Verses, and conferred to all poetries, the names and commendable actions of virtuous men, aptly sufficient to animate the very dullest corages. The *Eubages*, called also *Vuates* by *Strabo*, applied their studies to the contemplation of celestiall things; as also vnto Naturall Philosophy. As for the *Druydes*, they are sufficiently famous, and although wee have spoken to good purpose of them in

the former booke of the ancient Gauls; yet some especiall things there omitted, may the better in this place be remembered in larger manner.

They instructed and taught about all things else, that mens soules wer immortal: which is the foundation of all religion, and the very strongest bond of human society. They discoursed also on the stars, and of their course and motion: also of the greatnesse of the world, the earth, the nature of things, the power of God; & gave instruction in all these to their youth. This is avouched by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Mela*, and *Strabo*, who say, That the most of them held the world to be immortal. An opinion surely (after many great disputes and alterations) found to be most true by the verie best Philosophers and Divines, framing a distinction thus.

Assuredly, the world is of eternal and incorruptible matter, in regard of the celestiall part, which receiveth no alteration, neither shall receive any at their consummation: but by the adunction of light and whole perfection. But what is vnder the cause of the Moone, composed and mixed with Elements for the use of man, shall perish by fire, and returne into their first essence and Elementary quality. The course of heaven shall stay, and by consequent, all motion and corruption cease; according as it was held by *Peter Lombard* long since Bishop of *Paris*, & called Master of the Sentences; and with him all the Theological Scholastickes, and the Angelical Doctor, *Thomas Aquinas*.

They beleueed also, that (one day hereafter) the water and fire shall have Dominion; whereby we may perceive that they had notions comming neere to truth and our beleefe, albeit altered and confuted. For that which they conceived of the water, they saide was already come, and for the matter of fire we doe credit the like, & expect the consummation of the world thereby. Why then it is no matter of marvel, if having imparted their knowledge to other people, *Aristotle* should confesse, That Philosophy received her originall from the learned Gauls, whom hee calleth *Semotbeans*, and avoucheth France to bee the Mistress of Greece. All the Gaulish Philosophers were in such reputation; that the people conceived the goodnesse of the yeare, the happinesse and honor of their

The immor-  
tality of the  
world, taught by  
Druydes.Marcellinus  
cap. 1. 4.  
Pompellus  
lib. 1. 7.  
Strabo in lib.A distinction  
of the world  
immortalCorn. Tacit.  
in Annal. 3.Orat. Eumenii  
de ScholasticisLib. 11. eod.  
Trog. De pro-  
prietatibusAusonius Pro-  
prietatibusThe encrease  
of Schooles &  
multitudes  
of Learning  
in France.

Strabo in lib.

their times, to consist in the multiplicitie of them.

This shall suffice to shew, that such men were not well informed, as have written, that the French did not addict themselves to Sciences; considering, that they have always continued in the exercise of Letters and Learning. And for that purpose they had (from time to time) many famous Schooles, established for the instruction of youth. *Marseilles* equalled *Athens* in learning; so that very oftentimes the *Romaines* sent their Sonnes to that Academy, rather then to *Athens*, as it is reported by *Strabo*, who wrote in the time of the Emperor *Tiberius*. We reade moreover, that the Emperour *Augustus*, sent thither *Iulius Antonius*, the youngest sonne of his Sister, to study there. And *Tacitus* reporteth, that the probity, integrity, and knowledge of *Iulius Agricola*, his Father in Law, came by the nouriture & instruction, which he received at *Marseilles* in France.

About the same time, *Austine* also became famous for the study of Letters and liberal Arts, whereof wee have the testimony in *Tacitus*. And againe, after these publike Schooles, who were established by the Emperor *Constantinus*, father to *Constantine*, who to that purpose sent thither the Orator *Eumenius*. There is a Law in the Code *Theodosianus*, of the Emperours *Valens*, *Gratian*, and *Valentinian*, wherein is declared, that there were a great number of Townes in France, which flourished by the excellency of Masters, Oratours, and Grammarians, in the learning both of Greeke and Latine. Among which towns also, were them of *Bordeaux*, *Tholouse*, *Narbonne*, and many other. *Ausonius* likewise speaking of that *Bordeaux*, sayth, That then issued from the hand of one onely Doctor, *Nector Mineruius*, a thousand Famous Advocates or Councillors at Law, twice as many Senators or grave Statesmen.

These Fountaines of all erudition, have not dried up in France vnder the reignes of their Kings, but rather have encreased and abounded more and more, by multiplicity of Schooles, publicly established in many other Citties; wherto they since have given the right of an incorporated body or vniuersity. And by this occasion, such Vniuersities, in fauour of the studie of Letters and Sciences so founded and

erected, haue bene endowed and adorned by diuers Kinges, with goodly great priuiledges and particular fauours. Among which, that of *Paris* hath extraordinarily surpassed all other in the world. To her, as to the Queene of Learning, resortes the affluence of people from strange Nations, there to learne the Sciences, and especially holy Diuinity. This is as the Faire, Mart, or Market of the whole world, for the liberall Arts, and for instruction in all Languages. This is as a Nurfing Orchard of good plants and ingenious spirits, in all vertue and faire erudition: from whence hath bene selected (like swarmes of Bees) learned men in infinite numbers, that haue dispersed themselves, and meerey peopled most parts of the earth. Also it hath bene the module and originall, whereby all other haue taken example, not onely for France it self, but likewise for all Europe.

Pope *Innocent* the third, made such estimation thereof, that from thence he selected all those men, whom hee intended to aduance to the Bishopricks of Christendome, and other dignities in the Church. Beside, it appeareth by good & sufficient testimonies of other Vniuersities, for more then three hundred yeares since, that the studies of *Paris* haue bene the Foundation (in great measure) of the Church. *Studium Parisiense esse fundamentum Ecclesie*. And euermore it hath bene the chiefeft in opposition against heresies, to combat and ouercome them, euen so soone as (at any time) they began to grow. Infinite victories and triumphs hath the crowned her selfe withal, in so famous a contention, whereof I spare to make any report; because they are no lesse carefully then elegantly set downe by the Lord *Loyell*, in his Traict of the Vniuersity of *Paris*. Wherin also hee hath most learnedly obserued, the true institution of that Vniuersity, against the vulgar Fables which haue bene noyed thereof. There are likewise many other Vniuersities, founded, and established in diuers Citties and Townes of France, as in *Tholouse*, *Bourges*, *Orleans*, *Angiers*, *Poitiers*, *Cahors*, *Mont-pellier*, *Nymes*, *Caen*, *Nantes*, *Rheims*, &c.

Also from France, and all her Schooles, haue proceeded men as learned and excellent in all kindes of Sciences, as in piety and

The famous  
Vniuersity of  
Paris, & great  
resort of scho-  
lars thither.The affection  
of Pope Inno-  
cent 3. to the  
Vniuersity of  
Paris.Paris the con-  
queror of infi-  
nity heresies.A great many  
of Vniuersi-  
ties founded  
in France.



France hath  
yielded great  
plenty of learn-  
ed Bishops.

S. Hilary, by-  
shop of Poi-  
tier.

S. Sulpitius  
Seuerus.

Pontius Pau-  
linus the Se-  
nator.

Ruficus,  
Phocadius,  
Prosper, Alci-  
thus.

3 archbishops  
of Vienna.

S. Germaine,  
byshoppe of  
Auxerre.

S. Gregorie  
Florent, Arch-  
byshop of  
Tours, com-  
pared to S.  
Gregory Na-  
zianzen.

and probity: and as this Discourse would require whole volumes, so yet it would exceede possibility to name and re-count them all. There have beene many wise & learned Byshoppes canonized for their sanctity of life, who have established Christian religion in many Countreys, and suppressed monstrous heresies, dispersed in many parts of the world. As S. *Hilary* Byshop of *Poitiers*, the true confounder of the Arrian heresie, where-with the Church was too much tormented, euen at the beginning of her increasng. Saint *Sulpitius Seuerus*, whose learned writings lets vs yet sufficiently see his piety, and painfull endeours together, as the Arch byshop of *Bourges*, that liued vnder the reigne of King *Contran*, and also a more ancient Priest of *Aquitaine*, of equal standing with S. *Hierom* and S. *Martin*, with whom he was very familiar, & who wrote his life.

*Pontius Paulinus*, who being a Senator, descended of a great family, and infinitely rich, gaue all his goods to the poore, & becoming an Ecclesiastical person, was afterward elected byshop of *Nola* in *Italy*. Of the same country of *Aquitaine*, were also S. *Ruficus*, S. *Phocadius*, and *Prosper*, *Alethius* the Priest, so much commended by S. *Hierom*, for his sanctity, eloquence, and learning. *Ecdadius*, *Autius*, and *Mamertus*, instituter of the Rogations, Arch byshops of *Vienna*: S. *Sidenius Apollonaris* Byshop of *Auvergne*; S. *Lupus* byshop of *Troyes*; and S. *Germaine* byshop of *Auxerre*, who settled and assured Christian religion in England. *Eucherius* Archbishop of *Lyon*; *Saluianus* and *Gennadius*, priests of *Marsailles*, and S. *Vincentius* Monke of S. *Honoratus* in the Isle of *Lerins*. And since the Monarchy of some later Kings, S. *Rhemizius*, and S. *Gregory Florentius*, Archbishop of *Tours*: who is compared by *Fortunatus*, an ancient Christian Poet, to S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, as giuen to the East, and by *Gregory the Great*, Pope, giuen to the South, as he for France was to the West. It was at the same time, when Pope *Gregory* (having scene at *Rome*) nor onely admired him, but did him so much honor as could bee deuised, *Arnold*, Byshop of *Metz*, *Hincmar* Archbishop of *Rheims*, *Lupus* Abbot of *Ferriers* in *Gastinois*, *Arnold de Liseus*, *Fulbert* & *Tues*, Byshops of *Chartres*, *Sugerus* Abbot of

S. *Denis*, S. *Bernard* Abbot of *Clermaux*; *Peter Abbayelard*, of whome there went a Prouerbe in his time, that there was not any thing in al the world, reaching either to the highest heavens, or to the lowest bottome of the profoundest deepes, but they were all familiarly knowne to him. Also *Peter Lombard*, byshop of *Paris*, so admirable in the profession of Diuinitie, that (euen to this verie day) all Christendome acknowledgeth him for her Maister.

Hee should neuer make an end, that would take on him to recite all the great men of France, not onely such as haue preceded them of these times, but infinit numbers beside; whereby may bee iustly said, that Learning and the Sciences, not onely receiued their ancient flourishing splendor in France; but also haue imparted themselues (as before) to all other regions of the earth. There hath bin heretofore (beside all them formerly named) one *Eumenides* of *Marsailles*, a most wise Philosopher, who (among manie other things) made a very ferient inquisition, & learnedly wrote on the original of *Nilus*. P. *Terentius Varro* (surnamed *Atacinus*, of his Country in *Narbonne* Gaul, on the river of *Aux*, now called *Audax*, which belongeth it self into the sea at *Narbon*) much renowned among the Roman Poets, for making foure bookes of the *Argonautiques* affaires, diuers Epigrams, and the Sequanes warres, recited by *Pliny* in many places, as also by the Grammarian *Priscian*.

Heere we may not forget the Philosopher \* *Phaenonius*, so highly renowned vnder the Emperor *Adrian*s reigne: a native of *Arles* as *Philostrophus* reporteth in the discourse of his life. *Nazarius* the Orator, and *Latinius Pacatus*, Author of the excellent Panegyricke of *Theodosius*. About the same time flourished *Rutilius Numatianus* a Poet, and *Ausonius* of *Burdeaux*, most worthy the name of a Poet, since the dayes of *Augustus*: diuers namelesse workes of his haue bene found, and (for their especial deservng) haue bene attributed to be *Virgils*. Hee was chosen for Schoolemaister to the emperors *Gratian* and *Valentinian*: for it was an ordinary course in those times, when there was any necessity of learned men, eyther to instruct the Emperors sons, or the great

Peter Abbayelard a most learned man, writing & teaching.

Eumenides: Marsailles excellent philosopher.

\* A famous writer in Narbonne.

\* Hee was let to Diomedes being a Roman: he should be Greek.

Ausonius Schoolemaister to the Emperors.

Scaliger hath learned their best knowledge in France.

The opinion of our worthy strangers concerning the French.

Jul. Scaliger in Exord. lib. 2. tit. 3.

Scaliger his elevation concerning the French.

test Lords of the Romane Empire, they were secht fro France, as we read in many places of the workes of *Symmachus*, then Gouernour of Rome, & who sucked (himselfe) the milke of the Muses of France.

I forbear to speake of those strangers, who by becoming there learned, haue honored their owne countreys; though respicing first the sweet ayre of France, and borrowed a beame from her bright splendour, to giue some lustre thereof to their places of birth. In breefe to speake truly, it is as difficult a thing, to name all the famous persons that haue flourished in France, as it is easie for other people to make a shew of all such as they haue had, which would rise to a far inferior number. Moreover, many great persons (being strangers there) haue diligently surraged the spirits of the French, haue found them by experienced iudgment, to be full of life, subtle, proper & prompt to all occasions, cleare sighted, and piercing into the Sciences; thinking it very convenient that whereas some haue esteemed the ancient Gauls to be light and mutable, they should rather say, & very iustly, that they were tractable, apt and ready to performe any thing imposed on them whatsoeuer.

Of this minde was *Julius Caesar Scaliger*, an Italian, a man most learned and iudicious, who speaketh in this manner. *Illud est comprimis aduertendum non esse cum animorum uoluntate coniuncta fidei iacturam. Gallos enim uidet ad omnia momenta uel euentuum uel disciplinam promptos paratos, uersatiles: uel semel quicquam uel uisum uel auditum, illico apud eorum ingenia & deponit & amittit nouitatem, in eo ipso penitus extinguitur uidentur nati atque educati. Qui animorum uigor igneus, naturaque celerris nulli alij nationi data est a natura. Quoquo incurbere felicissime esse dant, quosque proficiunt gnaviter exercent: mercaturam, artes, arma, litteras, eruditione, subtilitatem, candorem, eloquentiam. Omnia tamen gentium atque nationum, fide sunt maxime integra & constanti. It is a matter that well deserueth to be noted or considered, that the defect of faith is not alwayes conioyned with the mobility and lightnesse of spirit. That it must needs be so, I see that the French are prompt, ready, and tractable at all moments and occasions, be it eyther for the diuersity of accidents, or be it for the Sciences: and that in such sort, as so soone as they haue scene or heard any thing,*

immediately it leseth all nouelty with them, and carrieth no such matter of newes in their mindes, for it seemeth as instantly bred and borne with them. This hot and fiery vigor of vnderstanding, and this promptitude with maturity & iudgement, hath not bin giuen by nature to any other Nation. On whatsoeuer they purpose a resolution, they apply themselues thereto very happily, profic therein most speedily, and exercise it carefully: either Merchants, Artes, Armes, Letters, erudition, subtilty, affability, freedom, and eloquence, or any thing else. And yet notwithstanding, among all nations, they are the most upright, & intirely constant of their faith and word.

Moreover, as there is nothing that doth so much civilize and sweeten manners the study of good letters, & to win knowledge in the Sciences, which do beget in our soules all humanity and courtesie, and expellecth all rudenesse in carriage: euen so is it very true, that there are none more gracious and humane, then the French, especially towards strangers. The mildnes that is inwardly, and lodged vp in a french mans heart, makes plaine outward shew and appearance in his countenance. In his forehead he carrieth a naturall franchise, and freedom in life and ciuill conversation: all laid downe euidently, without dissembling any thing, or vying any cunning or flattery. Good iudgement was made hereof by the emperour *Julian*, who said, He thought himselfe most happy, to meet with such good natured men, so facile & so lowly, & yet (neuertheless) without flattery.

It is a world of time since the Gauls had no mean reputation, for entertaining courteously, and liberally welcoming strangers among them. *Diodorus* the Sicilian highly commended the courtesie of the Gauls in this point. And *Tacitus* hath written particularly of the Germans, that came from the Gauls, and had merely learned it of them. And when the French name began first to appeare, *Saluianus* of *Marsailles* gaue them the vertue, to be kinde to strangers. About all this people hath alwayes helde Religion in singular recommendation, as being a foundation of vertue: & they haue continually bin deuoted to diuinity, euen when they had no true knowledge thereof. *Cesar* saith, *Gallia admodum dedita religionibus*. And *Livius* describing the siege of the Gauls at the Capitole, saith, that a man of the house of the *Fabij*, being cast down fro

The French are naturally addicted to singular qualities.

None more benigne and kinde to strangers than the French.

In Misopage.

Diod Siculus in lib. 5.

Corra. Tacitus in lib. 5. cap. 9.

Julius Cesar in comment lib. 6. Tit. 11. Livius in lib. 5. cap. 9.



\* One of the  
famous Hallet  
in Rome.

Stu attendit  
Gallus marculu  
andace, seu re-  
ligione citum  
motuque  
hanc, quicquid  
nihilum gent  
est.

Adm. sigl.  
Inform. in Se  
rymon Hille-  
ria prede-  
rent: Gallu  
maurice non la-  
buit, sed vicia  
(fomer) fortissi-  
m. & eloque-  
ntissima abor-  
davit.

The Gauls  
made Judges  
of the Dona-  
tist schisme.

Optatus Mile-  
ni. lib. 1.

Sigismus in lib.  
Derrigo Ital.

the top of the Cittadell: without dread-  
ing any thing, went to Mount \* *Auentine*,  
to make an annuall and solemn sacrifice  
in his family, and returned to the Capi-  
tole thorough the midst of the enemies.  
They looked vpon him, without any vio-  
lence or assaying, & suffered him to passe  
on; *Being astonished at such resolution, as at  
a miracle: were it through respect and reue-  
rence to Religion, whereof (saith hee) this  
Nation is very carefull.*

But after that the bright beames of the  
Gospell began to shew their splendour, it  
is hardly to be credited: with what feruor  
of soule this people embraced it, with  
what veneration, and (euen vpon heapes)  
voluntarily presented themselves to death,  
to resist the zeale of their affection to  
Christian Religion, and seale with their  
blood the sincerity of their faith. On the  
other side, saith *S. Ierom*, *Spaine* (sometime  
brought forth *Geryon* the dreadful monster.  
Heretics haue swarmed in most part of the  
earthis quarters: *Gauls* only hath conferred  
her selfe in the truth, without denouing her-  
selfe. But hath abounded alwaies in great per-  
sonages, learned, and holy in life together. *Ari-  
anisme* had infected all Christendome,  
only France hath continued pure: for her  
Bishops carefully employed their paines,  
quickly to stifle those heresies & schismes  
which grew too troublesome to the church.

Whe it came so to passe, that the schisme  
of the *Donatists* exalted it selfe, and many  
partialities, quarrels, and hatreds by parti-  
cular persons were intermingled: the Bi-  
shops that were in the faction with *Donat-  
us*, required of the Emperor *Constantius*,  
that Iudges might be sent from the *Gauls*,  
onely for their piety and learning. Vher-  
vpon the Emperor granted vnto them 3  
Bishops, *Rheticius* of *Auitun*, *Maternus* of  
*Cologne*, and *Marianus* of *Arles*: who went  
to Rome, and together with Pope *Militer*,  
hauing exactly lookt into the matter,  
decided the cause, and condemned (by  
their sentence) the error of the *Donatists*,  
as it is reported by *Optatus*, one of the Or-  
thodox Bishops of *Africa*, who hath left  
vs in writing the history of this schisme, &  
gaue his helpe to the suppression thereof.

In the year *VCCLVIII*. Pope *Stephen*  
the third, entreated *Pepin* King of France,  
by his expresse *Nuncio*, that he would send  
him the very learnedst Bishops of France,  
to the ende, that by their authority, hee

might reforme & re-establish the church,  
which he performed accordingly. Vher-  
by is plainly discouered, in what esteeme  
and account, the learning & piety of the  
Prelates of France hath alwaies bene.

According to this purpose of ours, it  
may be very truly maintained, that *Gauls*,  
among the Prouinces most towards the  
West, did first receiue the Christian faith,  
next vnto *Italy*; being brought thither in  
the first birth and infancy of the Church.  
For ouer & beside the Apostle of France,  
*S. Dionysius Areopagita*, who is said to bee  
sent thither by *S. Paul*: it is certaine, that  
one named *Crescentius*, the scholler of *S. Paul*,  
did first of all preach the christian  
faith in *Gauls*, and there performed the of-  
fice of a Bishop and Pastor: as is to be ga-  
thered from *S. Paul* himselfe, from *Epiphani-  
us*, *S. Clemens*, *S. Ierome*, & *Eusebius*, who  
report, that he was sent thither by *S. Pe-  
ter*, and that there he dyed. I fer asid what  
our Annallists haue recounted of *S. Peter*,  
and *S. Philip*, that they came thither. But  
I may not omit what is said by *Epiphanius*,  
that *S. Luke* came into France, and there  
declared the faith of Iesus Christ.

All that can be imputed to the ancient  
*Gauls*, concerning the acte of religion, is,  
that they sacrificed men. But this manner  
of sacrifice was not particularly to the  
*Gauls*, they hauing dealt no otherwise  
therein, then was vied (well neere) by all  
other people. The like is reported of the  
*Scythians* in general, and *Mela* nameth  
to be the *Esedones*. The *Carthaginians*,  
why there hapned among the any plague  
or famine, or any other publike affliction,  
they made their recourse to this supersti-  
tion, & ordinarily bloodied the Altars of  
their *Hercules* with humane sacrifices, yea  
they would sacrifice their owne children  
to *Saturne*. *Strabo* saith, that the *Lusitani-  
ans*, a people of *Spaine*, would offer vp their  
prisoners in war. And *Seneca* declareth,  
that the *Masilians*, a people of *Greece*, &  
well educated, would feed a man very im-  
measurably for some space of time, then  
they would conduct him through their citi-  
ty, charging him with accursed execrations  
& imprecations; and in the end they  
would sacrifice him, to expiate their pub-  
like offences, and to lay on him the pen-  
alty of all their sins. Among the *Grecians* it  
was very common, not onely during the  
Trojan warre, of *Iphigenia*, sacrificed at

Gauls  
Christiani  
next to la

Gauls  
Dilectus  
Paul

A Tim  
ver. 10.

Epiphani-  
us, S. Ierome,  
& Eusebius

Anip  
on hader  
Gauls  
cine

Plin. in lib.  
Pomp. 3.  
in lib. 4.  
Trog. 1. 1.

Plin. in lib.  
1. 2.

Strabo

Strabo

Seneca

Seneca

Sacrificed  
of the Gre

the gate of *Iulis*; but likewise of *Polix-  
ena*, in the Land of *Troie*. Long time af-  
ter, *Themistocles* (a little before the day of  
*Salamina*) by command of his diuinitors,  
caused three noble Persians to be sacrific-  
ed. And about the same time, *Xerxes*,  
King of *Persia*, offered twelve men in sa-  
crifice. Many examples more are there of  
the *Grecians*, declared more at large by  
*Plutarch*. What thinke ye then of the Ro-  
mans? Were not they addicted to the  
same superstition, and vied the like sacrifi-  
ces of humane oblations? Wee finde it  
faithfully set downe, that they sacrificed  
two *Gauls*, a man and a woman, to their  
Tutelary or household God. I cannot ima-  
gine what should be the reason, why they  
chose their offerings to be of that people,  
rather then of any other; if it were not in  
this respect, that they supposed they shold  
present a more acceptable sacrifice (in so  
doing) to the God of their City, then to  
offer any other people, whereby he might  
be offended, because once they had con-  
sumed Rome in cinders, and therefore they  
might bee iudged the more able (after-  
ward) to ouerthrow the whole Empire.

*Plutarch* reporteth, that they caused  
some of the *Gauls* to be buried aliue, dur-  
ing the Consulship of *Marcellus*, by rea-  
son of a Gaulish warre which had hap-  
pened to them, and whereof they stood in  
fearefull doubt. And that afterward, euen  
till his time, they would haue celebrated  
the like bloody anniuersaries; which  
might not be permitted (it may bee for  
the immunity) and all the world to see  
it. The like was put in practise at Rome,  
soone after the dismal day at *Cannae*: &  
the Emperor *Domitian* likewise sacrificed  
two: They had a *Supter*, surnamed *Lattalis*,  
to whom they made offerings of humane  
blood, and of the liues of men. This *Ter-  
tullian* saith was ordinarily done in his  
time; and *Lactantius* and *Eusebius*, who li-  
ued soone after vnder the first Christian  
Emperours, do ascribe as much.

The often & frequent spectacles, among  
the *Gladuators* or *Fencers*, were they any  
thing else, but euen a cruel and bloody sa-  
crifice of many men. Nay, which was most  
detestable, to cause them kill one another  
for other mens pleasure? They were not  
any small number of one or two, but ordi-  
narily five hundred, a thousand, two thou-  
sand, and three thousand: and it hath bin

observed, that at such times, ten thousand  
haue bin thereto exposed. Let *Cicero* then  
and *Plutarch* cease to reprove the *Gauls*  
with this custome, seeing that they them-  
selves, both *Grecians* & *Romans*, haue ob-  
served the same. Nay, the *Grecians* did far  
worke, for not contenting themselves with  
such sacrifices, they would needs know  
what good meate it was to feede on hu-  
mane flesh, and as *Pliny* hath left written,  
to taste of all the parts of a man. If it was  
ill done to sacrifice a man, how much  
more detestable was it then, to serue in  
his flesh for food to the table? As for *Ci-  
cero*, I pardon him very willingly, for that  
which he said in one of his pleadings of the  
*Gauls*: because it was to serue his own  
cause, and for the reproofe of witnesses,  
which made whatsoeuer he saide the lesse  
considerable. Contrariwise also, as him-  
selfe hath written. He may soone deceive him-  
selfe, that thinks out of mine Orations and  
Pleadings, to deriue any available authority  
of my opinion, or else a forme of testimony, by  
that which I haue said: because (saith hee) it  
was the cause that spake and not I. And yet  
it wee obiect more netherly, what *Cicero*  
hath said concerning this case; wee shall  
perceiue that the *Gauls* made glad sacrifi-  
ces of malefactors, as thinking such an  
offering to be most agreeable to the gods,  
as (indeede) there could bee none more  
proper, then the iust punishment of wicked  
persons. And yet notwithstanding,  
sometimes they were constrained to geue  
so farre as innocent folke; meerey for the  
defect of other: because this opinion was  
noted in them, that the Gods could not be  
pleased, for the life and safety of one man,  
but by offering to them the life of another.

Howeuer, they desired herein no  
imputation of blame, becaise what they  
did, was by superstition, the excess of true  
religion, nor holding it for any error, to  
offer to God what might bee most accept-  
able; which made them to present him  
with so noble a creature, the only perfit  
of all other, and so consecrated to him the  
most precious oblation of all oblations:  
wherin they are the lesse taxable for their  
custome (though indeed euill) yet not pro-  
ceeding so farre as other; as the *Grecians*,  
who fell voluntarily into Atheisme. Among  
Gods people, we see that *Isaiah* fell  
into the same error, vnder the shadow of  
a vow & deuotion: albeit I know very wel  
that,

Cicero in Cat.  
Pro Verres.

The Greeks  
would feed on  
the flesh of  
man.  
Plin. lib. 28.  
cap. 1.

Cicero in  
Orat. Pro  
Cluentio.

Int. Cicero in  
Corn. Lib. 6.

A good and  
worthy opini-  
on of the  
Gauls justice

Superstition  
thought to be  
the excess of  
true religion

Concerning  
the vow made  
by Israhel for  
his late  
daughter.

that the Hebrew Text hath no other carriage, but that he offered to God, no more but the virginity of his daughter only, & that this is the opinion and interpretation of the most learned Rabbins. I passe over the abominable idolatries of the *Jemes*, to the Idoll *Molech*, who practised the very same. Yet what hath been said, might (perhaps) favour of some signale and sensible apprehension, or preface, that man could not be saved, but by a man himselfe: And that one day, man should bee redeemed, and brought into his former condition, by the blood and passion of a man. This have I set downe in their excuse, it being a zeale proceeding from religion, when as then they walked in darknes, destitute of any knowledge of the true God.

Now, forasmuch as I have heretofore indifferently vsed these words, *Gaule* and *France*, *Frenchmen* and *Gaules*, as being no other then one and the same thing, whereof some may conceit very strangely; I hold it convenient, & suitable to our purpose, to deliver a sufficient reason therefore. That which our Ancients had named *Gaule* or *Celtic*, was afterward designed by the name of *France*. Likewise, the Kings of France have long time commanded in all those parts which were tearmed the ancient bounds of *Gaule*, betwene the *Rhine*, the *Alpes*, the *Pyreneans*, and the Mediterranean and Ocean Seas. These were the ancient limits of France, which also by sea-sons, and vnder certaine Kings, have extended themselves a great deal further. But if any parcell thereof be at this day dismembered or cut off, that may not change the true appellation of things. Considering, that such distraction is nothing but the acte, the right alwaies remains in his perfect integrity. And as for the French, it will be avouched, that they are one self-same people with the *Gaules*, on whatsoever side search be made, and the truth set downe of their originall.

I may not stay my selfe here, to fight with the false opinion of such, who thinking to make the *Gaules* the more honourable, would have them to be descended from the *Troyans*, because it hath bin already done by others. But it is a point so cleare and apparant, that there is no man (now adayes) so silly verfed in letters: but plainly knoweth, that they are altogether meer fables and fictions. There hath bin

another opinion, and pursued by many, who imagineth the French to be come forth of *Allemagne* or *Germany*. And according to this conceit, there shall be no place of distinguishing the French with the *Gaules*: because it is most true to say, that *Germany* hath beene peopled by her neighbor *Gaule*. So in making the French to come from thence into *Gaule*, is to returne them backe to the place where they received their originall. For it is to be credited, that Provinces which are the most temperate, have bin the first inhabited, & after that men are encreased in multitude, they then make their recourse to more remote places, which are of ruder quality, and more subiect to cold. Beside, *Caesar* himselfe (long since) testified, that the *Germanes* or *Allemaignes*, called the *Gaules* their Brethren: for the similitude of their manners, and the customes of both these people, reported by our ancestors, may instantly make faith for this their fraternity.

Others would fetch them from the *Pannonians*, as it is reported by *S. Gregory of Tours*. Now it is very certaine, that the *Gaules* did sometimes people both the *Pannonians*: especially at that time, as *Brutus* made warre in *Macedon*, and throughout all *Greece*. And the Geographers, as *Stephanus*, *Arrianus*, and *Strabo*, do nominate the *Celtes* among the people of *Pannonia*. There is yet another opinion, the truest and most certaine, and yet notwithstanding little enough knowne. For oftentimes (saith an ancient Writer) it cometh to passe, that the originall of great people is as much unknowne, as that of our greatest Rivers. This is that which hath bin observed by diuers passages of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *S. Gregory of Tours*, and other neighbouring Authors, concerning the beginning of this Monarchy: that the French came from *Sicambria*, and that the *Sicambrians* are many times taken for the French.

Now we are to note, this *Sicambria* is not that *Sicambria*, which some have vniuallly seated in *Francia*: but it is described by ancient Geographers toward the North, wholly ioyning to the riuages of *Rhine*, as wel on the one side, as the other. But more principally towards the place, where that goodly streame falleth into the Sea: a place of very difficult access, by reason of the great Marishes thereabout. *Suetonius* maketh mention that the Em-

That the  
Gaules  
were  
called  
Celtic

The  
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were  
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Celtic

The Authors  
opinion  
of the  
Gaules  
is  
perfection,  
& his  
excuse  
in  
their  
behalf.

How ancient  
Gaule  
became  
afterward  
to be called  
France.

Confusion of  
names may  
not alter mat-  
ters of truth.

That the  
French should  
be descended  
from the  
Troyans.

peror *Augustus* caused those valiant *Sicambrians* to passe on further into the firme land of the *Gaules*, and namely, that he gaue them \* *Bataunia* to dwell in. This he did, some way to content them, and to hinder their courses: as also to serue his owne turne with this warlike Nation, being upon the extremities or vnmoff parts of *Gaule*. And beside, we read in *Tacitus*, that there was daily at the Emperors seruice, a *Sicambrian* band or Cohort, highly esteemed for their valiancy.

Heereby we may know, that they are descended of the same country with the *Gaules*, and it is to be credited, that these were the people only, which neuer came into subiection of the *Romane* Empire, in the time of *Caesar*: in regard of the difficult places, and badnesse of the country which then they held. This *Sicambrian* people, knowne & renowned by the name of French only, in the time of *Gaius*, vnder *Posthumus*, one of the thirty tyrants, about the yeare of our Lord, CCLXIX. could not keepe themselves alwaies in their Northerly corner or angle of *Gaule*, such as (at this day) *Holland* and part of *Friesland* are: but they made their extendure into neighboring countries, & continually these tormented the *Romanes* in *Gaule*, after whose liberty they longed first to time. And part of them passing into *Gaule* among the *Romanes*, were there highly esteemed, and came to vnder take the cheefest charges, as we may read of many of them, in *Ammianus Marcellinus*.

Part of this people also, namely they that were transported by *Augustus*, continued (for long time) in obedience to the Empire, as appeareth by many examples, and Histories let downe by diuers Historians, which I may not heere recite, because (for the most part) they have beene diligently collected by the Lord *Faucheret*, in his French Antiquities, where this true opinion is approoued, by the passages of *Lozimus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Procopius* and *Zonarus*. At the fall of that great Empire, those inuincible *Sicambrians*, *Franks*, or *French*, accustomed to make ordinary courses into *Gaule*, perceiving the inuasion of Northerly people, as the *Alanes*, *Vandales*, *Bourgnignons*, & *Goths*, they could not endure, that their ancient country should remaine any longer so subiect, neither by the tyranny of *Romane*

Magistrates, nor by the inuasions of barbarous people. Hereupon, taking apt occasion, they proceeded on further into the midst of the *Gaules*; where they were received (in open armes) by their olde mother, and by the other *Gaules*, who ioyning with them, shooke off the yoke of the *Romanes*, & expelled also the strange Nations, had so insolently intruded on the.

From thence forward, both one & other named them *Frenchmen*, as being but one people by originall. Nor can it be conceived, that the *Sicambrian* people should be enemies to the *Gaules*, but rather called by the as their fellowly brethren, to helpe in their enfranchizing, being received with the liking of euery one: as these places of *S. Gregory of Tours* do sufficiently shew. *Inter ceterum iam terror Francorum resonaret in his partibus, & omnes eos, amore desiderabili cuperent imperare, &c.* Also in another place: *Multi ex Gallijs habere Francos dominos summo desiderio cupiebant.* Moreover, it is to be seen in many places of the histories, written by the same *S. Gregory*, that the *Gaules* were neuer trod downe by the French; but admistrated in publicke charges, & took part in their honors, not as a conquered people, but as companions, friends, and associates, and as making but one people. In regard whereof, a man may vse the names of *French* and *Gaules*, & *France* and *Gaule*, being but one and the same thing. And the country euermore inhabited by the same people originall, being neuer thence expelled, nor subiected.

A country the most happy, the most fertile, the most abounding in all things, and the most agreeable with the world, & least incommodious. The people dwelling therein, the most martiall; & warriors at all times, that the Sunne neuer beheld better. By others also commended, for all those good and vertuous qualities, wherewith any humane spirit can be adorned, quicke, apt, & ready to whatsoever they apply themselves, with moderation, curesse, and humanity, as none greater can be desired. The happiness & felicity of this Land, together with so many commendable qualities of the people, have bene published (in some measure) by the Poet *Buchanan* of *Scotland*, when at his returne from *Portugall*, coming backe into *France*, he made these verses, which I thought fit here to insert, to serue for a conclusion of this discourse.

The Sicam-  
brians and  
Gaules called  
Frenchmen.

S. Greg. Tours  
lib. 2. cap. 23.

Ecd. lib. cap. 6.

His conclu-  
sion for the  
Gaules and  
French.

The excellen-  
cy of the  
country and  
people of  
France well  
remembered  
by Buchanan.

*Ieiuna misera teſqua Luſitania,  
Glebaque tantum fertiles penuria  
Valet longum. At tu beata Gallia  
Salus, bonarum blanda matrix artium,  
Caelo ſalubri, fertili frugum ſolo,  
Vmbroſa colles pampini molli comæ,  
Pecora ſalua, rigua valles fontibus,  
Prati ſuſcitant picta campos floribus,  
Veliſera longis annuum decurſibus,  
Piſcoſa ſtagnis, riuulus, lacubus, mari,  
Et hinc & illinc portuoſo litore  
Orbem receptans hoſitem, aſque orbi tuas,  
Opes vicifiſim non avara imperiens:  
Amana villis, tuta muris, ſurribus  
Superba, ſpectiſ laeta, cultuſplendida,  
Viciuſmodiſ moribus non aſpera,  
Sermone comitis patriæ gentium omnium  
Communis, animi ſida, pace florida,  
Incunda, ſaculis Marte terriſco minax,  
Inuicta, rebuſ non ſecundis inſolens,  
Nec forte dubia fracta, cultrix naminis  
Sincera, ritum in exterum non degener.  
Neſcit calores lentis aſſas torridos,  
Frangit rigores bruma flammis aſperos,  
Non peſtilentis pallet Auſtriſpiritu  
Autumnus æquis temperatus ſtatibus:  
Non ver ſoluitis annuum repagulis  
Inundat agros, & labores eluit.  
Nipatrio te amore diligam, & colam  
Dum vivo, ruſus non recuſo viſere  
Ieiuna miſera teſqua Luſitania,  
Glebaſque tantum fertiles penuria.*

## CHAP. III.

*Of the Maieſty, Dignity, and high Eminency  
of the Kings of France: And what infi-  
nite actions of Honour they haue done  
from time to time, to renoune the glory of  
that kingdome.*



**I**T is not yet ſufficient, ney-  
ther maketh it vp a perfect  
felicity, that France ſhould  
bee filled with ſo much  
wealth and commodities,  
as the earth can any way yeeld: alſo that  
the people are ſo generous, endued with  
ſo many commendable qualities, beſide,  
moſt humane and acceptable conuerſati-  
on. If all do not correſpond to this proſ-  
perity, and that the forme of her eſtate &  
good government, is not the main height

of all this happineſſe. Wherein it may  
well be ſaid, that France hath bene as  
graciously fauoured by heauen, as in al other  
things whatſoeuer. There hath neuer  
beeene ſcene ſo many ciuill warres and fa-  
ctions, for change and alteration of the  
State, as hath often happened in many o-  
ther Prouinces. After ſhe had once taſted  
the Monarchall Government of one on-  
ly naturall Prince (which all the greateſt  
Philophers, ſuch as were brought vp in  
free citties, haue confeſſed to be the beſt)  
ſhe neuer found any change, neyther did  
it euer make offer of itſelfe, or any way  
propoſed.

France well may boaſt this in com-  
mon, with a great part of the people of  
the world, that the is a Monarchall eſtate:  
but yet this is more particular to her, that  
ſhe hath ſuffered no mutation for ſo ma-  
ny Ages; but hath beeene inuolubly al-  
wayes conſerued in her owne Royall eſ-  
tate and government. And it may as tru-  
ly be ſaid, that her Kings haue excelled as  
much about others in the world, as France  
itſelfe hath gon beyond all other Lands.  
Then to come to the point of her Kings,  
and of their Greatneſſe and Excellency:  
it reſulteth firſt of al, from that which hath  
beeene diſcourſed heretofore. Becauſe  
there is no man, but will reame that king  
potent, rich, and redoubtable, that com-  
mandeth ouer a country ſo fertile & well  
furniſhed: and he will alſo vouchſafe, that  
Kings commanding a people ſo vertuous  
and generous together, muſt needs be Pa-  
ragons in generoſity and courage, yea, &  
true models of all vertue. Moreouer, what  
other Kings can make their vaunt, to haue  
ſo goodly, ſo opulent, and ſo happy terri-  
tories, and to command ouer ſuch a peo-  
ple? In like manner, what Land can ſay,  
that it hath had like Kings, and ſo great  
in all reſpects, as they of France haue bin?  
This is in general, and the touching of  
this point thus were ſufficient, without  
need of any further inquisition; becauſe it  
is euident to the eyes of all men, euen as  
what hath bin related in our former chap.

But to diſcourſe more particularly on  
their other prerogatiues. Firſt, it is a mat-  
ter moſt conſtant and certaine, that the  
Kings of France are Soueraigns in their  
State, holding their kingdom but of God  
onely, and by the Sword: this needs no o-  
ther profe, becauſe it is granted without

The Mon-  
diall, you  
menage, a  
rural Paſt.

Cap. Per contra-  
ſtim. Quia ſibi  
ſubſig.

France ac-  
ſubſig. nup-  
ration nup-  
uerment.

Per ſig. In  
ſig. ad P. on-  
ſig. ſig. 29

Old ſig. 29  
ſig. ſig.

The ſig. of  
their King  
meant.

Lige. Mader.  
In lib. Excellen-  
tiae. Eſſig. 29.  
cap.

The King  
France ſig.  
truly ſig.  
raigned in  
their State:  
their Sou-  
raigny had  
continued  
hundred

dition. Alſo, they haue bene in this poſ-  
ſeſſion, not onely for exceeding the me-  
mories of men, or for three hundred yeares  
a reame more then ſufficient, for eſtabli-  
ſhing ſure and inuolubly a Soueraigne  
eſtate, as maintained *Iſta*, chief of the  
*Iſraelites* againſt the *Ammonites*, but alſo  
for twelue hundred yeares. There needeth  
no other testimony then that of Pope *In-  
nocent* the third, who ſpeaketh it expreſly  
in his Decretall, *That the King of France  
acknowledged not any Soueraigne, in tempo-  
ral occaſions.*

This was it which made ſo ſuperfluous  
impertinent, inept, and idle, the diſputa-  
tion ſo much canuaized amongſt the Do-  
ctors Imperialiſts, to witte; *Whether the  
King of France were ſubſeſt to the Empire,  
or no*, and whereabout the Doctōrs diſ-  
puting vainly, contrariet themſelues, and  
ſufficiently ouerthrow their owne iudge-  
ments. *Peter Ielluga*, an ancient Spaniſh  
Doctōr, in his treatiſe of a Prince, & *Old-  
radus* an Italian Doctōr (the cheefeſt of  
his time do maintaine; *That the kingdome  
of France acknowledgeth not, either by ac-  
te or right, any Prince of the world.*

The Emperors themſelues alſo, haue  
aunouch as much; declaring by diuers  
actes, That the King of France is Soue-  
raigne, & that he depended not on them  
in any faſhion whatſoeuer; which will be  
more amply handled, in a place fitter for  
the purpoſe. To as ſilly effect was that,  
which Doctōr *Lopez Madera*, a Spaniard  
hath written; *That the Kings of France doe  
take their Title, by a conſeſſion made vnto  
them by the Emperor Iuſtinian, according to  
the recitall of Procopius.* But a man can ſet  
no ſure footing, on that which is ſaide by  
a ſubſeſt to the Empire. And beſide, ſoon  
after, *Iuſtinian* himſelfe could ſay; *That he  
quitted whatſoeuer hee had pretended to the  
Gaules, becauſe he held not there any thing.*  
And in other places, he ſpeaketh not of al  
the Gaules, but onely concerning them of  
France, and the neighbouring Landes,  
which the *Goths* held before, & which he  
pretended appertaining vnto him, by his  
conqueſt made of them. VVhich Lands,  
the *Goths* hauing made ouer to the Kings  
of France, *Iuſtinian* approued the conſeſ-  
ſion, and on that conſideration, departed  
with all his rights and pretentions.

The French do not ground their grants,  
as the ſame *Lopez* did for Spaine, on the

grant which he pretended to be made by  
the Emperor *Honorius*, to the *Goths* *Ala-  
rick*. They deriue their title from higher  
place, and not from the Romanes; who  
had no other right, but an vniuſit inuaſion  
by Armes. For theſe are the Gaules, name-  
ly, ſuch as enfranchiſed themſelues from  
the Romanes, and that by meanes of the  
French, their auncient Columnnes and  
Compatriots. And therefore it is appar-  
antly ſcene, that they haue no way vſur-  
ped by nouelty, but rather haue regained  
their firſt condition and liberty, as being  
reduced to their primitive nature. A mat-  
ter very favorable, and a reaſon moſt im-  
pertinent among the Ciuill Lawyers. In  
like manner, what was more tuſt then that  
which the Romanes caried away by force  
of Armes, and was taken again from them  
bv the very ſame meanes? But this is in-  
fallible, that the Kings of France are Soue-  
raignes, knowne to be ſuch, at all times  
and eury where, without any controuer-  
ſie, or ſiuolous contradiction.

It cannot bee ſo ſayde of many other  
Kings, and namely it hath cald in queſ-  
tion the King of Spaine. For Pope *Gre-  
gory* maintaineth in his Register, that  
Spaine is parcel of Saint *Peters* patrimo-  
ny, and is to make prouiſion for his Lord:  
hauing thefore inueſted a certain Count  
or Earle of all that which he had conque-  
red from the Moores. In conſequence  
whereof, by report of their own Spaniſh  
writers, *Ramirus* the firſt, King of *Arra-  
gon*, payed a tribute to the Popes: which  
his ſon *Sanchio* after continued to Pope  
*Alexander* the ſecond. And ſince this ſub-  
iection to the Romane Church, as from  
feodatories, it hath beeene acknowledged  
by other Kings.

VVe read that *Peter* the ſecond, King  
of *Arragon*, beſide acknowledgement of  
feodality, ſubmitted & rendered his king-  
dome, by ordinary cenſuall (to Pope *In-  
nocent* the third) of two hundred and fifty  
peeceſ of Arabian Golde, which had free  
courſe then, as appeareth by the Registers  
in the *Paticane*, which were extracted and  
ouer-written by *Ciacconius* a Spaniſh au-  
thor, who wrote the liues of the Popes, &  
by diuers hiſtories of Spaine.

In like manner, the Realmes of *Sar-  
dignia* and *Cyprus* doe depend vpon the  
holy See, and the inueſtiture of the ſame  
in the *Paticane*, which was made by the  
Pope

What it is  
that maketh  
the full felici-  
ty of any king  
dome.

L. Si P. nat. q. n.  
Patiſus ne P. n.  
re, D. de P. nat.

In l. 1. ſig. 6.  
& 7.

Swiccia in lib. 1.  
cap. 11.

Ciacconius in  
Regiſt. P. nat.

Pope to Peter the third, King of Arragon. In consequence whereof afterward, *Jaques of Arragon*, did homage liege at *Palencia*, betweene the hands of the Legate, in the year, MCCCLIII.

I finde also, that *Ferdinand and Alphonsus*, Kings of Arragon, did make faith and homage, in the year MCCCXLV. The Islands of the Canaries, and *Cape du Verd*, are held in the same sort, and I reade, that *Lewes of Spaine* was invested, and redired faith and homage to the Pope, in the year MCCCXLIII, being charged to pay to the Apostolicall Chamber, four hundred Florins of gold; whereof *Petrarch* also maketh mention. And as for the East Indies and *Peru*, it is very certaine, that Pope *Alexander* the sixth, in making partage of that which was newly discovered, betweene the kings of *Castile* and *Portugall*: referred expressly to himselfe, the full power and soveraignty, by consent of both the kings, whom afterward he constituted his vassalls, in all acquets & conquests by them made, or that should bee made thence forward, as the *Spaniards* themselves have written. In like case, pope *Julius* the second, gave to *Ferdinand* the sixth, King of Arragon and of *Castile*, the kingdom of *Granada*, which hee had conquered from the *Moor*s: with this charge, to hold it of the Roman Church, in faith and homage.

All these feodall acknowledgements and subiections of the estate of *Spaine*, as well in generall as in particular, are no matters of novelty. For before them, and during the reigne of the *Goths*: the kings alwayes payed tribute to the holy See, in acknowledgement of soveraignty: vntill that a tyrant named *Pitiza*, a little before the ruine made by the *Sarrasins*, refused to pay it. And afterward, by the generall inuasion of *Spaine*, hauing bin wholly discontinued; Pope *Gregory* the seventh complained thereof in his Register, as is well obserued by the worthy Cardinal *Baronius*. Which may be the cause, that each particular king, beginning to strengthen himselfe against the oppression of the *Sarrasins*, would returne againe to the duty of this submission, and ancient subiection.

On the other side, it is found recorded, that the kingdom of *Castile* is in Fief to France. For *Henry* the second, King of

*Castile*, submitting himselfe to *Charls* the first, king of France, promised as well for himselfe, as for his successors, to be vassall, and to hold his kingdom of *Castile*, of the Kings of France, by a treaty in the year MCCCLXIX. which is kept in good forme in the Treasury of France. This king of *Castile*, being expelled thence by his Brother *Don Peter*, was at length re-established there againe, by power from the king of France, vnder conduct of that valiant knight, *Bertrand de Guescline*, Constable of France, notwithstanding all the efforts of the English, banded to the contrary.

There is another notable quality, which is no meane advantage vnto the Realme of France, in that it is, and euermore hath beene successiue hereditary, and not electiue. And like as by generall custome, in all succession in the Realme, death seizeth on the liuing: euen so this taketh place, & is obserued so much the more certainly, for succession in the State. Not vnlike compared to the golden branch in *Virgill*, which being pluckt away, another springeth vp instantly, so that there is neuer any defaultance.

*Pro avulso non deficit alter.*

Whence arose the common saying among the French; That the King neuer dyeth. Because that there is alwayes (naturally) another of the same kinde, who (without any controuersie or difficulty) succeedeth at the same instant in the others place. And when as France happeneth to be over-trailed and pressed by potent enemies, euen to the losse of her King; yet it causeth no confusion or disorder, neither giueth any advantage to the enemy, or can he (by such an accident) vnrue vpon the State. It hath beene proued (to the cost of some) like vnto a reuiuing Hydra, not to bee surmounted; or rather as a Phoenix, that reuiuet another out of her selfe. Also, that the Kings of France were truly bred of an immortall race, neuer parting from hence, to returne to the true place of their celestiall and diuine originall; but they left a successiour, who (in the same moment) is made King, without any other formality.

But to render their succession the more assured, & (therby) the kings immortall, it hath

Concerning them that are of the blood-royal in France

Baldwin in cap. Defenda Mar. die. p. 5.

The kinde of France by hereditary succession, not by electiue.

Agathias in lib. 1.

In End. lib. 1.

King in dn. lib. 3.

The kinde of France by hereditary succession.

Such successiours are not always in Spaine.

Comparison concerning the kinde of France in succession, not by electiue.

Lopez Madera.

A people in Spaine, betweene Galicia & Portugall. Molina de hispan. prim. lib. 2. c. 2.

hath alwayes beene receyued in France, that such as are of the blood-royall, although they or hee should stand farre off by a thousand degrees: yet notwithstanding, if there be not any other that is nearer, they or he are called to the succession of the kingdom, and possesled thereof, onely by the others decease, without any other contradiction; which hath beene well obserued by *Baldus*, an Italian Doctor, and hath euermore bene so continued, euen to the person of the King nowe happily reigning, to bee descended from the King, called *Saint Lewes*. *Sic in Francia morietur toto domus Regia, extaret vnu de sanguine antiquo, puta de domo Bourbonie, non esset alius proximior, esto quod esset millesimo gradu, tamen iure sanguinis, & perpetua consuetudinis, succederet in Regno Francorum.* Item *Guliel. Benedicti*, in Cap. *Royntius in ver. duos habens*, Num. 78.

*Agathias* the Greek, who wrote in the time of *Iustinian*, obserued the same allo, saying; Amongst the French, Children take the kingdom, by succession to their Fathers. And in another place, hee saith and reciteth, That *Theodebert* King of Metz, being deceased, his sonne *Theudobald*, or *Thibault* succeeded him, although hee was but an Infant. But (saith hee) it was the Lawe of the Countrey that called him thereto. Assuredly a most wise institution, especially, for the representation of succession to infinite ages: to obuiate disorders, inconueniences, and ouerthrowing an Estate, which may happen during a vacancy, and when the successor is vncertaine.

Before I passe any further, I may here tell you, that such succession in a kingdom hath not alwayes beene in Spaine. And there needeth no other prooff thereof, but the confession or acknowledgement of Spanish Authors; and particularlie, of *Lopez Madera*, who wrote in the Spanish tongue, and yet but little for the dignitie of the Kings of Spaine. For we find, that the Kings were ther established by election, not onely during the kingdom of the *Goths*; but also, after that they were ruined, and in the inuasion of the *Sarrasins*. *Pelagius*, king of the *Asturias*, & (after him) many other his successors, came by the very same meanes, as is exactly approoued by *Molina* a Spanish Authour. In a word, all that *Lopez* produceth, is, that

the Kings were electiue: but yet, that none were at any time elected, excepting that they were of the Family and House-royall.

The contrary appeareth, by the certaine sequel of Histories, and namely by the Councils of *Toledo*, who permitted, that the election should be made indefinitely of all persons; except of *Slaves*, *strangers*, and others, that were not of the race of the *Goths*. Wherein (it may be) an equiuocation is made, when as *Lopez* sayth, *Decadem gente*: the interpretation beareth, Of the Family and House-royall, and not of the Nation of the *Goths*, as the Councils vnderstood it. Therein also were many constitutions, for the honour and conseruation of such as were of the race of the precedent Kings: it being a matter necessary to assure them in this manner, because there were other Kings of their house. For whom there needed no such prouision, nor search for such assurances, if the Kings should haue bene successiue. But yet much more by the fifth Council of *Toledo*, there is denounced a curse and excommunication against such as shall come to the kingdom of the *Goths* otherwise then by election. As we read in *Ritius*, one of their owne Historians, that *Bamba* a labouring man was made king of *Spaine* by Pope *Leo*, and approved by the election of the people.

It neuer hath bene so in France, where the right of succession hath euermore bin inuolubly kept: There, the Race-royall which surpasseth the rest in greatness and vertue, are borne and destyned to reigne.

Nor was it without good cause, that in Greece they made so exact an inquisition and search for such as were of the Linage of *Heraclides*, and of the *Acadides*, to make them Kings, Captains in warre, and Governours of estates. *Plato*, and nexte to him *Aristotle*, are of opinion, that Monarchy is indeede the best forme of Government: Were it not as a dream (say they) to find a good king. As thinking it a matter impossible for a humane spirit, in so great a fortune, affluence of so many goods and delights, and such liberty without contradiction, and in so supream a power, to keepe in, and command ouer his owne passions. *Plato* addeth, Wee line not in the Commonwealth of Bees, where naturally one

Cicero, Tol. 6. cap. 7.

The Kinge to be made by election, & not successiue.

Council, Tol. 1. 5.

Ritius in lib. 1.

No such creating of Kings in France.

A worthy custom obserued in Greece.

Plato and Aristotle.

An excellent comparison of Plato.

The difficult-  
ties and dan-  
gers in a state  
election.

\* People with  
cuts Princes.

The kings of  
Thuris, Sol-  
danes of Eg-  
ypt, and elec-  
tion of some Popes.

The Empire  
of the East  
commencing  
election, & the  
kingdomes of  
diuers coun-  
tries beside.

Concordious  
election in  
the Empire of  
Germany.

Great estate  
and dignity is  
not easily par-  
ted without.

is bred much greater and better, to command  
our all the other. And yet the very same  
happeneth to the French, whose Kings  
come from their very birth, more great  
(not of body) but of courage, generosity,  
and vnderstanding, then all the rest borne  
and esteemed (by heauen) of another na-  
ture, then any common person to reigne.

Would we but a little consider the  
great difficulties and inconueniences,  
which are noted in an electiue estate, by  
reason of such forme of election, we shold  
the better know, what an aduantage, ex-  
cellency, and prerogative France hath. In  
an estate electiue, the death of the Prince  
happening, there is an *Interregnum*, during  
which time, it falls into "Anarchy", which  
causeth disorder, vnrulinesse, and confu-  
sion; whereon ensue infinite euils, mur-  
ders, assassines, violences and thefts. As  
hath bene well obserued in those electi-  
ons, made for the Kings of *Thunis*, & the  
Soldanes of Egypt by the *Atamelmukes*,  
Nays, and hath sometimes happened at  
the election of Popes, in *Sede vacante*.

And which is yett farre worse, the *Inter-  
regnum* sometimes lasteth for many  
dayes, because, beside vnder-handed suites  
and made factions, there is an naturall  
inclination to dissention in men. As hath  
of becomene to happen in the Empire  
of the East, after it yeclaied it selfe to be  
electiue; And in the Realmes of *Hungary*,  
*Polonia*, *Bohemia*, *Denmarke*, and *Sweden*.  
During these *Interregnums*, nothing hap-  
peneth but schismes, diuisions, and many  
menacings of diuers persons, which ordi-  
narily do draw on ciuill warres, every  
one courting to haue a Prince of his par-  
taking, or as he would haue it.

It hath also bene obserued in the  
Empire of *Germany*, that many Emperors  
haue bene elected, vntill they haue had  
seuen or eight at a time, as after the death  
of the Emperour *Fredericke* the second.  
And there could no sufficient remedy be  
found, for the establishing of a Gouver-  
nour, that might haue commanded in the  
meane while; because about the election  
of that Gouvernour, there grew on still the  
same inconueniences. And perhaps it  
might haue so fallen out, that the Gouver-  
nour being seized on the estate, would at-  
tend no other election, as some haue done  
heretofore: finding but few men, that  
will render vp so great an engagement;

& a thing to attracting, he reputing him-  
selfe iust in all things, if he can keepe such  
dignity from violation.

Moreover, it cometh so to passe some-  
times, that such as haue the right to elect  
Princes, will deliuer forth some appa-  
rances of credence to them, yet to haue  
them murdered and massacred, if they  
please them not, or else by corruption  
leaueth them and elect some other. Hereof  
the Romane Empire can furnish vs with  
sufficient examples; and that it neuer was  
more calme, then when her Princes came  
to the Empire by succession. On the con-  
trary, when the election was in the Soldi-  
ers hands, they set the Empire to sale, and  
filled all the State with rapines, thefts,  
murders, cruelties, and barbarous bruti-  
nesse. When an Emperour pleased  
them not, were he the most vertuous man  
and the best Prince in the world; they  
would massacre him, without any diffi-  
culty, and establish another; as it befell to  
the good Emperour *Pertinax*, after whose  
murder, they caused it to be published  
through the City, that the Empire was  
to be sold to the fairest offerer.

In like manner, they murdered *Alex-  
ander Seuerus*, one of the best and most  
vertuous Princes that euer was. And so  
they dealt with *Probus*, *Trajanus*, and many  
more, as may be gathered by the sequel  
of Histories from time to time. Yet this  
is not all, each Legion and each Army  
made his Emperour all which (in the end)  
had their throates cut, after cruell ciuill  
warres: the poore people enduring all  
this while, infinite miseries, and there are  
observed (in that time) well nere thirty,  
among whom there was two women.

These inconueniences were ordinary  
(anciently) in the estate of *Spain*. *S. Gre-  
gory of Tours* saith: *Sumptuosum fuit  
hanc detestabilem consuetudinem, ut si quis  
eis de regibus non placuisset, gladio cum ad-  
peterent; & qui libuisset animo, hunc sibi  
fatuarent Regni.* The Gothes had taken  
this detestable custome, that if any one of  
their kings did not please them; they would  
murder him, and establish whoe they would  
for their king, to be their king. This he  
wrote concerning *Theudas*, *Theudisiles*,  
and *Agilas*. And in Germany, after that  
this order of election got footing there,  
there were eight or nine Emperors slain;  
as *William of Holland*, *Raoul*, *Albert*, *Henry*  
the

The Romane  
Empire was  
full warred  
of her own  
militaries and  
calumnies.

The Emper  
Pertinax  
murdered.

Alexander  
Seuerus fo-  
bust, Trajan  
& many more  
Emperors  
murdered.

S. Greg. Testi-  
fies, cap. 1.

Kings of the  
Goths and  
dered.

Emperors of  
Germany  
slaine.

Geoff. Sultans  
of Egypt mur-  
dered.

Eminency  
hath no  
competitor.

The felicity of  
France.

Another well  
worth the ob-  
servation.

Rodolphe of  
of Habsbourg  
Emperour, &  
what great in-  
dignity he did  
to the empire.

The heredita-  
ry patrimony  
of the Empire  
alienated, and  
nothing but  
the bare name  
remaining.

the seventh, *Frederick* the second, and *Le-  
ues of Bavaria*, &c. beside them that haue  
shamefully bene expelled from the Empe-  
rial Throne. And of fifteene Sultanes  
that reigned in Egypt, seauen were mur-  
thered.

VVith these wee could ranke many e-  
qually, and equally worthy, growing on-  
ly through hatreds and discontentment:  
from whence haue proceeded diuisions  
and seditions; so that the choise and pre-  
ferring of one man, hath prouoed the v-  
ter cont empt of another. And question-  
lesse it will be very hard for him that hath  
bene refused, intirely to be obedient to  
him with whome hee hath contested for  
the royall authority, as his equal in house,  
reputation and merit.

Happy France, and truly happy, where-  
to God hath giuen the grace, to breathe  
but one acceptable libertie, vnder the  
sweet command of thy naturall and suc-  
cessiue Kings: which hath bene thy war-  
rant from ruine, dangers, & deadly tem-  
pests, and hath kept thy State alwaies flo-  
rishing, yea, in full strength and vigor.

Amongst other inconueniences that  
may be met within an electiue estate, this  
is one: A Prince electiue will neuer bee  
carefull of the state, which he holdeth but  
by entreaty, or at other mens likings, but  
of his owne family. For knowing well,  
that he cannot leaue the kingdome to his  
children, he makes his profite of the pub-  
like purse, deriuing and turning it to his  
own particulars, by venditions and other  
alienations. According as *Rodolphe of Hab-  
sbourg* did, who comming to bee elected  
Emperour, by the fauour of his Master  
Electo, the Arch-Bishop of *Magunee*;  
founded & built vp the house of *Austria*  
vpon the ruines of the Empire. Euen so  
farre, as to sell at prices of money, her free-  
domes and Seigneuries to *Cities of Italy*;  
as to *Florence* for six thousand crowns,  
and to *Lucas* for ten thousand, and so to o-  
ther in like manner. Which prouoed to  
be the end of the kingdom and command  
of the Emperors in *Italy*: in regard where-  
of, he was highly blamed by all the Histo-  
rians of those times, and by such as haue  
written euer since.

I forbear to speake of many other  
Emperours, who practised in the same  
manner, and alienated the hereditary pa-  
trimony of the Empire, Cities, Townes,

Territories, and Seigneuries, as well in  
*Germany*, as in *Italy*, and other places. And  
by this meanes, diuers Principalities esta-  
blished, and great cities franchised, beare  
now no more but the bare name of so-  
uerainty for the Empire. Also it is to bee  
credited, that a Prince doing what he can,  
will ouerthrow all, yet not to spite turly;  
but will mingle (as one saith) heauen with  
earth, but he will make his issue to succeed,  
so strong and mighty is this passion. Few  
or none are found to follow the example  
of *Moses*, who knowing and acknowled-  
ging his sonnes to bee incapable to com-  
mand the people of Israel after him; ra-  
ther chose to establish another, as prefer-  
ring the weale publike, before affection  
or charity to his owne. It is recorded, that  
the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, promi-  
sed an hundred thousand crowns to each  
one of the Princes Electours, to haue his  
sonne *Wenceslaus* elected emperour; and  
being vnable to pay them, hee was con-  
strained to giue ouer to them the ordina-  
ry reuenues of the empire in payment.

The case is quite contrary in France,  
where the inheritance and patrimony of  
him that commeth to the crowne by suc-  
cession, accreteth and reuinieth it selfe (by  
the same meanes) to the crowne. In re-  
gard whereof, the Kings haue not two  
kinds of inheritances, the one particu-  
lar, and the other publike; for all commeth  
of one and the same nature, & all is made  
publike. Wherein is discerned the full  
effect, of that which the emperour *Anto-  
nius Pius* said to his wife. *Seeing* (sayeth  
he) *that we are come to the Empire, wee haue  
lost that which we had before.*

But although this kingdome bee suc-  
cessiue in this manner, by the inuolable  
custom of the country, rather than by he-  
reditary right; yet notwithstanding, women,  
and the descendants of them in that kind,  
neuer haue bene, neither euer can be ad-  
mitted, no not in the defect of Males.  
VVithout reason, some enemies to the  
French name, and enuious (to speake tru-  
ly) of this prerogative; would strine to  
call in doubt the *Salique Law*, which re-  
iecteth women from succession in the  
kingdome, saying, that the originall ther-  
of is doubtful and vncertaine. As if a  
man can desire a better and more certain  
proofe, then the success and possession  
of so many hundred yeares, since the fer-

The herall  
promise of  
the Emperour  
*Charles* the 4.

No two kinds  
of inheritan-  
ces in France  
comming to  
the crowne by  
the King.

Capitulum in  
this vita.

No female  
succession in  
France, accord-  
ing to the  
*Salique Law*.

led

led establishment of that estate. That law hath bene engraven, not in Marble or Copper, but in the hearts of Frenchmen and alwayes certainly kept.

*Lopez Madera* the Spaniard, seeing that the like could not be in Spaine, and that the dignity was much lesse, to couer the defect, and bring some shadow for it, labourerth to prooue, by stretching out a long discourse, that the succession of women is very naturall. This carryeth good reason in matter of succession for Patrimony in particulars. In which case (nevertheless) we can shew, that the successions by right (well neede of all people) hath alwayes bene referred to the Males: who are as firme pillars and Anchors of assurance to great Families. But in the succession of a mighty estate or kingdom it were a mockery for the French to imagine, that the maintaining of womens succession could be the better. *There is verie great difference* (sayde the Emperor Adrian) *betweene the search of an heire of my patrimony, and a success for in an Empire.*

Moreover, it were superfluous to goe seeke for the originall of this Salique Law, and enquire any further, when or how it was made; because it appeareth of a certaine vse, and that it hath alwaies bin kept by the French. Law hath no force, it is not by custome, which is the very strongest Law of all other. And it may well be sayde, that it is a right of great authorities, when it hath bene obserued so strictly: as there is no neede of reducing it to a law by writing.

It is no written Law, but borne with them, neither haue they inuented it, but suckt it from nature herselfe, who gaue it them by instinct, & so instructed them: which not only the French, but most part of the people of the world, haue likewise most religiously obserued. If we look vpon royalty and imitation of government generall in the world, by the Soueraigne vniuersity, from the very first birth, that is to say, when the world tooke beginning, we shall find, that the first fathers of families gaue command in their houses themselves and not by their wiues, and that the male children succeeded them in the souerainety of the Family, whereas the Daughters passed to another house, without hauing any part there.

Whence came it, that all people (in

the first ages) were governed by Kinges, (not of many Prouinces) but of a Citie, or small territory onely, which had bene before but the inclosure of a father of a Family? As is to be seene, as well in holy Writ, as by the ancient histories of each Countrey. That which great Aristotle to faithfully interpreted of nature, hee hath well acknowledged. *In the beginning* (saith hee) *Townes and Cities were governed by Kinges, as now adayes people and strange Nations are. For they were composed of people, that liued vnder Royalty: each Family being governed by the most ancient.* So women could not come to the Royalty, neither hold part in the succession of particulars. Contrarywise, Fathers of the family receiued commodity by rich gifts and presents which were given them, by such as made request for their daughters: as wee reade in holy Writ, of the Father, Mother, and Brethren of Rebecca, the wife to Isaac, and as (at this day) it is a common right among all strange people, as well of the East, west, and South, where it is obserued in the same sort.

Aristotle reporteth, that the ancient Greeks did buy their wiues: whereof (as yet) we haue the testimony of Homer. But since the prime simplicity & good nature of men forsooke and gaue them ouer, iustice and peace withdrawing themselves: while in this truly Iron Age) all began to grow more strong, without any right or iustice, and that ambition (a most pestilent disease) ranne currant in the hearts of men: that goodly order became peruerced and ouerthrowne: when the most mightie, such as the Scripture reporteth, as of Nimrod and others, of Sennacherib, Nebuchadonazar, and Cyrus, troubled the quietnes of their neighbours, and inuaded their lands. So, on the ruine of a great number of small estates, mightie Empires and Monarchies grew to bee grounded, and gaue command both in length and largeness.

In this inuasion, confusion, & ouerthrowing of kingdomes, as also particular and naturall Principalities, some also mounting vpon against their Soueraignes; in stead of naturall Royalty, brought estates to popularity or Oligarchy. Afterward in regard of these disorders thus happening, the greater part of the people beeing not willing to liue so: became at length contray-

strained to render themselves to their own nature, & return to the good gouernment of kings, to enjoy their former iustice. To the end that the weakest might bee in as safe security as the strongest, and which pertained to euery private person, might peaceably be possessed, and defended by their kings, against the violence of neighbors: which were the principall functions, that incited warring people to reunite & submit themselves to kings. Wherin Aristotle also hath placed the definition of royalty, to wit: *As well to render iustice, as to defend the subjects from inuasion of enemies.* Such were the Iudges that gouerned the Estate of Israel, before the establishment of kings. Wherto is referred that which Herodotus said: *That the Medes would haue Deioes to see their Kings to the end to render iustice.* Be it then, that we regard the first original and naturall institution of kings, or be it the establishment of great Monarchies: yet it is doubtles, that women neither could or can be any participants. And as for the last institution of kings, for recourse of people, to the end, they might be defended against violence, & to enjoy iustice: we plainly perceiue, this could neuer agree with the naturall disposition of women, because the vertue of pudicity reiecteth them from those functions, of iudging people, & defending them by Armes. And if in popular and Oligarchall Common-weals, women haue alwayes bin barred from government, and entermeddling with the publick affaires: by much stronger reason then they ought to bee from Royalty, in as much as that forme of State is more excellent then the other. It hath bin obserued throughout all the Monarchies, euier pursuing the right of nature. And during fabulous times, if ther be found a Semiramis among the Assyrians; yet that breaketh not the rule. Considering the story it selfe saith, that to bring her purpose to passe, she disguised herselfe in the habit of a man: and was taken, not for Semiramis, but for her Son Ninus. And thereby it appeareth, that the Assyrians did not willingly endure the dominion of a woman, as Lopez Madera fondly supposeth. Contrarywise we reade, that she caused the ruine of their Monarchy, with Sardapalus (their last King) imitating the manners, fashions, & behavior of women, offended men so much, that by a iust indignation,

for so many men to bee subiect to such a woman, who had no more but the forme of a man; they revolted from him, and constrained him to kill himselfe.

Women then are not capable of succeeding in the kingdom of France, as we haue already approued, that in ancient times (ordinarily) they were not. For out of the fabulous times, there is obserued only a Queene of Sabas, and a Cleopatra in Egypt, and so few beside; that their rarity declareth, how contrary a thing it is, violent, and extraordinary to nature. Since the declination of the race and Empire of Charlemagne only, we haue seene in some parts of the Welt, where valour & virility hath failed or relaxed: soueraigne (swords and scepters conuerted into distaffes, and by the succession of women, many the like indignities haue met together in one body. This was that which rayed the houses of Spaine and of Austria, to the greatest they hold: a kinde of encreasing vnkown before, in any other house or souerainity, because there was no right at all.

When then the Spaniards demand of the French, the prooue and foundation of the Salique Law; it is fit for themselves to shew the original and beginning of the right for their feminine Crownes, seeing France hath kept the vse of Antiquity, & they haue saile to change among themselves. Which hath bin heretofore obserued and discoursed, by Seigneur Le Chesnier, in his Treatise of the right of Nature: where he sheweth, that by the right of nature, women stand exempted from succession in the Realm of France. I remember the answer which Licurgus made to one, who discoursed, that the government of many was the best forme of an Estate, *bring it first of all* (quoth he) *into thine own house.* In like manner, to such as will maintain the government of women in kingdoms and great Empires, especially in France: a man may well say, let them begin that establishment in their owne houses. It is by good reason saide, that there is neither beginning nor writing found for the Salique Law. It is a Law of nature, borne with men, and not written, as Aristotle saith: *That whosoener is by right of nature, or by right of people, is not written at all.*

Wherto I may adde moreover, that it is the common right of inheritances, which ought by stronger reason to be obserued in

Women not capable of succeeding in the Crowne of France.

Soueraigne Swords and Scepters changed to Distaffes.

The defence of the French for their Salique Law.

A witty answer made by Licurgus.

Aristotle lib. 1. tit. 1. §. Hoc naturam non induit.

Lopez Madera in his History lib. 3. cap. 2.

The wife saying of the Emperor Adrian.

Law hath no power but by custome.

The Salique Law bred and borne with the French.

A comparison of the worlds first beginning.

The happy condition of living vnder kings.

Aristotle in Politic lib. 1.

Herodotus lib. 1.

Sennacherib Pharaoh.

Concerning the last institution of kings.

Aristotle in Politic lib. 1.

The beginning of this Iron Age of the world against the Primitive iustice that first binde.

Ynglish in lib. 1.

Concerning Semiramis among the Assyrians.

Lopez Madera in his History lib. 3. cap. 2.

Of Sardapalus.



Royalty, as being the last and most eminent title of inheritance, and whereon dependeth all the other. So then this right, so naturall, hath euermore beene exactly kept in the estate of France.

Beside, the ancient lawes of the *Salians*, will not permit, that any part of *Salique* land or inheritance (that is to say, of lands distributed to the French, in their entring to the *Gaules*) shall come into the hands of women: but willeth, that it bee wholly left to the males. The same is also ordained in the law of the *French Ripuarians*. If this then tooke place in the succession of particulars, that the lands assigned vnto the French warriors, for recompence of their traualles, and to serue for defence of the Country, should not fall (as one faith) from the Lance to the Distaffe: by how much greater reason then ought we to esteeme, that this should be obserued, in the estate and succession of the kingdome of France, as the sequell of her owne Histories maketh knowne, that it hath bin at all times so held and practised there?

The great *Louys* or *Chlonis* had foure Sonnes, who by custome (then) receiued and diuided his Monarchies equally. *Childebert* the eldest, was king of *Paris*; *Chlothaire* of *Souffins*; *Chlodamere* of *Orleanse*, and *Thierry* of *Mets*. *Childebert* had two Daughters, the one named *Chrodefinda*, and the other *Chrosberga*, as appeareth by the Charter of exemption, of the Abbey of *S. Germain des Prez*, and by that which *Fortunatus*, Bishop of *Poitiers* hath written in his Poems, who addeth, that King *Charibert* was Tutor to those two daughters. Neuertheless, neither of them succeeded in the kingdome of *Childebert* their Father: but without all further dispute, it was *Chlothaire* their Vnkle, as hath in like manner bin obserued by *Aguathus* the Greeke. Afterward, *Charibert* the son of *Chlonis*, had three daughters also, without leauing any male-child: the one was married to a king of *Denmark*; the second named *Berthebeda*, of whom *Fortunatus* made an Epigram; and the third, called *Chrodielda*, entred Religion in the Abbey of *S. Croffe* in *Poitiers*: so that none of these daughters succeeded their Father, but *Sigebert*, brother to the deceased king, & that without difficulty or controuersie.

Now if there had bin any means or subiect to worke vpon, it is not to be thought,

that the king of *Denmark*, who had married one of the daughters, could otherwise haue bin remoued. Or if he had bin impeached by power, at least he would haue complained, & the authors of those times could not forget to make mention of it. But they not making any account of the daughters, do report, that *Sigebert* succeeded his brother *Charibert*, according to the custome of the Country. *Gombtram*, King of *Bourgogne*, brother to *Charibert*, had but one only daughter, named *Chloldia*. And yet notwithstanding he inuested and instituted his Nephew *Childebert* in the kingdome of *Bourgogne*, to enioy it after his death. It is not here to be objected, that hee did it for any ill will he bare to his daughter, or because hee would disinherite her: For by an adle of accord or agreement, made with his Nephew *Childebert*, transcribed at large by *S. Gregory of Tours*, who liued in the tenth times, he stipulated great Lands and Seigneuries for her, declaring well therein his fatherly affection; but because the law of France hindered her succeeding in the Crowne, he aduantaged her otherwise as he found the best means to do. The same may be confirmed by the testimony of many strangers, who do all agree in this point, that women are not to succeed in the kingdome of France: the names of whom, as also their authorities, haue beene (for the most part) noted, and collected by a learned man of this time, in an Epistle which he hath written concerning this subiect.

*Notgerus*, Bishop of *Liege*, in the life of *S. Landaalde*, written by him in the year *VCCCCLXXX*, faith, *Francorum Regni a sui principio semper per infatigabile, &c. Maximū autem accepit incrementum & firmū sub eo sancta Dei Ecclesia statum, cum Chlotharius Rex IVSTA SVCCESIONE, Chlodoueo quartus Monarchiam singulariter trium regebat regnorum. The kingdome of France fro her beginning, hath euermore bin inuincible and indefatigable, &c. But the holy Church of God hath taken a great and firme encreasing in that State, when as king Chlotharius, the fourth Son of Chlonis was Monarch BY IVST SVCCESION of three kingdomes. He faith by iust succession, and yet notwithstanding, *Childebert* had left two daughters behinde him.*

*Albert* of *Strasbourg* reporteth in his Chronicle: *In Francia nullus per feminam lineam*

The same custome of any country, a right peculiar inuolue.

*Freiffartin* was it.

*S. Greg. Ten* until, year.

This point stirred by users being Waiters.

*Notgerus* in *Landaalde* 1443.

*Chlonis* was Monarch of kingdome.

*Albert* Strab in 1447.

linea successisse dicunt. Neuer hath any person succeeded in France by the line of womē.

The Emperor *Charles* the fourth, Son to *John*, king of *Bohemia*, in his life it is thus written. *Eodem Anno obiit Carolus Francorum Rex relicta uxore pregnantē, quæ peperit filium. Et cum de consuetudine regni filia non succedant, prout us est Philippus, filius socii mei in Regem Francia. That yeare (faith he) died Charles, king of France, leauing his wife great with childe, who was deliuered of a daughter. And because by the custome of the kingdome, daughters are not to succeed: Philip, Sonne of my Father in law, was made king of France.*

*Freiffard*, a partaker with England writeth thus. Then after the death of *K. Charles*, the 12 Peeres and Barons of France assembled themselves together at *Paris*, with all the speed they could make, and gaue the kingdome (by a common consent) to *Messire Philip de Valois*, and took it from the *Queene of England* & her Son, who was left Sister germane to king *Charles*, by this respect and reason; because they said, that the Realm of France was of so great nobility, as it ought not go by any means to a Female. And indeed, the *Q. of England*, and *Edward* her Son, would not go to the contrary: but acknowledged *Philip de Valois* for legitimate succellour to the kingdome. And that which is more, *Edward* voluntarily did him homage; in regard of the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, and the acte of homage was deliberated and aduised by his counsell of England.

Now as concerning that which hapned some while after, warre being moued betwene the two kings, for another cause and enmity excited among the, that *Edward* tooke on him the Name and Armes of France: this was only done by the inuention of the *Flemings*, who saide, that they could not aide him, except he would qualifie on himselfe, the name of King of France: because they stood bound by oath, not to beare Armes against the *K. of France*, on paine of paying two millions of *Florins*. So that in taking Armes for him against *Philip de Valois*, and to quit themselves of that payment; *Edward* gaue them a discharge and quittance, as being *K. of France*. And yet notwithstanding, the *K. of England* made difficulty of vnderstanding it, hauing attempted war vpon another subiect, as being Vicar of the Empire, and for recouering the towne of

*Cambray*, which the King then held. But in the end, to haue the helpe of the *Flemings*, & their allies, who were most important vpon him: he was induced to take the title of king, & the Armes of France, as may more particularly be seene in the sequell of the history set down by *Freiffard*.

*Elium de Garibay y Gamalloa*, a Spaniard, speaketh of the very same, saying. *Porque Philip Conde de Valois descendida de la corona Real por linea masculina: fue coronado por Rey di Francia por virtud de la Ley Salica. Al Rey Eduardo por descender de linea de muger, exluyeron de la successiō Real, &c. Aunque todas ellas razones de Eduardo, enaden y sefuyen los Franceses con Ley Salica, que en estos dias y uatamando grande rigor y fuerça para los siglos futuros. Because Philip, Count of *Valois*, descended of the Crowne Royall, by the masculine line: he was crowned King of France, by vertue of the *Salique* law. For king *Edward*, he being descended by the Mother's line, he stood excluded from the Royall succession, &c. And all the reason alleged by *Edward*, were enuaded & excluded for the French, by the *Salique* Law, which in those daies was in great force, and continueth also for future times.*

*Doctor Baldus* on the *Pandefts* faith. *Filia Regis Francorū non succedit in Regno, ex rationabili consuetudine Francorum. The Daughter to the K. of France, succeedeth not at all in the kingdome, by a reasonable custome among the French. Which is also confirmed by Doctor Petrus Iacobus, on the Books of Fiefs or Inheritances, & many other Doctors. This may (by good right) bee registered among the honors, dignities, & preeminences of France. And such as contend against it, as willing to impugn such a Law, or call it in doubtfull question; do slenderly conceiue, that the state of their owne Country could neuer pretend, nor attribute vnto it selfe such a prerogative.*

The King of France hath also this great aduantage above others, that he is not on ly Soueraigne, but likewise absolute, with full power & authority truly Royall: which is not common to all Princes, although they be Soueraignes. There are very few or none, but are restrained, either by lawes, or by assemblies of the generall Estates: who therefore cannot rearme themselves absolute, being so subiected, & their power limited. The perfection & height of a royall estate, is, when the Prince or

M a daineth

*Elium de Garibay y Gamalloa* in lib. 6. cap. 14.

*Baldus* in lib. 3. D. De Successor.

*Petrus Iacobus*. Tit. ex quib cons. vassal. in Feud.

Another great aduantage of the King of France.

The perfection of a truly Royall estate.

Inuit Carolus Quatuor.

*Freiffartin* was it.

The *Queene* of England and her Sonne.

King *Edward* the third took on him the name of king, and quartered the Armes of France.

King *Edward* of England Vicar of the Empire.

A connexion of the Lawes of the *Salians* with that of the *Ripuarians*.

From the Lance to the Distaffe.

The 4 sonnes of great *Chlonis*, all kings together.

*Fortunatus* in Poem.

*Aguathus* in lib. 3.

The three daughters of *Charibert*.



Art. in Peit. l. 3. cap. 10.

Eccles. 8. 3. 4.

The honourable disposition of Alexander & Caesar in their action of warre, and otherwise.

The absolute power of the Romanes Dictatour.

The wife saying of Metellus Numidicus

Two other considerations well deserving observation.

daineth all by his owne will, doth what he would, without any restriction, and being no way answerable for any of his actions. This was the reason, that Aristotle elegantly named such an estate, by the name of *tyranny*, as one would say, *Full and perfect Royalty*. And wife Salomon speaking of a true king indeed, saith, *He will do whatsoeuer pleaseth him. Where the word of the king is, there is power, and who shall say unto him, What dost thou?* This is also of no meane importance for the good government of an estate; be it to relouue more certainly on the affaires; be it to keepe counsels & designs secret; be it for facility, promptitude, and speedines of execution. He that hath such power, especially in actions of war, as the two great warriors Alexander and Caesar had, may sway the Empire of the world. One of them being demanded, how in so short a time, hee had made so many famous conquests: *It was* (quoth he) *by neuer deferring occasion, or rising remission.* And the other was so prompt & ready, as many times he was at his iournies end with his Army, before any newes was heard of his comming. Yea, and in such fort, as enemies felt his fingers, before theyooke aduice for his comming. Nor can this be done, if a man depend vpon another, in any manner whatsoever; & the his power is not absolute. The Romanes tooke good acknowledgement hereof, being wont in their very greatestt affaires, & dangers of the estate, were it in peace or war, to create a Magistrate, whom they called Dictatour, with such full power & absolute authority. In breefe, for the gouernement of great estates, and likewise of great affaires, the account can neuer bee well rendered, except it be to one man only. Otherwise, a Prince, although a Soueraigne, can neuer say, as Metellus Numidicus, and as it was after vsed by king Lewis the 11. *That if he thought his shirt knew his counsel, he would tear it from his backe and burne it.* He that is truly an absolute king, may well vse the aduice of his counsell, in such affaires as present themselves; but in an arrest and resolute, what seems good to himselfe. The excellency of that kingdom, as also of her kings, resulteth yet from two other considerations. One is the long continuance of the estate: a certain prooue, as well of her good government, as of the supreme and celestiall fauor. The

other, is the antiquity of her race of kings: for to speake truly, there is not any more worthy, no nor more generous blood in the world. Who can in all the kingdomes through the Vniuersitie, shew another like estate, as firm and stable, as hath continued for 1200. yeares? Who can nominate such a nobility & ancientnes of race, so fairly approued, and in so long succession of so many kings. Since the year 440. according to most certaine History, Meronius planted the foundation of that Monarchy, and established it to the Gaules; & euen to this instant, the estate hath bin alwaies maintained, and valiantly stood against all violent assaults. In such fort, is the more it hath bin attempted, yea, in very dangerous extremities; then found the herselfe strongest, and more flourishing then before. There is not any thing comparable to such a succession of kings, in all other Realmes, as it will be easily verified.

Moreover, the noblesse, dignity, and greatnes of that royall race, hath received no diminution by those two changes, which historians haue there observed. Let not Lopez Madera alledge then, that such changes hapned, because France would not admit the regiment of women. For if we regard the side & line feminine, though the succession be not therein; three races finde themselves all vnited with the other. The second of Pepin with the first, as some Chronicles of those times do proue. And that of the Capets which is the third, and reigneth at this present happily with the second, as M. Guillaume de Nangis hath deduced the Genealogy. The which Pope Innocent the 4. in his Decretale, speaking of king Phillip Augustus, full well acknowledged, when he auouched that king to be descended of the race of Charlemaigne.

But beside this, there are other faithful Authors, who do declare, that the second race is ioynd to the first, by the males side, proceeding from father to sonne, that Pepin was descended in direct line by the males, of Chlogion, K. of the French, before Meronius, as issued from Albericus, one of the sonnes of Chlogion. And as for the third race, the true originall thereof, was in that noble and so ancient house of Saxony, & of great Vuitichind, king of the Saxons, who made himselfe Christian with his people, & came to dwell in France, in the time of Charlemaigne. He was descended of Signardus,

Long continuance of the State & Antiquity of race

The first plantation of the Monarchy by Meronius.

Two changes noted by the Romanes concerning this

Cap Nauli De Iudiciis spud Græcos.

Pepin descended of king Chlogion before Meronius.

The third race of the house of Saxony by king Vuitichind, and that descent.

Signardus, who was made Duke of the Saxons, in the year VCXXXVI. At such time as Dagobert was king of France. Be hold the certain succession, Vuitichind the great had another Son cald Vuitichind, & that Vuitichind had another Vuitichind, 3. who had to Sonne Rupert or Robert the Strong, Count of Auion, he being slain against the Normans, in the time of Charles the Bauld, king of France, and Emperor.

That Robert the Strong left his Son Otho or Eudo, who was Tutor to king Charles the Simple, and afterward crowned king; as also was his brother Rupert, Father to Hugh the Great, Count of Paris, Sonne in law to the Emperor Otho the first. And by this marriage of Hugh the Great, was born Hugh Capet, established king by the Nobility of France, through default in the legitimate line of Charlemaigne, in the year VCCCCLXXXVII. Since which time, the kingdom hath alwayes beene in the hand of that generous and flourishing Lineage, excelling still more and more, and reigning to perpetuity.

Next hereunto, there commeth also to our consideration, the admirable and heroyicall vertues of the kings of France, which hath mounted their glory vp vnto heauen, & made them known through all the Cantons of the earth. But to forbear the most ancient warriors, the affright & terror of the Romanes, Ascaricus, Gaisa, Marcomir, Sunno, Mellaubodes, and Chlogion: what a warrior was Meronius, the founder of that Monarchy in Gaule? This was the man, who (in despite of the Romanes, and such a mingle-mangle of barbarous people, scattered and dispersed by the Gaules) planted there his Standards, and made himselfe absolute Lord of one part. And as for Attila, king of the Hunnes, that caused himself to be cald, *The scourge of God*: he came to rauage France, as hee had done all other Prouinces, where hee had past. The wife Actus, Governour to what then remained of the Romanes in Gaule, was periwaded, that he was not able, nor all the barbarous people releeued with him, to endure the furious and fearefull shock, of that huge thunderbolt of war. But made his recourse to the vertue of the French, and to their great Meronius, to fight against the furious entrance of the Hun. Wherein he had good success, for the pride of Attila was sooner rebat-

Warrior that terrified and amazed the Romanes.

Meronius founder of the monarchy in Gaule.

Attila king of the Hunnes called himselfe Flagellum Dei.

Pepin descended of king Chlogion before Meronius.

The third race of the house of Saxony by king Vuitichind, and that descent.

ted on the Cathalanian plaines, by great Meronius, who put to the edge of the sword, that dreaded masse and number of enemies.

Alas, there is no roome here, in a work of no larger circumference, to recount the goodly deeds, and actes heroyicall, well deseruing eternall memory, of all the kings that haue reigned in France: for many great volumes can hardly containe them. So high an ascending subject, deserued to meete with such Writers, as can as worthily set down in writing, what these kings did boldly and vertuously performe. Beside, the abundance of matter, and dignity of the subject, would afford them scarcity of ground, and trouble them with a thousand difficulties. It is a subject much more great, then the wars and encounters of petty Townes and Villages in Greece, bairded the one against the other: which neuertheless, by the learning & eloquence of such, as haue attempted to write thereof, are become so much celebrated, and thought worthy of immortality. But Frenchmen, who haue established this Monarchy, contenting themselves with the glory and honour of well doing, care little for any pride of the Pen, adding themselves rather, to execute high & hardy enterprises, the to set down in writing those of others, much lesse of themselves.

Neuertheless, though destitute of such exquisite meanes, whereby to mount to immortality: yet it hath so well falne out, that all their faire actions haue not bin verily buried, nor forgotten. But in stead of a worthy Histori, admiration hath thrust into the mouths of all people, to know and speake of them; deliuering it so from hand to hand, euen to such as dwell in the remotest Climates, familiarly acquainting them with their manners. And in dedee, there are to be found more testimonies of French vertue, in the Histories, Memories, and Annals of strangers, then in their owne. I will therefore leaue that labour to others, that can better acquaint themselves therof, if I touch any thing, it shall bee but in my passage along, and onely to make a light demonstration.

It hath bin obserued for an ancient saying, *That all the good kings might be enclosed within the Beazill or Collet of a small king.* But this saying cannot hold in France, where each more met with good kings, most

This labour euer little to containe the famous actions of the Kings of France.

The Greek was not comparable with them of the French.

Admiration (in stead of a fitting histori) hath made the French generally famous throughout out the world.

An ancient Adage concerning good kings.

excellent and most vertuous: hauing bin alwayes happy therein, as in all other things. I will call then vnto you diuine spirits, & generous foules, who haue sometime swayed that Monarchy; to the ende, that being put on by your inspiration, I may if not worthily sing your merits, yet (at least) figure forth to life some parof them.

Chloisus or Louys that droue the Romanes quite out of Gaule, & made the Gothes to flee beyond the Pyrenean Mountains.

Next to Great *Meroneus*, who first established himselfe in France, repulst the Hunnes, and ouercame King *Attila*, the horror and the whippe of the world, account is to be made of that *Chloisus* or *Lois*, who possessed himselfe throughly of the *Gaules*, and vterly exterminated the Romanes name. This was the quayer of the Romanes and Germanes, and he that expulst so quickly the *Goths* beyond the Pyrenean Mountaines, and made them thinke, that hardly could they get ground enough to flee away vpon, or where to hide themselves from his victorious arm. The *Goths* hauing offended him many times, and broken all agreements made: this Prince vnderooke war against them, to chastise them, and purge the *Gaules* of such a people, as eagerly followed the error of *Arrius*, and laboured to plant it euery yeare.

The meeting of the two armies headed by Poitiers, where King Chloisus slew Alarick hand to hand in fight.

When as the two Armies were met together, somewhat neere to *Poitiers*, the battaile was giuen, wherein the *Goths* were wholly ruined, and driuen away in rout. Historians do adde hereto, that the King of the *Goths*, being named *Alarick*, was met withall in the fight by King *Chloisus*, and fighting hand to hand, hee smote him downe dead to the ground. This is the selfe-same Prince, who (first of all the French) embraced Christian Religion, whereof both he and his successors were alwayes afterward true protectors and defenders. He was the most redoubted of all the kings in the world, and of whom the Emperour *Anastatius*, *Theodorick* the *Ostrogothe*, and the *Visigoths* of *Spaine* made no meane account; were it in admiration of his vertue, or were it for feare, they thought themselves very happy, to haue peace and friendship with him, seeking it by diuersity of Ambassadors, & by plenty of most exquisite gifts.

The Emperour Anastatius.

Childebert Sonne & successor to Chlois.

ery; made themselves admirable & dreadful to strangers. *Childebert*, induced thereto, by horrible persecutions inflicted on the Orthodox Christians, as also by the bad and vnworthy viage offered to his Sister, by *Almarick* her husband, King of the *Visigoths* in *Spaine*, who seuerly maintained the *Arrian* heresie: passed with his Army into *Spaine*, quailed & ouercame the powers of the *Goths*, wonne diuers Cities by assault, and at length took *Tolledo*, cheefe of all, ruining it in ranging battaile, where also was slaine *Almarick* their king; returning triumphantly into France, hauing added to his Empire, the very greatest part of *Spaine*. Afterward the three Brethren together, wholly ouerthrew the estate of the *Bourguignons*. And soone after, the emperour *Iustinian*, making warre on the *Goths* of *Italy*, the *Goths* made recourse to *Theodebert*, king of *Metz*, and youngest Sonne to *Chloisus*, who defended them for a good space of time, giuing such prooffe to the Greekes, of vertue in the French, that *Iustinian* was constrained to compound with the french, as Historians (on his own side) do testifie.

S. Greg. Tur. in lib. 3. cap. 2. & 3. & 4. & 5. & 6. & 7. & 8. & 9. & 10. & 11. & 12. & 13. & 14. & 15. & 16. & 17. & 18. & 19. & 20. & 21. & 22. & 23. & 24. & 25. & 26. & 27. & 28. & 29. & 30. & 31. & 32. & 33. & 34. & 35. & 36. & 37. & 38. & 39. & 40. & 41. & 42. & 43. & 44. & 45. & 46. & 47. & 48. & 49. & 50. & 51. & 52. & 53. & 54. & 55. & 56. & 57. & 58. & 59. & 60. & 61. & 62. & 63. & 64. & 65. & 66. & 67. & 68. & 69. & 70. & 71. & 72. & 73. & 74. & 75. & 76. & 77. & 78. & 79. & 80. & 81. & 82. & 83. & 84. & 85. & 86. & 87. & 88. & 89. & 90. & 91. & 92. & 93. & 94. & 95. & 96. & 97. & 98. & 99. & 100.

The Emperour Iustinian was reuolted to the Gothes of Italy. Procopius in lib. 2. & 3. & 4. & 5. & 6. & 7. & 8. & 9. & 10. & 11. & 12. & 13. & 14. & 15. & 16. & 17. & 18. & 19. & 20. & 21. & 22. & 23. & 24. & 25. & 26. & 27. & 28. & 29. & 30. & 31. & 32. & 33. & 34. & 35. & 36. & 37. & 38. & 39. & 40. & 41. & 42. & 43. & 44. & 45. & 46. & 47. & 48. & 49. & 50. & 51. & 52. & 53. & 54. & 55. & 56. & 57. & 58. & 59. & 60. & 61. & 62. & 63. & 64. & 65. & 66. & 67. & 68. & 69. & 70. & 71. & 72. & 73. & 74. & 75. & 76. & 77. & 78. & 79. & 80. & 81. & 82. & 83. & 84. & 85. & 86. & 87. & 88. & 89. & 90. & 91. & 92. & 93. & 94. & 95. & 96. & 97. & 98. & 99. & 100.

In this first race, there was also *Chlothaire*, who by his victorious arms, wholly subdued Germany, and vanquished the vnconquerable Saxons. On a day, the two Armies being somewhat neere each to other, and the Riuer *Weser* running betwene them, this *Chlothaire* being on horse-backe and well armed; espied *Bertoldus*, Duke of the Saxons, in like furnishment on the Riuer's other side. Alone & without attending for any other troops, suddenly he crossed over the Riuer, to encounter and fight with his enemy; who betaking himselfe to flight, he pursued after with all possible speed, and hauing ouertooke him, fought with him, and left him dead on the ground. So returning victorious backe againe, bearing his enemies head in his hand, he found his people much offended, because they had neglected to follow him. He left *Dagobert* his Sonne to be his Successor, a worthy heire both to his estate and valour, as also excelling in piety and deuotion, as many Churches richly founded and builded by him can well testifie.

Chlothaire subdued all Germany and the Saxons.

Aymonius in lib. 4. cap. 18.

Dagobert, heire and successor to his Father Chlothaire.

Hauing finished the first race, wee come to the second, wherein let vs consider first of all, the cheefe man thereof,

Charles

Charles Martell, Prince of the French, whose name remaineth engrauen (perpetually) in memorie of all the people of Europe, for beeing their conseruator, in warranting them from the certaine yoke and seruitude of the Sarazins. It was then when the Arabian Sarazens (holding all Affrica) passed into Spaine with very final troops: where finding but slender resistance, the Spaniards and Gothes bequeathing themselves, as ingulft in all pleasures and delights, and no way addicted to the exercise of Armes, became immediately Masters of all Spaine. This victory and conquest drew on thither Millions of Moores and Sarazins, and in so great number, that Spaine being no longer able of comprehending them, they made account of posing further on, euen to run thorow all Europe, and quite to exterminate Christian Religion.

Into France they entred with a most dreadful Army, lacking and spoyling all that they met with, and passed on so farre as *Tours*, seeming, as if there were no force or power great enough, that could resist or stay the course of their conquests. All people and Christian Princes, were full of feare and terror, and (in a worde) Europe had vterly beene vndone: if this *Charles Martell* had not then bene present neere or before the City of *Tours*, making there a barre of his body and French forces. Hauing giuen them battell with so few French as then were with him: hee ouercame and merely hewed them in pieces, to the number of three hundred, threecore, and fiteene thousand Sarazins. After this, being aduertised that there were yet other great troops, towards *Arbona* and *Auignion*; hee went thither to finde them, & in another daies good successe, wholly ouercame them, & left not a man liuing. So that it appeareth by iust records, that there were slaine in all, seuen or eight hundred thousand: in regard whereof, the fir-name of *Martell* was giuen him. Thus did he dissipate this dangerous tempest, wherewith all Christendome was threatened, and ready to be confounded.

This also gaue good ease to the Spaniards, who were scattered in Spaine, fled & hidden in the *Asturian* mountains. So that he might wel be named, & in good right, the Buckler, Hammer, sharpe sword and

Rampier of Christendome. But for him, Europe had now bin the seat of *Calyffes* and *Miramolines*. In stead of adoration giuen to the true God, the name of prophane *Mahomet*, and his execrable *Alcoran* should haue bene here preached. The Saxons, who were Pagans then, and not capable, but to giue offence to a peaceable king, by their reuolts and wonted seditions; could they haue bin any hindrance? The Germanes, diuided into many small Principalities, and gouerned (for the most part) by the kings of France, could they haue resisted? In Italy there were but the *Lombards*, who in the space of a most two hundred yeares, could not become Masters of all Italy, neyther conquer any more but a part, which their first king *Alboin* obtained at a clap, euen when they first entred. The rest was so miserably tormented, by the courses and piracies of the *Sarrazins*: as the poore inhabitants knew not where to hide themselves. The Empire of *Constantinople* remained, hauing worke enough to do, to keepe herselfe within her owne small bounds and limits: being pursued by the *Arabs* and *Mahometanes* of the East. Questionlesse, the Christian name had bene extinct, had it not pleased God to serue himselfe with the victorious arme, and courage inuincible of this French Prince, to conserue his faithfull seruants to glorify his name.

This was the same Prince, of whom it was said; *That hee affected rather to command Kings, then to be a King himselfe*; which was engrauen on his Toombe in these teames.

*Non vult Regnare, sed Regibus imperat ipse.*

Thus imitated by the *Virgil* of France.

This was Great *Martell*, Prince of the French, Not King in name, but a Master of Kings.

Much more to be esteemed heerein, then he that saide, *Hee affected rather to command them that had Golde, then to haue any himselfe*. Because the pation and feruour which is borne to honor, and which seareth it selfe willingly in the souls of the most generous; is much more quaint, tickling and violent then is the desire and thirst after riches. The reputation and valour of this great *Martell* protector of Christen-

Aymonius continuat. in lib. 4. cap. 57.

Christendome) being such, the Church hauing no other prop nor succour, euery one fixing their eyes on him; Pope Gregory the third sent him the chaines of Saint Peter, and the keyes of the Sepulcher, committing himselfe and the whole Romaine Church into his protection, to be warranted, not only against inuasion of Sarrazens, but also against the continual courses of the Lombards, wherewith hee had beene afflicted beyond all extremitie.

*Pepin, King of France, son to Charles Martell.*

*Aaron, cousin to King David.*

*Pepin, King of France, son to Charles Martell, wonne not a ior lesse glory by his haughty deeds of Armes. This was he that danted the Aquitanians, and them of Bavaria, ouercomming them in diuers batailles, and likewise the reuolted Saxons. Soone after, being called for succor by Pope Stephen, to defend the Romaine Church (vexed more then euer) and oppressed by Attilio, King of the Lombards, he went with all diligence, & constrained Attilio (who felt his power not equal to his) to flye, and shut himselfe vp in Pavia his Capitall City, where hee besegged him, and could not raise his siege vntill hee hadde made an aduantageable composition for the Pope, with whom he left many French souldiers for his further assurance. This composition being afterward broken by the perfidie of Attilio, Pepin returned thither againe, and besiedged him the second time; compelling him to surrender the Exarquate of Rauenna, and many other places, which he gaue vp to the Romaine Church. And returning home into France, hee found there the Ambassadors of Constantine, Emperour of Constantinople, who bringing him many goodly presents, came onely to request his alliance.*

*The Lieutenant of the Empire.*

*Charlesmaign or Charly the Great, sonne to King Pepin*

But what can we speake of more admiration, then his sonne Charles, to whom (by good right, and for his high deserts) the whole Vniuers, by one consent, gaue the fir-name of Great? Hee attempted, maintained, conducted, and brought to end, ten or twelue seuerall warres, all of most great importance & difficulties in all kindes; as well in regard of the places, as for the great multitude and strength of the enemies, against whom hee war to deate. First, against the Aquitanians and Basques or Gascons, a meruailous strong people; yet after many outrageous, hee

ranged them vnder his obedience.

Next, another warre against the Lombards, who hauing violated the Articles of peace, which had bene couenanted with them by King Pepin, Father to this Charles; they infested and tormented the Romaine Church, without the least breathing or respite. Which was the reason that this Prince, as pious and iust, as valiant, vnderooke (according to the ordinary vse of the French Kings) the defence of the holy See, ouercomming & ruinating the Lombards from the toppe to the bottom. He also besiedged Didier their king, tooke, and led him captive into France, where ended the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, and whereby he augmented and enlarged his owne estate. Thus hee purchased rest to the Pope, and beside enriched the Romaine Church, giuing it no meane part of his Conquells, and increasing the patrimony of S. Peter.

*His warre against the Lombards, & ouercomming them King Pepin into France.*

*His warre against the Sarrazins in Spain.*

Hee attempted warre also against the Sarrazins, passed into Spain to fight with them, where he foyled them in many encounters, enforcing them to hide themselves in Towns, which he besiedged and wonne away from them, so that he conquered a great part of Spain, chasing the Sarrazins thence, and continued warre alwayes ther afterward against them, which gaue no small ease vnto the Spaniards, who were mightily oppressed and ouerburdened before.

Then he made an expedition into Italy, against the reuolted Lombards and Italians. Many the like into Germany, against the Bavarians, the Danes, Bohemians, Sclauonians, and Vnides, all warlike people, and whom hee conquered. Also against the Huns, an vndaunted people, after they had gotten habitation in Pannonia, vnder the conduct of Attila their King; yet he vanquished them, and hewed them in peeces in many fought batailles, plucking out of their throats the spoiles of Europe, which they had enjoyed and triumphed ouer for so many yeares. And there he found such wealth and abundance of riches, as the very simplest souldiour in the Camp, was wonderfully rich for euer after.

Furthermore, he had no meane meddling with the Saxons, against whom hee had warre for the space of three and thirtie yeares: they being a people that could neuer

*His warre against the Saxons for 33 yeares.*

neuer liue nor abide in quiet, reuolting incessantly, especially when they knew this Prince to be farre off from them, & troubled in some other places. Hee added to his owne estate Gascony, a great part of Spaine, Saxony, and the Pannonias; restraining to powerfully the ordinary courses of the Sarrazins, as all Europe lyued quietly vnder his reigne. Beside, hee was so redoubted, loued, and admired altogether by forraigne Kings, that Aaron, Califfe of the East, who held (well-neere) all Asia, and was feared by all the greatest Kings: sought for his friendship, and sent him rare presents at diuers times, auouching him to be the most worthy King in the whole world. And although this Califfe was rude and harsh vnto Christians, that dwelt in his countries; yet notwithstanding, he forbore to persecute them, in consideration of Charlemaign, to whom he gaue the City of Ierusalem, by sending him the keyes thereof, as also them of the holy Sepulcher.

*Aaron the great Califfe of the East.*

*He was loued and feared by the Emperours of Constantinople.*

*Eginhard in An. lib. 1. cap. 9*

The Emperours of Constantinople also did so esteeme, loue, and honor him, that oftentimes they sent him rich giftes by their Ambassadors, & reading nothing more, then to haue any contending in warre against him. In like manner, Alphonse King of Galicia, and of the Asturias, would call himselfe no other, but with this qualification towards Great Charles, His humble and faithfull Subiect, wholly to him; Proprius suus in Latine, as Eginhard hath recorded.

But what can be thought more admirable, or tearmed to bee a matter more rare, then in a Prince that was so stout a warrior, all other ciuill vertues and most humane, should haue an equal meeting together? Singular clemency did euer more accompany his victorious arme. The same Eginhard reporteth, that hee could not be enforced to choller, by any occasion whatsoever. Nay, he would neuer yeeld, that one of them which had attempted against his life and State, should be put to death, but only was contented with their safe keeping. In his victory against the Lombards, hee did not onely pardon Paulus Warnefridus, Deacon of Aquileia; but also kept him neere about his person, greatly honouring and gratifying him, for the esteeme of his erudition and knowledge.

This Lombard was vnworthy of so great grace, in conspiring afterward with other Rebels, and vnto treason against his King and Benefactor. V Who neuertheles, after he had discovered the conspiracy, & surmounted all that the reuolts could do, againe he pardoned this Paulus Warnefridus, being no way willing, that he should be punished for his perdie and rebellion. Onely he commanded his retirement, and banished him (for a while) to a certaine place. Afterward hee brake the bounds of his banishment, and fledde to Ragajus, Duke of Benevento, to excite him also to reuolt. An occasion, whereby the king was councelled, greuously to punish both the one and other for this double treason. Yet the good Prince would lend no care thereto, but iaued & pardoned both their liues: onely he charged Paulus Warnefridus, to write the History of the Lombards, the continuation of Europe, and some other works.

*Good nature in a Prince may be too much abused by Traitors.*

*A mercifull iniunct on by a wronged Prince.*

This was not only a light punishment, but honourable also to him that had the charge thereof: wherein, beside a most singular example of clemency, appeared an admirable affection vnto learning, for that onely respect, to loue and honor the man, who had so often falne into treason. Such was the loue & great account which he made of learning; and himselfe, albeit huing in an age vngracious enough, & full of barbarisme, yet did hee speake Latine elegantly, and his mother tongue so readily, euen with naturall eloquence and admirable perswasion: hee vnderstoode Greeke also, but spake it hardly. Beside, he was well seene in all the Sciences, hauing Alcinus to bee his Schoole-master. All dinner while, hee caused one to discourse, or reade ancient Histories: wherein he tooke no meane pleasure, but moulded thereafter the forme of his owne life.

No lesse was he to bee commended for his iustice, careful for rendring it to his subiects with all sincerity: himselfe taking knowledge of such causes as concerned any difficulty, vndertaking the defence and protection of VVidowes, Orphanes, and other miserable people, to warrant them against all oppressions of the mighty. Hauing also established many good Lawes and Ordinances, for the rooting vp of vices, and furtherance of iustice.

*His iustice & vprightnesse to his subiects*

stice. In regard of his piety and singular deuotion, hee made sufficient apparance thereof, as remaineth witnessed to this day in strange Countreys, by his wealthy foundation of Churches and Monasteries. He was ordinarily present at solemne prayers in the Church, and at all Canonick houres, euen in the night time. Great care had hee, that diuine seruice should be honourably celebrated, & the Churches well serued, despending great summes of money, to haue them fitted and furnished with all conuenient rich Ornaments, and matters to them belonging.

Moreouer, he was somewhat proud and curious, that the church should be beautified and shining, by the probity, integritie, and sanctitie, exprest in the liues of the Ministers, and Ecclesiasticall persons to them appertayning. Being alwayes heerein so carefull, and for establishment of the better order, that hee caused five Councelles to bee called and holden, and collecting the Decrees of them, made the to be published & obserued: holding nothing in more great recommendation, then to see the Church honoured, and flourishing in all holines. He was liberrall vnto all men, especiallie to the poore, as well of his owne Kingdome, whom hee mercifully releued: as also in strange countreies, whereto hee sent rich Almes; alwayes coueting friendship with the Easterne Kinges, to asuage the persecutions of poore Christians.

But aboue all the rest, one thing seemeth very strange, that Ambition could neuer gette footing in the soule of this Prince, although it had bene, and is, a frequent and ordinary disease, in the very greatest courages, and most generous spirits. For, although hee was crowned Emperor of the East at Rome, by Pope Leo the third, vpon the cries and acclamations of the Roman people, who both desired and elected him: yet let mee tell ye, it was so farre from any feare or proceeding thereto in him, as hee knew nothing thereof, neither euer gaue his consent thereto. For *Eginhard* assureth, hauing heard himselfe to confirme it, that if hee had knowne the purpose of the Pope and people; he would not haue gone into the Church on Christmasse day, in

the year VCCC. when that acclamation, election, and coronation was performed. It was a thing so much against his minde, and whereof hee made such slender reckoning. Hee dyed at the age of threescore and eleven yeares, hauing reigned seuen and forty yeares. And, at his height of humane felicity, hee left his Sonne *Lewes* his successor, and heyre to his vertues, who for his exceeding great mildenesse and meekenesse, deterred the sur-name of *Pious*, or the *Debonnaire*.

In his yong yeares, his Father made him King of *Aquitaine*, where he carried himselfe in such sort, gouerning so wisely and with such discretion, that such prudence and vertue was highly admyred, especially in those tender yeeres. Himselfe rendered iustice to his subiects, attending thereon three dayes in every weeke. Hee vied great iudgement for well choosung men of worth and merite, to vndergoe places of important charge, as Officers and Magistrates. Hee eased the people so much as possibly hee could, in taking away harde Tributes and Subsidies, and moderating others, euen in the mildest manner.

And yet notwithstanding, hee was a good Warrior, not onely in defending & safe keeping his owne Frontiers: but also proceeding very farre into Spain, to make warre vpon the inuading Sarrazins, whom hee foyled in many battels, encounters, & besiedgings of Citties conquered by him, hauing maintained and enlarged the lads of his Father *Charlemagne*, which hee had wonne in Spain. So that by his Vertues, wise carriage and deportment, hee gaue a wonderful contentment to his Father. Hee succeeded him in the kingdome of *France*, and in the Empire of the East. He continued warre against the Sarrazins in Spain, & weakened them in such sort, that hee gaue good means to the Spanish Christians, to defend themselves against them and to extend their territories farther off. *Marinus Siculus*, who wrote the historie of Spain, declareth the expeditions of this French Emperour, reporting moreover, that he imposed a tribute on the people, which were conquered and subiects by him in Spain: where hee was cald in the dayes of this Author *Romanus*.

Hee conferred in greatnes the Empire of

The death of  
Charlemagne

Charles the  
Debonnaire  
succeeded his  
Father Char-  
lemagne.

Charles was  
also a worthy  
warrior, con-  
quering the  
Sarrazins in  
Spain.

*Marinus Sic-  
culus* lib. 3.

*Romanus*

Hee caused  
five Councells  
to be called &  
held for the  
good of the  
Church.

Charlemaign  
could neuer  
be remped  
by a thought  
of Ambition.

*Eginhard* in  
*Annot.* lib. 10.

of the West towards Germany, and valiantly imbarred the courtes of the Northern people, from their manifold inuasions. And neuer could any defect or vice be noted in him: but that he was too good, too humane and debonnaire. His piety, zeale, and deuotion towards God and his Church was such, as neuer in any man was obserued greater. Forty dayes before his decease, hee tooke no other foode, but the blessed Communion onely, which hee receiued with wonderful humility, and extraordinary contrition: continuing alwayes in prayer, or causing to be sung in his presence and hearing the Ecclesiasticall offices.

Come we now to the third race, the cheefe whereof was *Hugh Capet*, yssued from the house of *Saxony*; who happily reigned, and wisely gouerned his Kingdome, with much piety and iustice. His Sonne *Robert*, with like piety and integrity of life, loued Learning, and was so earnestly addicted thereto, that hee himselfe composed sundry Books: and among the rest, he wrote many goodly & pious Hymns, which were receiued, and are yet (at this present) sung in the Church. Of him it is thus credibly reported, & being (at a certain time) mockt by an ignorant Duke, because hee sung in the Church among Ecclesiasticall persons, hee made him this answer: *That he better affected to see a King learned, then an Ass crowned*, making his allusion vnto the Duke, who ware his Dukall Crowne on that solemne day.

Hee was very pittifull, and a great Almoner on the poores behalfe; so that when hee tooke his owne repast, great troopes of poore people were admitted to be about him, whom hee would suffer freely to come neere him, and gaue vnto them that foode which was set there before him, & many other things that they stood in neede of. Nor was hee a iotte lesse liberrall to Churches, in causing many to be builded, founded, and endowing them bountifullly, as also re-establishing and enriching others. There was no want in him likewise of all other royall vertues, maintaining and conferring his estate very wel, and making the people happy, that were vnder his obedience.

I am feigne to passe ouer others, to come to King *Lewes* the sixth, surnamed *Le*

*Gras*, a true imitator of his Auncestours vertues. Hee employed all his life time, to containe his people in peace and quietnesse, and (according to the durie of a good King) to shield them from oppression of the greatest & most potent Earles and Barons of France, who flood then vpon very peremptory termes. Which made him to attempt diuers wayes against them vpon that occasion, and oftentimes expose his life to dangers, preferring the well-fare of his people, before all other considerations whatsoeuer, and so hee wel witnessed from time to time.

After hee had chafied and raunged all such as had reuolted, flying from him vpon the like occasions, and was become feared, respected, and obeyed of all the Rebels, as also beloued of all his subiects, the Emperor *Henry* the first, being departed from *Germany* with a mighty & dreadful Army, to ouer-run him and his country, he went to meet him nere to *Rhemes*, hauing but a handfull of men with him. But hee so affrighted the Emperor *Henry*, and all the potent Army with him, that fearing the valour and inuincible arme of the French, whose courage will giue way to nothing whatsoeuer: he thought it farr better for him to quit the place, & get him gone, then to hazard his estate against so valiant a King, though hee was attended but with so small a troope. And so this Emperor made his retreat, at the very noyle of the Kings comming, whose name (indeed) was very dreadful.

This Prince also excelled in Piety and Religion, vertues proper to the Kings of France: being the true props, supports, and Bulwarkes to the Church. For we reade, that in his time, Pope *Paschall* the second came into France for refuge, and to consult with the *Galllicane* church, concerning those differences which hee hadde with the Emperor. And afterwards, the Popes *Calixtus* the second, *Honorius* the second, and *Innocentius* the second, being tormented and expelled by the Emperors of Germany, and brought to great misery, yet succoured in that kingdome, their ordinary retreat and refuge. Hee entertained them honourably, assisting them with riches, respecting them worthily & royally. In the end, hauing succoured them to his utmost power, hee tooke pains to pacify those discords and contentions.

Some-

K. Lewes the  
sixth, surnamed  
the Grasse or  
vig.

The Emperor  
Henry the first,  
going with a  
great army a-  
gainst Lewes  
the sixth, &  
retired thence  
without stri-  
king a blow.

Vertues pro-  
per to the  
Kings of  
France.

*Saggenus* in  
*vita*  
*Ludouici Grosii*.

His zeale and  
deuotion to  
God and his  
Church.

The race of  
kings in France  
the first being  
Hugh Capet,  
of Saxony.

A worthy an-  
swer of a iudi-  
cious King.

His loue and  
charity to the  
poore, and ec-  
rection of  
Churches.

Suger, Abbot.  
S. Denis  
Mont. Ludeni  
Griff.

Something more I may adde concerning his death, as it is set downe by *Suger*, Abbot of Saint *Denis*, his principall friend, and an eye-witnesse thereof. Feeling the end of his life approaching, & the holy Eucharist being brought to him, he arose out of his bed to meete it, falling downe on his knees, and receiuing it with great deuotion. Hauing before taken order for al his affaires, and made both profession of his faith, and confession of his finnes, in the hearing of all there present. Afterward, being taken forth of his bed againe, & laid vpon aches dispersed abroad he gaue vp the ghost.

Lewes the 7.  
Succeeded  
his Father  
Lewes the 6th

His Sonne *Lewes* the seventh, called, *The Youthfull*, was a true resembler of his Father, hauing ioyned piety and valiancy together. By the counsell of *S. Bernard*, he made a voyage into *Palestine* to helpe it with a puissant Army, against the inuasion of the Turkes. And hauing obtained many great victories against the enemies of the Christian Faith, he returned home to his Kingdome, pressed by the discomforts of Famine, where-with his Armie was very sore afflicted, thorough the disloyalty of the Emperor of *Constantinople*.

Philip Augustus, sur-named the Conqueror, came to the Crown at 14 years of age.

VVho can sufficiently admire the valor and good guidance of *Philip Augustus*, who (by good right) also carried the surname of *Conqueror*? At the age of foure-teen years, he tooke into his hand the reines of the State, and in that tender age performed all exploits and actions, not onely of valiancy, but also of a great and perfect Captaine; watching & spending whole nights, to execute and accomplish his enterprizes. By which meanes, hee out-stept his enemies, tooke Towns and strong places, where himselfe would be seene in person at the scalado, yea, and at the assault at the breake of day, instead of addicting himselfe to pleasures, whereto his youth might rather haue induced him. He so vanquished his enemies, and chastised rebels in so tender yeares, as if hee had bin another *Alexander*.

The English incited to Armes, against Philip Augustus.

Afterwards, the English being prouoked against him, gaue the better and more worthy subiect to his victories: for he conquered and tooke from them all that they held in France, weakening them in diuers batailles, and famous encounters. Also this Conqueror, incited by the same pic-

ty of his Ancestors, made a voyage to the Holy Land; where he fought diuers times against the Turkes and Sarazins, and carryed many triumphes from them. Being returned home to France, he wonne that great day of *Bouines*, neere vnto *Tournay*, which I will touch a little more largely in this place, it being scarcely known, though (indeed) it was most signale and famous. For this king fought in that bartel, against the forces of the Emperour *Otho* the fift, the King of *England*, the Earles of *Flanders*, *Hennault*, and *Bologne*, all coniuured against his estate.

Those Earles being reuoked and leagued with the King of *England*, had likewise caused the emperor *Otho* the fift, to come into France, with a very great and puissant army of Germanes and Saxons. VVith them were ioyned the Forces of *Flanders*, *Hennault*, and other French subiects and vassals, associated with the Earl of *Bologne*. The King went on before with his Army, and met the enemy somewhat neere to *Tournay*, where he had Lodged him aloft in a place for his best aduantage: which the King hauing well perceiued, & that he was frustrate of all meanes for coming at them on that side, resolved to fetch a further course about, and to assault them on the other side.

Being withdrawne to effect this intent, the Emperor *Otho* taking it for a flight, did cause his army to march on with speed to ouertake the King, who was encamped in a village called *Bouines*. There he had intelligence how the enemy was come very neere, and the noyse of their armes gaue apparance, that they would fall in hande presently with them, and charge the reeguard: all which notwithstanding, before hee would doe any thing else, hee entred first into a Church, and there sayde his Prayers.

Afterward, being armed, hee mounted on horse-backe, giuing order for the Armies readinesse, riding thorough the ranks, for the better disposition of his people; yet nothing at all was done that day. On the morrow morning, hauing againe ranged his Army in battaile array, hee gaue his people a Kingly encouragement, by briefly acquainting them with these circumstances: That they were to fight with one, who was an enemy vnto God and Men, come to lend a strong hand

The great day of Bouines neere to Tournay.

The manner of the battell proceeding betwene the Emperor and confederates, against the King of France.

The English about to lose his armie in readinesse.

hand to Rebels, leading an army that had no other wages then sacriledges, spoiles of the Churches goods, and the blood & teares of the poore. Therefore they were to consider, that God had brought them thither, to punish their iust deseruings, & had chosen the French for the instrument of his iustice. Hee further aduised his soldiers, that they should not labor to buckler the bodies one of another: but euery man to do for himselfe the best he could, without any eye or respect to his friend and companion.

Hauing animated them with such or the like speeches, he caused his Army first to march on, assailing and sharply setting on that of the enemy. The French Chieualiers, after they had broken their Lances, came to handy-blowes, fighting with all the heate and valour could be deuised: throwing themselues into the middle of the maine battell, piercing and passing through the thickest battalions, hewing in peeces, and ouerthrowing all that durst meete them. Great was the resistance, & wonderfull deeds of Armes performed on either side. The King was alwaies the most forward man, rushing into the greatest throngs, and where the fight was fiercest, to succour his people. Hee found himselfe enuironed with a huge battalion of enemies, where hee sharply layed about him on all sides, and cleared his passage still as he rode on. But in the end, his horse being slaine between his legges fell downe vpon him; yet he was quickly remounted againe by a French knight, called *Sir Peter de Tristram*, who gaue him his owne horse.

Now charged hee the enemy more fiercely then before, his strength & courage being redoubled at the indignation of his fall, nor ceased he with his French Lords, who neerely followed him, vntill he came to the very midst, where the Emperor *Otho* was, he being then very hucly assailed.

Heere did he meet with many French Knights, who being on foot, some tooke hold on his bridle, others hung about the neck and maine of his horse to slay him, which compelled him to turne his backe. But the Count *Reignald de Bologne*, hee would not budge a foote from the field of battell, but continued there & his followers valiantly fighting, euen to all ex-

tremities, willing (by no means) to yeeld himselfe, till in the end, his horse being slaine vnder him, and hee fore wounded, his throat threatened to bee cut by a Villaine, he yeelded himselfe to Lorde *Guarin*, a Knight of Saint *Johns of Ierusalem*, and elected byshop of *Senlis*, one of the principall Captains for the King, saying, *I had rather yeeld my selfe, and be iudged by the King and his Peeres, then to dye unworthily by the hand of a slave.*

So the field of battaile remained vnto the King, as also the victorie full & wholly, all the enemies being broken and scattered, a great part of them slaine, and very many taken prisoners, euen of the chieftest men. The King would permit none to pursue the Emperor, who fledde with the Count of *Brabant*, and many *Germanes* further off then two or three Leagues. Among the prisoners, was *Ferrand Earle of Hennault*, Nephew to the Queen, Countesse of *Flanders*, and Daughter vnto the King of *Portugall*. Shee being a medler with Magicall Sciences, would needes consult with her Diuiners, concerning the successe of this Battaile, and it vvas tolde her, *That the King should be layde on the ground, without any Sepulcher: And that Ferrand Earle of Hennault, her Cousin, should enter Paris in Triumph.* All vvhich was true, but farre off from her interpretation.

It is also faithfully reported, that the King before the fight, in presence of all his Earles, Barons, and Lords (knowing full well that some were tottering and vncertaine, as being not thorowly affected to him) tooke the Crowne from off his head, and set it vpon an Altar, standing by him, saying in this manner: *If there bee any man heere amongst yee, that thinks more cheaply and worthily of himselfe, then this day to fight for libertie, being in such danger, both to the Honour and Renowne of France: let him willingly leaue and forsake this Crowne, and that man (whosoeuer hee) let him boldly put this Crowne vpon his head.* Whereat all of them standing amazed, and being moued with admiration and enflamed affections, threw themselves before his seete, saying: *That they were all his humble seruants, and that they would cury one of them dye with him that day, rather then be commanded by any other.*

The noble words of Count Reignald of Bologne.

The Countesse of Flanders declared iudged by her Wizard.

Most honorable words of the King, before hee went to the fight.

The King of France first marcheth his armie against the enemy.

The Kings horse being slaine vnder him, & he remounted by Sir Peter de Tristram.

The Emperor enforced to turne his back.

Another victory won the same day against the English.

Lewes the 8. Sonne & Successor to Philip Augustus.

Lewes the 9. Sonne & Successor to Philip Augustus.

The victory at Taillebourg on the River Charante in Poitou.

His famous expedition against the Turkes and Sarrazins.

The selfe-same day of this great victory, *Monseur Lewes de France*, eldest Son to the King; wonne another against the English, in the Country of *Amou*, at *La Roche du Mayne*, against the King, called *John without Land*. For this double victory, obtained both in one day, the King rendered thanks to God: and desiring that some mark might remain for a Trophie thereof to all posterity, hee caused an Abbey to be builded nere to *Senlis*, which (in that respect) he named, *The Abbey of Victory*, and endowed it with great revenues.

I can hardly stay at *Lewes* the eight, Son to this King, and Successor in his vertues, wherein he seconded him living, and partaked in many of his expeditions and enterprizes. But reigning so short a time after his Father; I must come to the King, called *S. Lewes*, whose piety, religion, and sanctity of life, hath sufficiently commended him to all men, & acknowledged him by quality, worthy the name of Saint. But that which is to be reckoned as a matter most rare, is, that he excelled no lesse in all other vertues, both Military & Politique. He brought about many warres, wherein still he had a finger, and performed worthy exploits of Armes: being most valiant of his person, & a very wise Capitaine.

Hee toyled and droue in disorder a great Army, wherein was the King of England, and the Counts *de la Marche*, and *de Lusignan*, at *Taillebourg*, on the River *Charante* in *Poitou*. Where having gotten before, with very few people, to winne a Bridge, long time he endured all the stratagems of the enemies Army, which was in number a hundred to one: yet hee performed so much by his valiancy, that his Army had leysure for their passage, whereby the enemies were defeated, a great number slaine, many taken prisoners, some say foure thousand, and the rest were disperfed and driuen to flight.

No where can be found more famous deeds of Armes, or any actions more generous, then his kingly expeditions against the Turkes and Sarrazins, where he wonne the best in many foughten battailes, hazarding his owne person, and exposing himselfe to all dangers, even in the cheefest heate of fight, running where he saw the enemy strongest, and his owne

followers in any distresse. So that wherefoever he went, hee made all to giue him way, none being able to withstand him; but gaue place to the greatnesse of his courage, and strength of his powerfull arme. The Lord of *Jouville*, an eye-witnesse thereof, speaking of one day among others, vied these very words.

And bee you very certaine, that that day the King performed most high deedes of Armes, more then ever I saw in all the Battails wherest I haue bene present. And one sike after the Battaille, that if it had not bene for his person, wee had all bene utterly lost and slaine that day. And surely, I can no otherwise imagine, but at the very instant, his vertue and strength was doubled on him by the grace of God. For he feared not a tote to thrust himselfe into the dangers and perils of the battaille: and where he saw his people in any distresse, there he laide most about him to helpe them, deliuering so many blowes with his Sword and Battle-Axe, as none of the Turkes durst come nere him. The Lord of *Courtney*, and *Messire John de Salans* reported to me, that they saw fixe Turkes (the same day) preparing towards the King, and hadde forcibly laide hold on the bridle of his Horse, intending to leade him away. But the vertuous Prince, seeing the danger wherein hee was, strove with all his might, and (in meere height of courage) laide such loading strokes upon the Turkes which ledde him, so that hee alone freed himselfe from them.

In another place the same Lord relateth, that the king vnderstanding how the Earl of *Amou* his Brother was engirt & hemd in with enemies, yea, and in such extremity, as hee had no meanes to get out from them; hee gallowed immediately to rescue him. And (saith he) without carrying for any man, gaue the Spurs to his horse, his Sword in his hand, & rushed mainly into the battaille, charging the Turkes and Sarrazins heauiely, untill he came to the place where his Brother was. But at his arrivall, God knowes what paines he tooke, and how many worthy deedes of Armes hee did: for it is most certaine, that where hee saw the greatest danger and preesse, there he bestowed himselfe without any feare. So that by his admirable provelse, he brought his Brother out of danger, and droue the Sarrazins to flight, chasing them quite out of their owne Host of Army.

Another

Le Sieur de Jouville, dit le Chap. 3. of his Booke.

Six Turkes layed on the Kings Body, and yet hee freed himselfe from them.

In the 14. Chapter of his Booke. How the Lord of Courtney, Brother to the Earl of Amou.

Danieta won from the Infidels and three great battails fought in Egypt.

The King of France elected to be Soldan of Egypt.

In chap. 33. of his Booke.

Another day, speaking how the King was ready to assaile the enemy, & exhorted his followers to all forwardnesse; *His Helmet* (saith he) was richly gilded, and in his hand he held a sword of Germanie, readily drawne. But let me tell yee, that I neuer saw a more goodly man then he was, for hee appeared above all the rest, by the height of his head and shoulder: and it is a thing hardly to be credited, how chearefully all the Soldiours were encouraged to the battaille, when they but looked on the King in that manner. So that many Knights, without attending for the King, mingled themselves amongst the Turkes, and there assayed them courageously. The King would alwayes be the foremost, and when he came nere to the Turkes, the battaille beganne so fiercely, as it was a matter marvellous to behold. And that verie day, there were far more worthy actions of Armes performed, as well on the one side, as the other, as neuer had bene observed in all the voyages beyond the Seas. For no man drew a Dart, an Arrow, nor other Artillery: but all of them fought manfully, hand to hand, all pell-mell, one with another, onely by strokes of Swords and Battle Axes. Further hee addeth; That the King did more then meruayles in fighting, and would alwayes bee in the verie strongest of the Battaille.

After the rout and flight of the Turkes, at his descent and taking of *Danieta*, and after the three great battailes in Egypt, betwene the Channels of *Nilus*, where he obtained full victory: if famine, and a certaine strange disease (extraordinarily contagious) had not salne amongst his people: it had bene Doomesday vnto the Turkes and Sarrazins, and doubtles, they had bene quite exterminated, both out of Egypt, and the Holy Land. The Infidels so admired the vertue of this Prince, that although he was contrary to them in Religion, and their very feuerer, persecutor, yet after the death of their Soldan, it was offered to him, and they would haue elected him to be their Lord. And they had done it, as being a matter already resolved on among them: but that some labored to alter this deliberation, by alledging him to be the firme, fiercest, and most determinate Christian that euer they did know. And they said among themselves; That if their *Mahomet* had suffered them to seele so many mischiefes as his God hadde let

him (being a King) to taste: they would neuer more haue adored or beleued in him. And yet (neuerthelesse) some amongst them, onely by the example, and good Life of this holie King, received the Christian Faith.

Moreouer, he ordained so well for the state and policy of his Kingdome: that his subiects (being before mightily oppressed) liued in perfect peace and quietnes. He vied great wisdom and prouidence in all his affaires, hauing thereby quenched and qualified many troubles and commotions in his kingdome: and by taking away the causes thereof, constrained the Duke of *Bretaigne* to acknowledge him, and render such satisfaction as himselfe desired. With very much iudgement also he pacified the differences with the English, and induced the king of England to such friendlinesse, as he became his Liege-man by faith, and one of the Barons of France: so that hee left not any war to his successors, which caused them to enioy so long a peace.

About all other things, he loued Iustice especially, and was verie careful thereof in himselfe; correcting (by his owne example, and holie Ordinances) such Vices and Abuses as reigned among his Subiects. Hee was such a Lover of truth, that (as the Lord of *Jouville* saith) He was neuer knowne to falsify his Word. For, it was reported vnto him, That the Sarrazins, in receyuing his Ranfome, were discontented with tenne thousand pounds, hee caused more to bee giuen to them.

Neuer could any feare or misfortune disurinish him of reason; but euer more he was thankfull to God in all his aduersities. When he saw his army in danger, by no meanes in the world, or for safetie of his owne person, would hee part from it; but would alwayes abide by his people, and endure (with them) the latest hazards and euents of fortune. Neuer should hee make an end, I would recount the deeds (well deseruing immortality) of this good King. It shall suffice then to say: as the same Lord of *Jouville* reports of his time. The common people called him true Father of the Nobility, iust Prince, and preseruer of the Lawes; France, her King of Truth; and the Church, her Tutor and defender from oppression.

A King careful for his kingdome, as well in his absence, as presence.

No meane commendations in loggar a person, whose life was a precious example to all his people.

In chapter 19 of his Booke.

In chapter 16 of his Booke.



Philip the 3.  
succeeded his  
father S. Le-  
wes, who de-  
ceased in Af-  
frica at the Ci-  
ty of Thunis.

In the same Schoole was bred and no-  
rished *Philip* the third, to whom the good  
ly examples, and profitable instructions  
of this good King his Father, served as  
an absolute pattern and excellent insti-  
tution, which he understood so well, and  
made profit of in such sort, as, although  
he got not for great a name, yet notwith-  
standing, he was the most worthy heire  
of his Fathers vertues. And albeit *S. Le-  
wes* dyed at the siege of *Thunis* in *Affri-  
ca*, making warre the second time against  
the Infidels; yet this young Prince gaue  
so good assurance to the Armie, much  
danted by the death of the King; that hee  
bare away many famous victories from  
his enemies, although they exceeded his  
strength in huge multitudes. In the end,  
he constrained the king of *Thunis*, to come  
humbly, and entreat for peace: rende-  
ring himselfe, and his Vnckle *Charles* king  
of *Sicily* tributaries to him.

Guillem de Nar-  
bonne Philip's  
cousin.

Afterwards, returning home towards  
France, he passed thorow *Italy*, where he  
was entertained with such fauour and ap-  
plauses by all the inhabitants, as the most  
part came and entreated him, that hee  
would take the command ouer them, de-  
siring (about all things else) to be gover-  
ned by to good a King, so louing and re-  
spectiue of his people. Being returned  
into his owne kingdom, he maintayned  
it in peace a long time; vntill being mol-  
lest by the King of *Arragon*, and the  
Count de *Faix*, hee undertooke Armes.  
Heereupon he entred into Spaine, where  
hauing made war very happily, by assault  
he tooke many places reputed impregna-  
ble, conquered a great part of the king-  
dome of *Arragon*, ouerthrew the *Arrago-  
nians* in diuers encounters, and slew their  
King, so returning home-ward with Tri-  
umphall victory, he died at *Parpignan*.

K Philip en-  
tered Spaine,  
with an army,  
and killed the  
Kof Arragon

But one thing may not bee omitted,  
that this king most oftentimes did weare  
sackcloth, and a shirt of haire, liuing so  
holily, and vying such abstinence, that the  
Authors of those times were enforced to  
confesse, that he rather resembled a good  
Religious man, then a King. Yet was hee  
a great Prince, & knew well enough how  
to gouerne his kingdom.

Charles the 5.  
surnamed the  
Wic.

*Charles* the fift, deserueth also to be set  
in this ranke of choyse men, being surna-  
med of his time, *the Wise*. Onely by his  
councell and good aduice, without stir-

ring from his Chamber, he reconquered  
whatsoeuer his Predecessors had lost, by  
the Armies of the English. His prouident  
and well tempered wisdom, did diuers  
times rebase the keene edged sword  
of valiant *Edward* the Prince of Wales,  
and disappointed many of his forward  
purposes; so that, notwithstanding his  
high spirit, and well ordered Armies, he  
gained very little from him, nor yet the  
King of England his Father, but what  
they wonne one day, they lost againe in  
another.

Heere also I cannot omit *Charles* the  
seuenth, who comming to the Crowne,  
his kingdom (for the most part) was in  
the power of the English: but yet recou-  
ered it myraculously, as not onely hee re-  
gained what he had lost, but also (as some  
say) all that the Englishmen did hold in  
France, wishing them to rest contented  
with their owne Iland. And heere me-  
thinks it is very strange, what all Histori-  
ans haue reported of those times, that this  
king, being toyled & wearied by the long  
warres of the English, to him much vn-  
profitable, and lesse pleasing: should yet  
bee excited by a poore Maide, dwelling in  
a village of *Lorraine*, named *Joane d'Arc*.  
For she being brought before him, & be-  
ing of great resolution, made him manie  
faire remontrances, whereby to entice  
and kindle his courage, for the recouerie  
of his kingdom, and expulsion of his eni-  
mies, which surely could not bee but by  
miracle. And it cannot be denied but that  
there was a Genius in this Maide, far sur-  
passing the natural and ordinary condi-  
tion of her sexe. And so much the more  
strange, because she serued as a Capitaine,  
conducted the Armies, and fought verie  
valiantly, when as occasion serued.

*Non hac sine numine diuum eueniunt.*

Consider we also *Charles* the eight, his  
youngest son, who hauing past into *Italy*, to  
reconquer that which the *Arragonians* vsurped  
from his predecessours, filled all  
the Citties and Townes of *Italy* (at his ar-  
riual, with no meane terror of his armes,  
none being found that durst make heade  
against him. Every City submitted to  
him, and set open their gates, in mee-  
affection and respect, both to the vertue of  
the French, and dread of their name; O-

Charles the  
much mole-  
sted by the  
armies of the  
English.

Otherwist  
called Loise  
the Puellid  
France.

Charles the  
son & suc-  
sor to Char-  
the 7.

The country  
Croatia, be-  
tweene Illyria,  
and Dalman

His interde-  
younge against  
Biazeth the  
second.

The Veneti-  
ans the Duke  
of Milaine, &  
other Princes  
legued a-  
gainst King  
Charles, and  
yet were voy-  
led.

A very small  
loffe on the  
Kings side a-  
gainst to great  
an Army.

thers for feare, not being able to contest  
with them. So that in lesse then fye mo-  
neths, he made himselfe Master of all *Ita-  
ly*, *Geneway*, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Sienna* and *Li-  
burna*: being all in his power. He recon-  
quered the whole kingdom of *Naples*, and  
expelled them of *Arragon*, who had vn-  
iustly vsurped there.

The Great Turke *Biazeth* the second,  
feared nothing more then to meddle with  
him, & questionles, he would haue gon to  
assault him in *Constantinople*, wherein hee  
had shut vp himselfe in meeke feare, if vir-  
gent occasions had not called him backe  
to France, making full account to returne  
thither againe afterward, to attempt that  
great and honourable expedition against  
the Turkes, whereunto hee was induced  
and called on all sides, & for diuers good  
considerations. At his comming back for  
France, two maine impediments presen-  
ted themselves to him, as well in regarde  
of difficult waies and mountaines, where  
(of necessity) hee was to passe his Artille-  
ry: as for daunger of enemies in such pla-  
ces, where they might worke vpon aduan-  
tage many wayes; his army being also  
much afflicted with famine.

Beside all this, a league was made against  
him, by the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Mil-  
laine*, and other Potentates, who had leui-  
ed an army of 40000. men, to cut him off  
quite: but yet hee surmounted all these  
difficulties, and passed through the daun-  
gers without any losse. The Armie of  
40000. men was encamped on the Plainc  
of *Fornoue*, where it was most requisit for  
the King to passe, they purposing to lock  
him vpe in this passage, to the end, that  
they might consume his army, with Fa-  
mine, necessity, and miserie, amongst the  
Mountaines where he was. The king with  
7000 able fighting men onely, affronted  
this great army, gaue them battell, passed  
ouer the bellies of all them that hindered  
his way; and there was slaine about foure  
thousand of them, the rest being driuen  
to rout, or seized with feare, he sustaining  
but very little losse, about thirtie French  
slaine, and some threecore Varlets. So  
not onely he rescued his army, which hee  
led in safety with all his traine, baggage,  
Artillery, and carriages; but also fought  
successefully, and hadde the victory ouer  
his enemies, which was a much more ho-  
nourable Retreatre, then that of tenn

thousand, so highly renowned by the  
Greekes.

An example of rare vertue is recorded  
of him. At the surprizall of a certaine  
place in *Italy*, a young Maid (of most ex-  
quisite beauty) flying from his Soldiours,  
who would haue violated her honour:  
came and threw her selfe at his feete, de-  
siring him earnestly, to defend her from  
the force and outrage of his souldiers. As  
indeed he did; but yet himselfe fel into an  
amorous affection toward her, & hauing  
her priuate in his Chamber, with full in-  
tent to accomplish his pleasure, the Maid  
all drowned in tears, humbly desired him  
on our knees, supplicating and adiuiring  
him in the name of the blessed Virgin, the  
vntoucht mother of the worlds Saviour,  
whose picture she saw hanging by his bed  
that hee would take pity on her, and not  
compell her to that, for safety whereof she  
had escaped from his rauishing Soldiours,  
and putter selfe wholly into his handes.  
The King became moued in such sort,  
that being transported with loue and pas-  
sion, and in the braue gallantry of his  
youth, he made a Kingly conquest of him  
selfe, and bedewing his cheeks with tears,  
as being much ashamed at his inmodest  
offer, he would not touch her in any vn-  
ciuill or vnchaste fashion, but gaue her  
most honourable freedome, with a verie  
liberall Dowrie to her marriage, setting  
also at liberty both her Parents and Kin-  
dred, that were then (at that instant) his  
prisoners.

Surely, this was an adle verie strange  
and almost myraculous, if wee consider  
him to bee a King, in the very vigour &  
flower of his youth, victorious: yet  
neerly touched with the loue of a May-  
den, excelling, and no way inferiour vn-  
to any in Beautie, and hauing her whole  
lie in his priuate power. His great wise-  
dome, singular iudgement, and infinite  
goodnesse heerein appeared; and being  
a familiar Prince, hee would oftentimes  
say to his Favourite; *That hee had made  
choyse of them, and loued them more then a-  
ny other, because he was perswaded of their  
honestie, and might safely trust them. On-  
ly, hee still feared one fault in them, that they  
would suffer him to bee taxed with Auarice,  
in being easily solicited and tempted for  
accepte: in regard of the credite they hadde  
with him; and his owne facility, in granting  
what*

A briefe hi-  
story declar-  
ing admi-  
rable vertue in  
this King.

Where vertue  
and honor is  
truly innated,  
lust hath the  
lesse power to  
preuaile.

King Charles  
his speech to  
his favourite



what they asked. But if afterwards, any such matter came to his knowledge, they utterly lost his fauour for euer: for he often entreated them, to continue in the true profession of honour, the onely meanes to keep and preferue his good opinion of them.

The same King also vsed to say, *I could wish, that my Court were a Mirror for all my other Subiectes, to maintaine and continue them in doing well.* The twelue smelling fauour of this renown, attracted the souls of strangers vnto his loue and liking. So that by very iust reason, the surname might bee accommodated to this good Prince, of *The lower and delight of Men*: as it was attributed vnto the Emperor *Tiberius*.

His successor *Lewis* the twelfth, made himselfe likewise as famous, by his Conquests of Italy. In the beginning of his reigne, he attempted warre against *Lodouico Sforza*, who vsurped the Dukedome of *Milaine*, which belonged to him. In lesse space then a Moneth, he conquered all *Lombardie*, and expelled *Sforza*, who making a re-entry afterward, and causing the people to reuolt: the King went thither in person; where, after hee had vanquished *Sforza* (whom hee sent prisoner into France) hee reconquered *Milaine*, and receyued the most part of the Potentates Citties, and Common-weales of Italy, which ran (on heapes) to yeelde their obedience to him.

From thence he sent an Armie to the kingdome of *Naples*, which had reuolted after the departure of King *Charles* the 8. Then *Fredericke*, King of *Aragon*, seeing he could not resist him, and being offended at the perfidie of the Spaniards, who hee had called to his ayde, and who (neuertheless) would possesse themselves of all: he submitted himselfe into the hands of the King, who vsed him royally, and gratified him with the Dukedome of *Anjou*, beside thirty thousand Crownes of rent. Heere (me thinks) I should not endure the malignity of *Paulus Iouius*, who hath set downe, that the King gaue nothing to *Fredericke*, and that he dyed miserably in France. Afterward, war was alwaies continued at *Naples* against the Spaniards, where were performed many goodly exploits, famous combates of enemy to enemy, charges, skirmishes, encounters, af-

faults, and fallies: and where the French had many victories, & the issue of all had succeeded happily, if the enemy had not diuers times abused the King, vnder colour of treaties of peace, appointments, and arrefts. He beleeuing their plighted faith and slender assurances, was sometime the more slacke in succouring his people; so that their perfidious dealing, raysed a Million of enemies, leagued and coniuured against this King, who found himselfe assailed on all sides. And yet notwithstanding, he went away, with honour, hauing astonished and filled with terror, all them that were thus bandyed against him.

He made war vpon the Venetians, in regard of that which they had detained & vsurped, during those wars. He entered into their countries, and with a small troop, & in a place of no aduantage, in the *Gugaradada* neere to *Agnadell*, he gaue battell to *Bartholmew d'Aluiana*, General for the Venetians, and wonne the victory: there being flaine aboue eight thousand of the enemy, many taken prisoners, & the very cheefest Commander himselfe.

Concerning that dayes seruice, two memorable sayings of his are recorded. The one was at his arriuall there, when it had bin told him, that the enemy had taken vp *Agnadell*, and he came too late to haue any lodging there, hee returned this reply, *I will lodge vpon their belly, or they shall lodge on mine.* The other, was at his being so neere the enemies Artillery, as it might very easily play vpon the place; he was aduised to walke wanderingly, for feare he should thereby be offended, hee made answer; *Neuer was King of France smitten by a Cannons bullet: And he that is afraid (quoth hee) let him come and stand behind me.*

Vpon the successe of this victory, those places in *Lombardie*, which appertained to the Venetians, were seized and made vie of by this King; but afterwards, they were manfully recovered by the Confederates, with whom *Ferdinand*, King of *Castile*, was a partaker, quite contrary to the contractes (not long before) passed by him vnto the French King. But the Lordes of *Trimonille*, of *Chamouni*, *Trivulzer*, and other worthy French Captaines, rescued them backe againe so powerfully, that they continued alwayes Warriors. In the end, was giuen the bat-

War continued against the Spaniards at Naples.

The warrele made against the Venetians.

Two memorable sayings of the King on the day of battell.

Places in Lombardie, belonging to the Venetians seized by the King.

taille of *Rauenna*, where the French vanquished a puissant Army of *Italians* and *Spaniards* ioyned together. And an entire victory had ensued on the taking of *Rauenna*; but that they lost their cheefe Captain *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, & Nephew to the king, who was slaine by pursuing (ouer-earnestly) the enemies, broken and flying in confusion.

The excellency of this good king consisted not onely in greatnesse of courage and valiancy; but likewise in all other vertues. About all, he was most highly commendable, for loue to his people, to who (notwithstanding all his other serious affaires) he was a Royall ease and comfort: so that this famous name was deservfully giuen him: *Father of his people, and a good King.*

He had as his Successor, Great *Francis* the first, a Prince as valiant as euer the other had bin, and who in his very youth, and at the beginning of his reigne, ouercame the vnconquerable Nation of the *Switzers*, on the hot and dreadful day at *Marignano*, an enterprize, which had neuer before, or at any time since, succeeded to any other King. A most remarkable thing in this battaile, was, that so young a Prince continued seuen & twenty houres in Armes, without receiuing any sustenance, and spent one whole night in the felde of battaile, without lying downe or a nod of sleepe.

This was the man that made head against the great Emperour *Charles* the 5. who neuer met with a keener enemy, nor that more disappointed his designs, or euer way more hindred him. And yet notwithstanding, it is hardly to be credited, with what honor, magnificence publicly and courtly in particular, hee entertained in his kingdome this Emperour, his principall aduersary. And although he withheld some of his estate vniuilly, yet would he not demand any reason for it, when he might well haue done it, hauing him in his owne power: but kept inuolubly the faith he had giuen him; and moreover, gaue him all the contentment he could desire.

To speake no more then truth, hee was naturally generous & Royall, which evidently declared, that hee had no other ambition, then to excell all other men in vertue and well doing. He shall (for e-

uer) liue commended to posterity, for the loue which he bare to Learning, and to learned men: whom hee sought for euerly where, entertained, honoured, and gratified in all kindes. By which means, he filled France with learning and erudition in all Sciences: but especially the Vniuersity of *Paris*, which neuer was so flourishing, as in his reigne. So that (by good right) he was fir-named, *The Father of Learning.*

Wee may confesse as much of his Sonne *Henry* the second, a Prince truly generous and valiant: who continued warre against the Emperour *Charles* the 5. hauing sustained all his efforts, and stood continually opposite to his greatest enterprizes. But not long after, *Charles* the fifth withdrew himselfe into a Monastery, fearing (as some supposed) the vertue and fortune of this young Prince, leaving the reignes of his Germane Empire, to *Ferdinand of Austria*, being his brother, and the kingdome of *Spaine* to *Philip* the second: who soone after made warre vpon the Pope, *Paulet* the fourth, and then this King lent succour to his Holinesse, defended him, & reconquered the places which the King of *Spaine* had taken from him. And in the end, by his entremise, the Pope and the King of *Spaine* were accorded & reconciled.

Occasion now carrieth me, to speake of Great *Henry* the fourth, miracle of the world: who gaue place (in nothing) to the vertue of his Predecessours, nor to the glory of all the greatest Princes and Monarches that euer were, if he did not surpass them. But my Pen is too feeble, to take so high a flight, it is a subiect ouerworthy, which ought to be referred for the choiest spirits of this age, or of posterity, if any man conceiue themselves capable to vnderstand it. For there hath bin some, the very best and skilfullest writers, who being thereto zealously affected, began to attempt the labour: but were constrained to giue ouer and leaue it, becing overcome with the immense greatnesse of so many high and admirable actions, acknowledging and confessing, that they could not let downe any thing, to equal or come neere so famous merit.

What hand can worthily describe so many wonne battailes, so many Citties and Townes taken (without losing any one)

King Francis an entire labour of learning.

Henry the second, Sonne & Successor to King Francis.

Charles 5. emperor entred into a Monastery.

King Henry the fourth, Father to the king now reigning.

A worthy and Royall minde in a King.

Lewis the 12. succeeded Charles in the kingdome of France.

The successe of this wars in Italy, and the kingdome of Naples.

Paulus Iouius taxed with vntruth.

The great battell at Rauienna, whereto we shall haue occasion to speake more hereafter.

Francis the first, succeeded Lewis the twelfth.

Of this battell also we will speake hereafter.

He contended with the Emperour Charles the 5.

An admirable disposition in a King.

He was reput-  
ed to be one  
of the worthi-  
est Soldiers in  
all the world.

one) so many fights and diversity of en-  
counters? Who can figure him, shining  
in his glittering Armes, in the fiercest and  
hottest brunts of so many sharpe onsets,  
combates, ranged batailles, assaults, sieges,  
and surprisals, making himselfe way  
wherefoever he went? A true Comman-  
der and Capitaine, for counsell and con-  
duct; a most valiant Souldiour, to give  
example for effect and execution. Finding  
all France troubled, the people moued  
and diuided in parts, by the deuices and  
fictions of strangers, all *Europe* (to speake  
truly) banded & coniuered against him,  
in very deplorable affaires; he yet gotte  
the vpper hand of all, dissipated all storms  
and tempests, saued and preferred France  
fro that ruine, which euery one supposed  
certaine. All the enterprizes of his ene-  
mies, serued but as matter for his Tro-  
phees. Looke how many enemies, see fo  
many Triumphs, and as many Laurels in  
his Helmet, to make his vertue the more  
illustrious, and fill the soules of his owne  
people and strangers, with terror, amaze-  
ment, and admiration, such as cannot bee  
sufficiently spoken off.

He saued  
France from  
an expected  
and hoped for  
ruine.

He guided all his intentions with such  
wisdom, and executed them with so  
high a courage, that they could haue no  
other yssue but happinesse: and it plainly  
appeared, that his vertued Fortune by the  
hand: making truly knowne the an-  
cient saying; *That the wise man disposeth  
of Fortune*; and on the contrary; *It is to  
sunder purpose, to impute that to accident,  
which proues to be a mans owne error*. Ne-  
uer did any Prince finde an estate so con-  
fused and hurried; and neuer could any  
reduce it to more peaceable calmnes, the  
he did merely by his vertue, he not only  
danted his enemies, but (of enemies) they  
became his principall friends: *A soveraign  
degree, & the sole perfectio of a great States-  
man*, according to *Plato*. His valiancy,  
height of courage, and addresse to actions  
of Armes were such, as admitted no com-  
parison therewith: matchlesse clemency  
even towards such as were his most deter-  
minate enemies. No acte of cruelty, ney-  
ther of reuenge, in the very fiercest fury of  
warre: neuer was his sword scene vn-  
sheathed, but in the hot extremity of fights.  
His singular prudence, appeared not one-  
ly in the managing of war, and when hee  
was therein very seriously employed; but

Two ancient  
worthy say-  
ings.

Plato in lib. 3.  
De Legib.

No cruelty  
exercised in  
him towards  
his greatest  
enemies.

also in affaires of peace, whē he gaue him  
selfe wholly for the good and quiet of his  
people, shewing at all times, and in all pla-  
ces, that he was an admirable, good and  
wise king, exquisitely enabled with all per-  
fections. Qualities in such fort incompati-  
ble by nature, as since the beginning of  
the world, they could hardly meet in any  
one man: in regard whereof, it hath bene  
sometime said & desired, that two should  
be taken to make one of.

In breefe, all things were so great and  
gracefull in him, as scarcely could any one  
spirit comprehend them: so that (to speake  
truly) the best that men could do, was to  
sit downe, and admire them with silence.  
This was the man, whom not only France  
acknowledged, & adored as her Confer-  
uator: but likewise on whom the whole  
world cast an eye, as the true Arbitrator,  
Author, and Moderator of her quietnes.  
His right to the crown yielded him to be  
the cheefest king: but his owne vertues  
made him confessed, to be the most wor-  
thy among all other Princes.

In that then which is said to be the dig-  
nity of the French kings, for their rare  
vertues and great merits; no other people  
are thought to equall or come neere the.  
There are certaine vertues, which are ter-  
med heroycall or diuine, because they sur-  
passe that which is common in men, or  
of humane vnderstanding, euen as an ex-  
cesse and hyperbole of vertue. So in *Ho-  
mer*, *Priamus* being desirous to commend  
the vertue of his Son *Heitor*, said; *He seem-  
ed to be issued not of a mortall man, but ra-  
ther of some God*. In like manner the *Lace-  
demonians*, when they admired any rare or  
excellent vertue in any one, they would  
say, *That he was a diuine man*. Such great  
personages haue bene noted among our  
Ancients, whose vertues were so extraor-  
dinary: that their extraction was attribu-  
ted to the Gods, as *Alexander the great*,  
and *Scipio Africanus*: and the very same  
heroycall vertues haue bene carraied  
in the soules of French Kings, euen as be-  
ing proper and particular to them.

It is a matter as common, as natu-  
rall, for a man to take Armes in his  
owne defence, or for his owne priuate  
profite, and to reuenge his vnjust wrongs  
and iniuries. But a man to arme himselfe  
for another that is offended, to reuenge  
his cause in zeale of Iustice, without any

Concerning  
vertue di-  
uine and the  
roycall.

*Horatius* in lib. 5.

That which  
Nature al-  
loweth hard-  
ly admitteth any  
other excep-  
tion.

*Strabo* in lib. 4.

The Iustice of  
the kings of  
France.

*Henry* the  
fourth accus-  
ed to be the  
man of men.

*Aristo* in *Græc.*  
in lib. 1.

Iustice & Ho-  
nour are two  
good Pillars  
for a man to  
build on.  
in *L. Megasthenes*  
to 55 in *primæ*,  
205 in *primæ*,  
quæ *D. De*  
re. *lib. 1. quæ*  
lib. *vel* *cur.*  
sunt.

The first be-  
ginning of  
Parliaments  
in France.

any other hope, and to re-establish him  
where he had bin formerly expulged, ques-  
tionlesse is a carraier of vertue truly he-  
roycall, and sweetly fauouring of the di-  
uinity; which euermore hath bene natu-  
rall to the French. *Strabo* saith; *That*  
*they would willingly grow into choller, and*  
*vnder take Armes; for such as they saw to*  
*be vnjustly wronged, and manifest shames*  
*done vnto them*.

The Kings of France haue bene ac-  
counted admirable for Iustice, and by an  
extraordinary affection in them thereto:  
they haue taken care and paines, to ex-  
ercise and render it in their owne persons,  
declaring themselues alwayes equitable  
Iudges, not only betweene particulars,  
but also in their owne proper causes, whē  
in a doubtfull case, they haue layde the  
iudgement on themselves, rather then to  
injury any other. The Kings of France  
euer did so, as well when they rendred Ius-  
tice in their owne person, as by their  
Soueraigne Courts, and commendation  
of very ancient Iustice.

This report and praise of their Iustice  
is very ancient, for *Agathias* the Greeke  
Historian admireth them herein, and seem-  
ed to say with great iudgment, or rather  
by a Prophetical spirit: *That living so, &*  
*carrying themselves in the like behaviour to*  
*their actions; hee was not able to coniecture*  
*otherwise, but that their Estate would be al-*  
*wayes stable, inuincible, & impregnable from*  
*enemies; being sustained with so sound ba-*  
*ses and foundations, as Iustice and the desire*  
*of Honour are*. Among them most re-  
cent, *Baldus*, a famous Italian Doctor, a-  
bout the year M C C C L. maketh especi-  
all reckoning of the Kings of France:  
which (for most certaine) long time they  
delivered in their owne person.

But the multitude of affaires encrea-  
sing, and they vnable to bee absent, from  
rendring Iustice to particular persons, ex-  
cept the State should receiue some en-  
dagement, distraites, either by the war,  
or other important charges of the king-  
dome; they were feiged to establish Pa-  
rliaments to that effect, and therefore ap-  
pointed ordinary and sedentary Officers.  
Before that time, the Estates made theyr  
meeting but four times euery year, ter-  
med in the ancient *Annals* *Conuentus*  
*Generales*: wherein assisted the principall  
Lords of France, and Officers of the

Crowne, as well to discerne and aduise, in  
what was to be done for the generall Es-  
tate, as to decide the greatest and most  
notable differences, happening betweene  
particulars.

Hauiing then decreed and resolved on  
theyr ordinary Parliament at *Paris*, there  
was the appointed place for rendring so-  
ueraigne Iustice: so that the arrefts and  
iudgements then concluded, were as if  
they had bene pronounced by the Kings  
owne mouth, and thereupon inscribed &  
entitled in his Name. They were like-  
wise verified and published, as also Regi-  
stered by Letters of especiall prouision, in  
the Offices and Dignities of the Crown,  
with solempne & publike reception of the  
greater part.

It is also auouched, (that oftentimes)  
Lords and Princes, being strangers, sub-  
mitted their differences to the iudgment  
of that Court, in regard of the great opi-  
nion they held of their Iustice. The Em-  
peror *Frederick* the second, referred him-  
selfe vnto the Parliament of the King of  
France; in the debate and contention be-  
tweene him, & Pope *Innocent* the fourth,  
concerning the kingdome of *Naples*, in  
the year M C C C X L I I I. The Earles of  
*Nemours*, in the year M C C C X I I. dis-  
puted there the cause of his Earldome, a-  
gainst *Charles de Valois*, Brother to *Philip*  
*le Bel*, & won the day. Likewise the Prince  
of *Tarente*, in the year M C C C X X. gain-  
ed there a suite against the Duke of  
Bourgonne, concerning the charges &  
expences layde out, for the conquest and  
recouery of *Constantinople*.

In the year M C C C X L I I. the Duke  
of *Lorraine* and *Guy de Chastillon* debated  
there their partages. In like manner the  
*Dauphine*, and the Count of *Sauoye*, ha-  
uing proccesse together, entered for their  
Iudges the Court of Parliament, in the  
year M C C C X C. The kings of Spaine  
made such account of Iustice in the kings  
of France, and integrity of theyr Parlia-  
ment, that they sent their suites to be con-  
sidered there. The kings of *Castile* and  
*Portugall*, hauiing made peace together  
in the year M C C C X I I I. sent theyr di-  
ference to the Parliament, to be there ve-  
rified, for the more solid and found as-  
surance: and there it was fully confirmed  
at their request, and published at the open  
doores.

The place for  
Parliaments  
appointed at  
Paris.

Differences  
of Princes  
being stran-  
gers, decided  
by the Parli-  
ament of Pa-  
ris, and wor-  
thily ended to  
their content-  
ments.

The Kings of  
Spaine esteem-  
ed the Ius-  
tice of the  
Kings & Parli-  
ament of France.

The familiarity and mansuetude of the Kings of France in talking with their subjects plaine and openly.

We may also account among the fauours and prerogatiues of the Kings of France, as an especiall marke of their greatnesse and Maiesty: one thing which is found in few of the Kings & Monarchs of other Nations. Which is, that they themselves doe ordinarily conferre with their subjects, suffering themselves to be seene daily, not onely in publike, but also in particular, vsing privacy, granting easie access to any one: and yet notwithstanding, they are not a iote the lesse reuerenced, obeyed, honoured, and respected, nay, rather much more then some other kings, who by artificiall trickes and mysteries, seeke to haue themselves honoured of their people. Neyther doth this facility in communication, and friendly familiarity, beget any contempt towards them, or diminish the least part of their Maiesty: but rather maketh an addition thereto, causing them to bee the more esteemed, in venerable and most happy manner.

The subject-like affection of the French to their kings and Princes.

This is that which attracteth, & (most of all) winneth the hearts of the French, rendering themselves wholly affectionate, yea, vowed and deuote to their Prince; whom they loue, feare, and honour altogether, euen with an entire and cordiall affection, and not by any force or constraint. A matter truly as admirable, as rare, and which the Lord *Suriano* an honourable *Venetian*, and other strangers hauing well obserued, stand not a little amazed thereat, it appearing (naturally) almost impossible & incompatible. Wherein it is no easie matter to say, which is the greatest honour and aduantage, eyther to such kings, or to their subjects: but bee it howsoever, it is a great happinesse both to the one and other.

In his desire to see the grandeur of his King.

Most part of the kings in this world, at all times haue fought many exterior meanes, by different habites, extraordinary fashions, crafts, secrets, and diuersity of inuentions, to maintaine their Maiesty, to make themselves feared and respected by their subjects, and yet notwithstanding, could not compasse it. The ancient *Dei*, beinge elected king by the *Medes*, fit to a particular man as hee was before, changed into all manner of behauiour. Hee would build a great magnificent Castle, enuironed with many walles, the very sight wherof procured amazement. There

Of the Deities elected Kings of the Medes.

would he thus vpe himselfe, cloathed in garments of no vsuall wearing, neuer shewing himselfe to the people, but their sildome and rarely: deliuering Iustice by written papers, & by interpoled perions, and likewise all his answers, expeditions, and affayres, euen as if they came from an Oracle.

The Kings of the Persians did vsuallly weare a *Tiaras* on theyr heads, a Diadem or royall Head-band, all glittering with Pearles and precious stones, causing themselves to bee adored by such as shall see them. And now adayes, most part of the Kings and Lords in diuers countreys, obserue the very same order. The great Duke of *Moscovia* will neuer be seene, but cloathed with a rich Sacerdottall habite, vnder a precious Paullian, accompanied with a small choyse number of his Domestiques, so sumptuously appparelled, as one would say, they were an assembly of Gods. The great king of the *Abyssines*, or *Ethiopi*, is neuer seene at all, he speaketh to Ambassadors, with a Curtaine drawne betweene them, no other sight haue they of him. But when he pleaseth to shew himselfe, hee weares a Crowne richly fashioned, exalted or rayed very curiously, a garment all of beaten gold, thickly beautified with precious stones; hauing his face couered with a veyle of Taffata, for feare lest any should see his face. It is also a rare, and no accustomed fauour, when he lifts the Taffata neuer so little, that any part of his visage may be seene.

The king of *China* neuer commeth abroad, but keeps himselfe continually enclosed in a Pallace, round engirt with very strong fortifications, and causeth his very Pictures to be adored. The great Seigneur of the *Turkes* is neuer seene, but in a habite wholly different from any other, both for the fashion, as also the vnspokeable riches on him: he dazeleth the eyes of all such as looke on him, in regard of the glorious stones shining on his head, and causeth himselfe to bee serued with such Maiesty, respect, & ceremonies, as is most wonderful. The king of *Monomatapa*, is not serued but by men on their knees. There are other, who cause themselves to be serued with strange fashions, and very seruile submissions: shewing themselves sildome or neuer, and speake not a word,

The Kings among the Persians.

The great Duke of Moscovia.

The king of the Abyssines and Ethiopians.

The king of China.

The great Seigneur of the Turkes.

The King of Monomatapa.

The kings of France tuteable to their subjects.

but it is accounted as an especiall fauour. But the Kings of France haue no meddling with these apparences, and exquisite cunning, whereby to support their greatnesse, authority, and Royall dignity: because they differ in nothing (for the most part) neyther in habites, food and fashions, from their subjects, maintaining themselves without any subtilty. And the more they are seene, the more are they honoured, and not only honoured, but also loued of the French: as being borne to reigne, carrying Maiesty in their Fronts naturally, which maketh them venerable, raiseth the people with obedience to them, and crowneth them with continual respect. And although it is no matter rare or difficult for the French, to see their King, because it is so ordinary and common to them: yet as learned *Fulden* hath discreetly obserued, the people runne on heapes, when they heare that the King passeth to any place, reputing it as a happinesse, to haue so fauourable a sight of him.

And as in lib. 1. cap. 7.

The king of France hath continued 1200. yeares.

Natural born Princes, originall and successful.

Onuprius Ital. lib. 4. Imper.

To this great and immense loue of the French towards theyr naturall Prince, may well be attributed the long continuance of that Monarchy, one of her other excellences, that hath subsisted twelue hundred yeares, when few kingdomes esse can say beside. And that which is most admirable of all, is, that the kings haue bin of the same race and extraction, without any change but twice, & yet in changing, still it came to proximity and kindred, as we haue already declared. One thing also maketh it commendable, that it neuer bare command of a strange Prince, nor so much as desired it: but alwayes hath bin gouerned by her naturall Princes, originaries, and of the most noble blood, not onely in Europe, but in all the rest of the world.

Learned *Onuprius*, a famous Italian, obserued it as a matter worth maruaile, saying, that in no other Estate, can be obserued the like felicity. I will set downe his owne words. *Nitum illud obseruandum est, quod cum nulla gens unquam fuit, qua aut externos Principes non admiserit, aut assumptos interdum non expulserit, saepe etiam per summum scelus non occiderit, solis Francie peculiare hoc est ac proprium, nullos unquam externos Reges pati, suos autem usque adeo amare & colere, ut pro eorum dignitate & Maiestate tuenda non opes tantum sed vitam profundere soleant. Hinc enenisse credendum est, ut per mille & ducentorum fere annorum intervallum non misceat tribus familiis Reges orti sint. Wee must account (saith he) that this is meruailous, albeit there hardly hath bin any other Nation, but hath receiued strange Kings, and after receipt of them, hath expelled them againe, yea, many times massacred them, through some extreme mischance. Yet notwithstanding, it is proper and particular to the French, to haue endured 1200. Kings strangers, and therefore haue so loued and reuerenced their Princes, that they not onely employed all their goods and meanes, but likewise laide downe their liues, for the defence of their Dignity and Maiesty. And this may be thought to be the cause, that for the space of about twelue hundred yeares, there hath bene but three families, from whence haue proceeded all their Kings.*

### CHAP. IIII.

A Funerall Oration, written upon the most naturall and untimely death of Great Henry the fourth, Father to the King now reigning.

THE *Egyptians*, hauing sufficiently tasted the fauours of *Harpocrates* theyr Goddyd consecrate the Peach-Tree vnto him, in thankfull retribution of his infinite benefits. The leaues of this Tree are shapd like to tongues, and the fruite doth carry a resemblance of

\* The God of Silence. Plin. lib. 9. c. 7.



hearts:

The greatest  
loffe that euer  
France sustain-  
ed.

The strange  
escape of Te-  
lemachus, pre-  
served from  
drowning by  
a Dolphin.

A familiar  
allusion to the  
vertues of  
Royall Henry.

Herodotus  
in lxxij.

hearts: whereby they would seeme to say, that their hearts should thenceforward serve that *Harpocrates*, and their tongues be continually busied in celebrating his prayes. O France! wilt thou be lesse thankfull then those people? So many choise benefits receiued fro the cheefest thy Monarchs, can they well escape thy memory, or glide into the depth of bottomlesse obliuion? No, no, wee will not only consecrate the Peach-tree vnto him, but our hearts and tongues ioynly together, because this is the best offering, remaining in our power to giue him.

*Telemachus* the youngest Son of *Ulysses*, sporting himselfe (on a day) childe-like vpon the Sea-shore, by accident fell into the water: but a Dolphin happily came, who receiuing him vpon his backe, did see him safe and dry vpon the land againe. The Father, not knowing how to expresse his gratitude to the Fish, that quickly was carried farre off from him by the nimble waues; to auoyd the foule blemish of vnthankfulnesse, caused all his Gates to be painted with Dolphins, engraued them vpon his Sword, yea, hee honoured his Seale with a Dolphins Image.

*Henry*, great *Henry*, a most Christian, Potent, and Royall King, succourd France in a Sea of feditious & dreadfull tumults, and like a gracious Dolphin, receiued her on his shoulders, and set her vp in safety, euen on the shore of a most happy peace, whereof as yet shee enioyeth the benefit. His name shall not onely be written on our Gates and Wall, but his greaines, his victories, his mildnesse and paternall bounties, shall be engrauen on an euerdure Piramide of thankfull acknowledgement, neuer to depart out of our memories. Our eyes, hitherto busied in teares, granting no liberty to our sighing hearts, to let our mouthes memorize his Trophees, and tell the world his countles Triumphs; we do now begin to open the, and now we would breake the doores of some sad Funerall discourse, in remembrance of his great Maiesty, and excellent vertues.

If *Calisthenes* durst make refusal to *Alexander*, who commanded him to commend the *Maccedonians*, alledging for his excuse, that their vertues were so well knowne, and their merits so great, as hee should not gaine the least honour or re-

putation (whatsoever) thereby. How dare I then appeare in publike, and in this common habite of mourning, to commend the eldest Sonne of the Church, the Father and Patrone of Soldiours; especially in these dull times, when that diuine fire of Eloquence, sometime holme from the Gods by \* *Tullius*, seemes to haue taken her returne to heauen, from whence she came at the first.

There are now no *Cicerones*, not a *Demosthenes* to be found, no, nor an *Hortensius*. And albeit they were all alive againe, to ioine their best abilities together in well speaking; yet could they not speake in such sort of that famous Prince, but their elegancy would fall faire short, and infinite goodly things would neuer come neerer them, which are no more then due to his happy memory. If then I speake, it is but by appointment, and as feeling a certaine combat within me, between bathfulnessse and nature. Bathfulnessse taxing me with shame, to be silent when the whole world cries and complaines; ashamed also, that I cannot ioine my sighes & teares to yours. Nature likewise tels me, that by an indissoluable obligation, I ought to render this duty and seruice, to the eternall memory of my King, my Lord & my Prince. This then may serue for my discharge. The \* *Epizephyrian Laureates*, in former times, not hauing the commodity to performe any solemne sacrifice to *Hercules*, according to their vow (because there were not any Oxen, Sheepe, or other Beasts for oblation left in their City, through the length of a greeneous pestilence, which had consumed them all) when their Elders aduised them to take Cowcumbes, Mellons, and some other kindes of fruites, fitting them with short stickes in forme of speere, and then calling them Oxen, Sheepe, and such like Beasts, they threw them into the fire, & so made their sacrifices. Among their neighbours, there was not any but commended their inuention, and gaue cheerefull applause vnto this acte of theirs.

If I haue not wherewith (worthily) to answer the admirable vertues of that Monarch; let me accuse my necessity, and giue you what I can, which (I hope) will be acceptable to you. Or else (if you better affect it) I will imitate those Sauiages of *Florida*, who repuing the Sunne to be their

\* Sonne to  
Iupiter and  
Pluto.

No eloque  
sufficient to  
expresse his  
high deter-  
minings.

\* People of  
great Greece  
to called the  
Promon-  
tory Zeph-  
yrum about  
which they  
dwelt.

An allusion  
on vied a-  
mong the  
saue people  
of Florida.

Casars fun-  
erall Oration  
for his daugh-  
ter Iulia.

2 Reg. 19. 15

2 Reg. 12. 1

What ought  
the nature of  
Monuments  
to be.

Blacke, best  
befitteth Fu-  
nerall pompe

their God, and seeing him so highly exalted ouer their heads, as it is impossible for them to come neerer him: in looking on him, they hold vp their hands at him, which bringing backe to their mouthes, they kis, deliuering testimony (by this meanes) of the reuerence, honour, and respect they beare vnto him. If I cannot touch (dazzled with his beams) the Sun of so bright a Maiesty, or my tongue shal this day seeme dumbe, in the infinity of his glory: I will yet essay by signes, and shew somewhat that way, when other helps fayle me.

Concerning the rest, my aime hath no other end, then that of *Casars*, in the Funerall Oration he made for his Daughter *Iulia*: *Prædantes admonerentur quanta iactura ex illa morte facta esset: That the bystanders might be admonished, how great a losse ensued by her death.* For what losse can be greater the ours? A losse which neuer had his like, a losse springing out of our iniquities, which made vs altogether vnworthy to enioy so great, so happy and so dreaded a Prince.

*O desiderabilis terra Israel! in excelsis tuis vulneratus est. Quomodo ceciderunt potestates? Quomodo abiectus est Clypeus fortium?* Thus did *Dauid* bemoane the death of *Saul*, King of Israel. Thus was a King extolled by a King, being filled with the spirit of Prophecie. Thus did the annointed of God frame forth his teares, in a Funerall Oration for a Prince, slaine vpon the mountaines of *Gilboa*, which he wished might (for euer) continue barren like Rocks, listen the effect of his diuine maledictions. *Nec ros neque pluuia descendat super vos, quia proiectus est Clypeus fortium.* Let neither dew nor raine descend vpon yee; because there the shield of the mighty is cast downe. Behold, how he would haue some sad and lamentable monument to remain there, answerable to an acte so sad & dismal. Monuments ought to agree in resemblance with the things which they signify. What thing could be more horrible then the murder of an Israelite Prince? The Monument then ought to be euer y way as yrkesome and horrible.

In Funerall pompes, we vie to goe in blacke garments. Dewes doe make the Mountaines verdant, and raine drunk vp by the Vallies, enammels the with a thousand flowers, and giues them such a garment of greene, as is both faire to see, and

maruailous pleasing. Therefore *Dauid* would haue nothing to grow vpon *Gilboa*; but thornes and brambles, that loe (among rude Rocks) nothing might appeare but rough thorny passages: to the ende, that such places might be condemned, as of deeds of horror and darknesse; so likewise to sterility, and wofull perpetuall deuastation. But are not dewes the gift of God? Doth not raine come from the hand of him that is almighty? This, not to receiue these, is a dreadfull malediction. It should seeme then, that *Dauid* inuoked the wrath of heauen vpon that *Gilboa*, the land being subiect to many curses, for the finnes that were there committed. Let neither dew nor raine descend vpon yee, because the shield of the mighty is there cast downe.

Alas! what greater Shield of strength, more generous and mighty, then Great *Henry* the fourth? *Henry*, the Rampier of his people, the Shield of his Souldiers, & the Buckler that defended the heads and hearts of his Princes? He couered them against all their enemies attempts and encounters. Hee serued as an Armour of proote to the French Monarchy, vnder which defence they continually raunged themselves, yea, the Seigneurs and Principalties of many strangers, sheltered themselves vnder that Sunny Banck. Therefore of him may now be said, as sometimes was of *Dauid*: The Lord sought him a man after his owne heart, and commanded him to be a *Gouernour* ouer his people. For if *Dauid* declared himselfe courageous, in the greatest heate of Alarmes and fights; *Henry*, great *Henry*, hath not hee beene (euer where) a true *Mars*, and a true thunderbolt of warre? If *Dauid* were still crowned with victory, because his clemency was acceptable to the God of Armies, & therefore elected him among thousands, to be the Ruler of his people: then may we say, that (after his fights) neuer was found a kinder Prince then great *Henry* the fourth, to whom this Elogium rightly appertained. *Qui in acie compesxit superatus est, qui in pace nihil timuit: Euer more a Conquerour, both in warre and peace,* deriuing his victories no lesse from loue, then from power, vnder which (as *Ennodius* spake in the Panegyrique of *Thierry*, King of the Gothes) *Vidimus euentus optimos de aduersitate generari, so may wee say; That out of greatest extremities,*

Dewes and  
raines are the  
blessings of  
the earth.

No better  
shield of de-  
fence to any  
kingdome,  
then a truly  
generous  
king.

1 Reg. 12. 14

King *Dauid*  
crowned with  
many glori-  
ous victories.

Ennodius Pa-  
neg. *Thier. Reg.*  
Got.

we haue beheld the birth of highest and fairest fortunes.

For in conquering the Rampiers of our Cities, at the very same time he won our hearts also, and (by a fouraigaine amplitude of kindnesse) sweetly insinuated himselfe into all our soules, that behelde him so brightly shining in Armes. So that saying was verified in him, which *Agapetus* spake to the Emperour *Iustinian*. *Imperium exornauit superiores Imperatores, tu vero praesantissime illud illustrare reddidisti: That which Empires (in former times) gave to their Emperours; thou thy selfe (O great Prince) hast giuen to thine, to wit, lustre and splendour.* Thou didst finde it full of quarrells, seditions, and tumults, thy vnciuill subiects made mad (by what new *Circes* I know not) became enemies to thy crown. But by the right hand of God, & strength of thy martiall arme, thou didst displant their Fortresses, peopled with Spaniards, expelling both the one and other; and from the limits of thy French Empire, thou didst exterminate that proud *Bellona*, that (without all pitty) did cruelly labour to reare her in peeces, and quite deuoure her.

The hand of heaven eunt supporteth the right of true kings.

The successefull issue of his long trouble was.

Victory that accompanied Great Henry.

Plin. in lib. 12. cap. 7.

frica a certaine precious stone, called *Liparis*, which hath so faire a looke, that all eyes are at a stand to gaze vpon it. Hunters ther haue no need of sculking bounds for their game, or any Arrowes to kill it, because this stone, laide open in the midst of any field, all wilde beasts (getting but a glimpse thereof) gather together about it, and as amorous of the stones beauty, doe nothing else but looke vpon it. Our Monarch, our great Monarch, was as a *Liparis* in the midst of his French world, the *Germane*, *Italian*, *Spaniard*, *English*, *Sweethen*, yea, the very *Turkes*, were all drawne hither by the fame of his vertues, & renown of his Armes, euery one stood at gaze to behold him, nor any one but with hisd his presence, each one loued & admired him, as a new miracle, or prodigy of valour and greatnesse in the world. In so much, that his presence serued not onely as an ornament to this State: but it was also here as an horne of abundance, out of which, all kindes of goodnesse that could flow from a sacred peace, were in a most plentifull affluence deriued from him. The poysons of diffentions could heere no more produce their Gangrenats; the high vnderstanding of the King was too present an Antidote. And as the dried body of a *Basiliske*, hung with a golden thred in the midst of *Apollons* Temple (saith *Cesaire*) kept it alwayes cleane, restraining (by an hidden vertue) Spiders from working cobwebs along the pillars and walles: Euen so great *Henry*, liuing in our France, kept it cleane from all the infolences of enemies, and suffered no strange Spiders to come weaue their webs of discord within his Prouinces. So auailable to this Monarchy was his long experience & promptitude, that he held the affaires (in cyther condition) both of church and commonwealth, in an vpright sway of pollicy, were it in peace or warre. And so profitable did this people finde their subiection & obedience to him, that in all & quite through the body of France, they reuerenced him as their Lord, their Pastor, and Father.

Do you not know the great vinity which Nature hath planted betweene the *Pinnother* and the *Pinna*? Haue ye not read of the benefit enliuing to them both, by their mutuall concord & intelligence? France hath beene as the *Pinna*, and the King her *Pinnother*. The *Pinna* is that great

There are vnto the stone Liparis

All eyes and hearts drawne with admiration at the presence of Great Henry

Gifts of nature

His care of the Church and Commonwealt.

Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 14.

A strange ceremony liueness the Nether of Scallop, and the Creticle or Crab.

The comparison allud to the Realm of France.

A most excellent Painter, liuing in the time of Parthianus of Ephesus.

great kinde of Cockle, which we vie to call a *Naker* or *Scallop*. The *Pinnother* is a little creature, in the kinde of a *Crabbe* or *Creticle*, that continually stands as a *Porter*, awaying the opening of the Cockle; which he keeps still wide gaping, vntill such time as he perceiue some prey to enter, which may be beneficiall to them both. For then hee pricks or bytes the Cockle, and shee shutting her shell, they then feede both friendly together. And neuer (without this admonition) doth the *Naker* shut her shell, nor euer (without the liking of this her *Gouernor*) will shee admit any strange creature to come neere her.

Euen so France, referring herselfe to the managing of the King her *Pinnother*, and neuer receiuing any impression but his; she liued with that foode which was apt and natural for her, and by this reason, she neuer felt in any of her parts and members, those intemperate vile diseases, that heretofore bred her so many warres and troubles. A great misfortune is it the, when such a precious Jewell is taken from forth the midst of our Temple, where such a Master and *Gouernor* is carried away from his people. *O decus Israelis in excelsis tuis vulneratus est.* O France, the honour of Israel, glory of the Militant church! O *Paris*, the very fairest among the *Gauls*, or in the world, Metropolitane of the goodliest state in Christendome: thou hast scene him wounded in thy streets, flame in thy bosome, and particided inhumanely in excelsis tuis, in thy places most frequented. O vnspokeable mishap! *Quomodo proiectus est Cyprius fortium? How is the shield of the mighty cast downe?*

\* *Timanthes*, a most famous Painter among the Grecians, being desirous to portraie a Soldier full of courage, sprightly in valour, and as fiery as *Mars*: gaue him all the grace that *Arte* could deuise vpon his cloth. But afterward, setting it before his doore to bee scene, hee caused foure Trumpets to sound before the Picture, that the person might appeare the more furious and dreadfull. O deare people, if I could worthily, and (according to true life) represent before your eyes, the prouidence, wisdom, and happines of counsell, that remained in this Prince; I should then set before ye (one after another) euen all the great and serious assem-

blies, of the cheefest Heads and Captains of war, and of all other states wherein hee presided. Then should you see him not like a filly \* *Neil* or by *Agamemnon*, but *Agamemnon* himselfe, and (in him) a million of *Neilors*. If you would see his vigilancy, & the care he had of his State affairs; I should then set before ye (in grosse) the Ambassadors of the greatest Princes, the Courtiers and Possessions flying from all parts, their packets open, their Secretaries standing by, & that magnificent King in the midst, spending many nights together, for the consulation of them, that soundly slep: in their beds at ease. If you would haue a picture from mee, of his mildnesse & clemency; then must I paint a thousand potent enemies, not humbled at his presence, or crowding to his feete, but feared in safety by him, at one and the same Table, in one and the same Caroch, yea, in one and the same bed.

In breife, if it were in me to shew you his valour & *Non-paruill* courage; I should the here instantly let before ye so ranged battailes, with their Squadrons of armed horse, and Regiments of foote, their Pikes aptly placed, the flame and imoak smouldring from Canons, the noyle of Drums, the found of Trumpets, and at the maine of euery battailon, this king encouraging his followers to the fight; and then himselfe to giue the onser, & (like a true *Mars*) beating downe his enemies about him. Then would you say, that you saw a God armed, the terror of the world, the honour of valiancy, euen where *Cesars* and *Alexanders* might well crowd in, there to learn warlike lessons of him. But oh signall disaster! he being dead: *Quomodo ceciderunt potentes? Proiectus est Cyprius fortium? How are the mighty ouerthrowne? And the shield of the very strongest cast downe?*

*Filii Israelis super Saulem flete, quia vestibus tuis coccineis delictis. Daughters of Israel, weepe for Saul, which clothed you in skarlet with pleasures. Ladies, Daughters, and Vniuers of Paris, weepe for your king, he that clothed you in Scarlet with pleasures, that gaue you these Embroiderings, Laces, and Bracelets of Gold. Indeed Ladies, peace purchased by the prowess & sweat of this great king, gaue you all these things in great abundance, filled your houses with the beauties of the*

\* Sonne to Neleus and Chloris, and being well heere 300 yeares olde, went with the Greeks to Troy.

King Henry the might well be a mirror to all the warriors in the world.

\* Reg. 1. 24.

Peace is the nursing mother of plenty & abundance.

East, and precious rarities brought from the cyther of the Poles. Rich and poore might eate their bread (fearelesse) with their families, might console themselves with God, and offer the sacrifice of their hearts (at ease) in his Church. Weepe then, weepe then rich and poore, great & small, the inhumane death of this common Father, vnder whom you receyued such infinity of pleasures.

*Saul & Ionathas amabiles; Aquilis leui-ores fuerunt Leonibus fortiores. Saul and Ionathan were lovely; they were swifter then Eagles, and stronger then Lyons.* Swiftnesse onely in any one subiect is vnprofitable, and strength without swiftnesse is as great a maiime, as lazinesse or neglect. Both these were ioyned together in our Prince. What legerity was that, when in lesse then two Moneths, like to a flash of lightening, hee made himselfe leene through the Prouinces of Picardy, Normandy, Champaine, le Perche, Amieu, and Maine?

Trayling after him a weighty Army, great store of weapons, Canons, Chariots, and great abundance of other Artillery. O good God! in how short a time did hee winne more the 160 Leagues of ground, and lubricated vnto him (euen in passing along) fifteene or sixteene strong Towns. In diuers other places, what power and magnanimity did appeare in him, euen in his very greatest difficulties, withdrawing the lighted fires from all the parts of his kingdome. There did he shew himselfe like to another Hercules, being fouled in the skin of his constancy and high valour, his most tedious traualles (which seemed to him but as Dwarfes and Pigmeis) hee strangled and crushed them all, euen as if they had beene so many Mice or Mush-rooms, that haue no vertue or resistance whatsoeuer. Wherefore O France, we may well say of thee, as it was sometime spoken of the people of Israel. *Nunc Rex graditur ante vos, & pugnabit bella vestra. Thou hast now a King that walketh before thee.* He spared not himselfe in marching before thee, and this was the man, ordained to terminate the fights and batailles.

Oh, how many meruailes do I behold, meeting in him all together. Let vs take him in his originall. Albeit hee descended fro the loynes of the most happy *S. Lewis*, by a long extended Genealogy, wherein there is not any but Kings: yet had he no-

thing (in his kinde) more abiect and contemptible, then to be shut vp in the Pyrenean Dens or Grottes, badly followed by his owne, threatened and pursued by externe accidents, throwne out of his Cradle, and the armes of his Nurse, into the Forge of Mars; wrapt vp in partiality of opinions, which held a high fayle in his time, and yet doth the like in many places of this Realme. They that fed his hopes, to preuaile thereby, deceived him: others that thought (by such instruments) to ouerthrow him, did the higher exalt him. And perforce must I (in this case) without looking on the pointes of his conscience, commend his morall vertues.

*Achilles*, the sonne of *Aecacus*, who was to conclude the *Troyans* greatnesse, & to ouerthrow their *Illium* from the top to the bottome, was long time hid vnder the garment of a woman, among the daughters of *Lycomedes*. And our great *Henry* (who was to be a terror to *Spain*) the prop and support of our French Commonweale, was (in his younger yeares) euen as hidden vnder the habite of a poore & disinherited Prince, in the solitude of the Bearnish Lands and Mountains. But yet notwithstanding, God had (euen then) destined him to be a subiect of his wonders, yea, to the cheefest dignities, & very great powers of this Land. God I say, the great God of hosts, *Per quē Reges regnant*, & hath his hands full of crowns, & bestoweth them where himselfe best pleaseth.

Reade what *Iob* speaks of the Ostrich, & there shall you see this Prince naturally, euen according as description is ther made of her. That Bird (being deprived of wisdom & loue) without couering her eggs, leaues them in the dust, and so loseth all remembrance of them. The world would be quite bereft of Ostriches, if God did not play the part of a mother, and by the beames of his bright shining Sun, make the dust warme about the eggs, and so cause the yong to be hatched, to maruallous fayre and goodly forme. In like manner, our great *Henry* was not he forsaken? Left in the dust of disfaueur, and neglected all the time of his childhood? God had a care of him, notwithstanding, as purposing to make him an *Atlas*, for the support of his Church, and defence of this State. So that by beholding him so much abased in his beginning, and afterward so

Sometrou-  
bles arising  
the couer-  
his life.

\* Troy was  
called *Ilion*  
of *Ilus*, who  
enlarged it  
greatly.

Iob 39, 16, 17, 18, 19.

Plin in 10, 35

What God  
will haue  
be present  
in despite  
all extre-  
mities, shall  
perish.

highly exalted: we haue great reason to say with the same *Iob*, *Lampas contempta ad tempus statutum.* A Lambe, whereof no account at all was made; yet ordained for honour, and to be honoured at the time appointed. God would bring him by the paths of aduersity, to the highest place of prosperitie, and made his traualles seeme as Mallets, to harden him for such paynes as hee was to endure, for the re-establishment of peace and vnity, in all the diuided Prouinces of France.

In euery estate, afflictions do make the greatest persons, where contrariwise, in the midst of highest prosperities (as standing vpon an ouer-slippy place) oftentimes they soone lose themselves. We may deduct an example heereof, from a Glasse, vpon whose Christall, Flies can get no footing (saith *Plutarch*) & yet stand firmly on the borderings about it, because they are more rough and apprehensiu.

*Lobustus viridis, fabrisque tenacius barcent.*  
Smoother paths are slippery, rougher wayes haue hold.

And from the same ground, it seemeth that *Homer* fetcht his *Moly*, the rootes whereof were blacke, but it bare fruites of most fine gold. So the life of this French *Atlas*, did shew it selfe (euery where) to be very blacke in the bud, and wholly obscured with aduersity: but therest thereof (euen to his vntimely ending) carryed three Flourers of true gold, in an Azure field of heavenly beauty. Afflictions in him, serued as an apt subiect to \* *Polydorus* and *Miron*, whereby to mould, carue & forme the true shape of Vertue; which was the very fayrest and most goodly Statue, that euer could (by Arte) be imagined.

Let vs instantly conceite that happy houre, when wee beheld heauens providence to call him from *Bearne*, and the Banicks of \* *Garona*, and (with goodly Ensignes) to shew him the *Loire*. He being (not long before) sharply pursued, was then fought for in the Grottes, many royal Armies (euen then) trusting to his arme: but sent for (soone after) by the K. his brother, *Henry* the third, whom hee would not forsake at a time of need. Then was it, when France couered ouer with rebellions and Armies against her selfe, was constrained (more then euer before)

to approue the spirit, wife dome, and hand of him, who quickly became her *Halcyn*, to appeale and calme those furious tempests.

The blowes began at *Tours* and at *Alais*, but within few daies the fiery furie of those Souldiers proceeded through *Beauue*, euen to the engirting of *Paris*: where the execrable and bloody parricide committed on the person of the king, opened him the doore to the whole State. The Princes and French Nobility, both proclaimed and acknowledged him to be their king. Meane while, the troubles encreasing, and the Armies rent (as it were) in many peeces, beheld him (neere hand) as soone shut vp in *Dieppe*. But like the Steele that strikes on the Flint, to extort thence the liuely sparkes of fire: euen so, the neerer a warriour is pursued, the more splendour is added to his glory.

There liueth a certaine monster in the Sea, vulgarly called the Scia or Sawe of the Sea, in regard of a horne he hath, seruing him in stead of a snout, carrying no meane resemblance with a Sawe. This creature, meeting with a Ship vnder full sayle, by diuers times of attempting, doth grow angry thereat, and seemeth to make open warre against it. He passeth and repasseth many times vnderneath it, imploring his horne (with his vttermost strength) to sawe, as he thinks, and cut in twaine the keele of the Ship. But in vaine doth he torment himselfe, for so long hee vseth the teeth or razors of his snout, till beating himselfe out of breath in the conflict: at length hee floates on the water with his belly vpward, remaining at the mercy and laughter of the Pilote.

And what great ad (I pray ye) did so many Armies, as quite couered the plaines of France? They employed all their endeuour and weapons in vaine, hoping to sawe in sunder and diuide this State. After all their malicious wrastling with this Soueraigne holy Ship, they did not become eminent and broken in peeces, by the power of this great King her Pilote? Wherefore wee may well say, as *Vellius Paterculius* said of *Casto*. *Virtutis quam simillimus, & per omnia ingenio Djs quam hominibus propior; qui non recte fecit ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat.*

It is not for any ambition, or desire of glory that

Troubles be-  
fore the death  
of King Henry  
the third, who  
was murderd  
by a Iacobine  
Fryer.

Plin in lib. 9,  
cap. 17.

A very singu-  
lar compari-  
son, well ex-  
plained allu-  
sion.

Malice hath  
no greater en-  
emy to con-  
tend against  
then it selfe.

Plat. in tit. M.  
Lato.



The honorable wids of a Kingly Soldier.

that I fight (would he oftentimes say) but to maintaine the liberty of my Subjects, and preferre my Crowne. And euen so did God fauour his designs, and laide at his feete (myraculouſly) an infinite number of Trophies. Heere *Argues* made her most signale ſurrender. There *Turrie* published his high fortune. *Dijon*, *Fontaine-Francoise*, *S. Helena*, and the *Molets* engirt his browes with a thousand Laurels. And for the higher pitch of his honours, the vanquished themselves did (euen then) reioyce at his prosperity and victories. He fought not in one place only at a time but like to a second \* *Brutius*, with an hundred hands, and by his Lieutenants, hee smote as many places together. So that posterity reading his heroycall actions, not onely will make doubt to beleue the all, but rather grossely receive, or repute them for fables.

A mighty Giant, the Son to Titan, called of the Gods *Brutius*.

I will leaue them to our Histories. & to tell ye, that his clemency appearing about his other vertues, did make him vniuersally both beloued and admired. O good God! how ready was he alwayes in helpe and subuention to the oppressed? How diligent, in finding out for our miseries, both foueraigne, peculiar, & conuenient remedies? When I caſt mine eyes on the gaffly Theater of our France, me thinks I doe there behold that terrible fight betweene *Brutus* and the \* *Xanthians*, the very cheefest Inhabitants of *Lyca*, when they (being besiedged, the fire getting mischeuously into the crannies of their walles, threatening their neighbors houses, and the whole City together with a generall deuastation) in a desperate rage and fury, threw on fresh faggots, made of dried Reedes, the more to nourish and augment the flame, whereas *Brutus* (being their enemy) employed the vttermost endeavour, both of himselfe & all his Soldiers, to slake and quench it. He ſate on horse-backe, full of compassion, essaying by all possible meanes, to take some good order; and turning him round about, hee held out his hands to the unhappy Inhabitants, desiring them to spare their owne City, and to saue themselves.

A hard extremity, when people are pitted by their enemy.

How many of our blinded French (desperately maddened in our last wars) did the very like? What intended those Armes, and hostile preparations in the greater number, but only the ruine of

themselves, and the whole State together? And what was laboured (on the contrary part) by this great King our *Brutus*? Nothing else, but to preferre his people, and stie the fires, furiously flaming in the foure corners of his kingdom; yea, to keepe his people from destroying themselves. This was euer (doubtlesse) the full butt and aime of all his warres, during which time, and euen in the very fiercest broyles, hee was heard to cry aloud in the thickest throngs: O *Frenchmen*, *Frenchmen*, saue your selues. And the blood of them, although they were in Armes against him, hee did value at a dearer rate then his owne. An act truly generous, and which (afterwards) made him so much admired, that they who refused to accept him as their Lord; threw themselves at his feete, and (in endeared loue) called him their gracious Tutor and Father.

Let *Paris* (onely) stand as a witnesse of my words, which was seene (almost) without Subburbs, without Pallace, without vniuersity, or any other Ornament whatsoever. The Field of the slothfull man, and the Vineyard of the misvnderstanding foole, described by *Salomon* in his Proverbs; Which were all overgrown with Thornes and Nettles, and their Hedges broken downe, might be compared with it. Our buildings beautified with Porphyry and Marble; his Royall goodly places; his *Louures*; his *Tuileries*; his new Bridges; his *Arsenall*; the streetes newly reedified, and adorned with so many new deuices of Silke and Tapistry; the new foundations of publike Readings: these are as so many Trumpets, to publish the loue and vigilancy of this King. Very true is it then, that his life, so obscured and traueled in the beginning, did well resemble a fire, which in the making, and before it attaineth to any light, doth cast forth very grosse and thicke smokes: but being fully kindled, it yeldeth a bright flame, & giueth no meane delight to the beholder. We haue seene his originall to be dimly obscured and darkened with the clouds of enuy. Afterward wee beheld him, not like *Iob*: despised Lampe, but shining as the Sunne in brightest splendour.

An industrious and skilfull Architect, labouring his minde with the designe of an intended stately building, walking among

A great honour in a King to preferre his people, & spoyling the selues.

The Stone neglected and refused by the builders, became the head-conceit stone.

The wofull condition of *Paris*, during the warres.

Prouer. 24. 29.30.

A Thracian Captain, sent to Iphiclus, who first of all the Greekes went on Land at Troy, altho he had heard that he should lured: die that did he. He was slaine by Hector.

Vertue long obscured at length doth reth the brighter light.

among the stones in a Quarry, if hee perceiue any one to be of grosse Marble, half earthly, misshapen, and that hath not (as yet) felt the Hammer and Chizell, he doth appoint that stone to some important place in his edifice. Euen so God, procing (long time) the building of his Church, did not forget this Prince: but at the time appointed by his eternall prescience, he tooke him out of the Quarrie of darknesse, to make him shine as bright day, and serue as the Master-pillar to the whole frame. Behold him then (O myracle) in midst of so many victories and fauours from heauen, prostrated at the feete of the Church, and no other cryes were among the people, but *God saue the King*.

Deare people, from the beginning of my Oration, I haue feared to fall short, & my feare is very iust. handling so high a subject, and so full of meruailes. Yet notwithstanding, that great goodnes of his furnished me with courage, and hath hitherto vpheld me, in the plentifull field of his flowing vertues. Wherein I feele so great a consolation, and such a boundles liberty of spirit, that my tongue (without impeachment) hath (in some weak manner) exprest those things which I conceyued of his praises. But now I feele my senses arrested by an accident, alas, as nouell, as it strange and lamentable.

The Poets make mention of certayne trees, that sometime did grow about the Tombe of *Protefilus*, and they haue attained to such height, that (with their tops) they could couer the ruine of olde *Troy*; withered in an instant, and lost all their leaues. Euen so my discourse could entertaine it selfe vnto this point; but when I see this great Prince (alas) setting from his *Louure* in his Caroch, a smal traine, indeed, without traine; my whole heart is frozen, my discourse withereth, and there remaineth no verdure in my words. A mischeueous assassinate, let loose from *Acheron*, created of the filthy driuell falling from the foule chappes of *Cerberus*, (to bury our whole France) followes hastily after him. I see the Caroch stayed; O *Paris*! haplesse City of *Paris* in excesses, in one of thy cheefest foure cornered streets, I see the murderer likewise stay there with it.

O God! what issue depends vpon his

boldnesse? Gracious Heauen, thou didst preferre this great King (before) so many times; as against *Barriere* at *Meunne*, against *Chastell* in his *Louure*, and agaynst an infinite number more of most pernicious coniuations. Thy goodnesse (O Lord) shall it sleepe at this blow? Behold (deare people) it was our sins that weighed downe the ballance of eternall Iustice, for one chastisement. *Auferetur ab impijs lux sua, & brachium excelsum confringetur.* The light that shined vpon those Nations, rebellious against my Edicts, shall be take from them, and the strong Arme that defended them, shall be broken. Yea, and so farre it proceedeth, that our great God seemeth weary of further aduancing the Name of the glorious French.

O Fury! O barbarous wretch! instructed in the schoole of Sathan; and enchanted with a diuellish Doctrine, that (vnder the suborned name of a tyrant) would approoue and maintaine the Massacre of Kinges. O Deuill; and no man, thy parricide hand is not hindered, but dares boldly imploy the vse of that hellish liberty, in a most detestable sacriledge, against God, against his Anointed, and against thy naturall Prince. O Sunne, thou bright day-bringer, that heretofore vielded thy golden Tresses, and didst withhold thy heavenly looks, from the infamous house of the *Pelopides*, and the enraged abiding of *Buphales* that vnworthy Romane Citizen, because thou wouldst behold no Butcheries and massacres: how couldest thou keep thy Chariot in his ordinary way, but with one touch of thy hand turned it from way else, that this day might haue bin couered with darknesse?

Among infect or injured Creatures, Bees (sayth *Pliny*) do so much honor their head and King; as they will not liue after the losse of him. And among other Animals, haue wee not (almost) an infinite number, that haue consecrated their liues for the defence of their Masters? *Quintus Curtius*, as one of the fairest ornaments of his History, brings in the Elephant of *K. Porus*, which Elephant seeing his Master on the ground, in the bloody battel giuen him by *Alexander*: with his trunk drew him softly out of the crowde (as fearing to hurte him) notwithstanding all the points and stauces of Lances, being thrust into his breist and sides.

Great Henry the Fourth, a great danger to his state.

Jeremie 19. 7.

The doctrine of Marasmus the Lefine, instructing to kill King, by his authoritie and warrant.

Plin. in lib. 7. c. 2. 14.

Quint. Curtius, in lib. 4. c. 29. 9.

The



Hesiod in lib. 1. cap. 7.

Phil. Comm. in lib. 3. cap. 8.

Some men are more inhumane then brutish creatures.

Tertulian Dial. Ad Reg.

Homer in lib. ad lib. 4.

Attributes and titles given to kings.

The offering of King Clovis on the Altar of S. Peter

The *Scythians* also do eternize the memory of a Horse, who seeing his Master slaine, became the revenger of his murder, neuer ceasing till (with his heels) he had instantly beaten out the braines of the murderer. The Dog of *Hesiodus* is also remembered, because he attained the children of *Ganius*, for the murder committed on the person of his Master.

But that which our owne Fathers haue seene, is much more memorable, of a worthy Dog, belonging to a Groomer of the Chamber, attending on King *Frances* the first. Which Dog, not satisfied with the apprehension of him that had slaine his Master, in the Forrest of *Fontaine-belleau*; but being present (by command of the Prince) he rent him in peeces, before the face of the whole Court, that then were gathered together, to behold this spectacle. O most strange case, that brute beasts shall loue, respect, and reuerence their Kings and Masters, and creatures reasonable (yet without all reason) contrary to Nature, or any instinct of her, shall soyle their felonious hands in the sacred & venerable blood of their Prince.

*Tertullian*, speaking of Kings; *Secundus* *sancti post Deum* (saith he) *inter quos & Deum optimum maximum nullum est medium. They are next after God, between whom and the greatest God, there is no mean.* *Homer*, by a name more proper, doth call them, *The children of the great God*; as they that do very neere participate in the beames of his diuinity. The *Greekes* were wont to call them, *Basilides* of *Bazis*, which significeth a Foundation. As in the holy Scripture, one of them is called *Femur*, the *Thigh*, he being as the *Thigh*, base and foundation, whereupon the repose of the State and people is supported. But to what end are all these Epithites, both sublime and diuine, in comparison of *The most Christian King*, the eldest Sonne of the Church, which Titles our kings attained vnto by infinite merits, euen from the Cradle of Christian Religion.

If Emperours haue done any good to the Apostolical See, what deuotion can compare with that of our Kings? *Clovis*, the first Crown-bearer among so many kings, offered a Diadem of inestimable value, called *Regnum*, vpon the Altar of *S. Peter*: the which Diadem, according as some of our Historians haue written, ser-

ued for the *Tiaras* to the holy Fathers presiding in the Church. What shall I say of *Charles Martell*, who received from *Gregory* the third, the keyes of the Sepulcher, and the Chaines wherewith *S. Peter* was bound? was not this done, as acknowledging him the Churches Protector, and yielding him an honourable summation, for defending that holy Toombe, and excellent prerogatives therto belonging, against the fury and inuasions of the *Lombards*? Against whom, this Prince began to arme himselfe, when at the very first report of his preparation, the *Lombard* yeelded, and submitted himselfe to the holy See.

I cannot let sleepe in silence, the piety of king *Pepin*, who went twice vnder the Alpes, to check the insolences of the said *Lombards*, against *Stephen*, then sitting in the sacred seate. There remaineth (yet to this day) an ancient inscription, engrauen vpon one of the Towers of *Rauenna*; *Pipinus plus primus amplexanda Ecclesiam aperuit, &c.* Deliuering testimony to all Christendome, of that Princes gift and liberality to the Church. *Charlemagne*, *Philip Augustus*, *S. Lewis*, many Kings among them, & many others since then, euen vnto our time, haue no way degenerated from this affection, in piety & succour answerable to the former Kings; and their enterprizes were most commendable & perilous, to maintaine the truth, and to confound the *Sarrazins*, *Mahumetists*, and other sects of Infidels. VVhereof matter sufficient is given to our Historians, to make their volumes the more copious, and to *Innocentius* the third, a worthy subject of writing, in an Epistle which he directed *Archiepiscopus & Episcopus per Galliam constitutus*, *Exaltatio regni Francorum est sedis Apostolica sublimata*. And if that execrable and diuellish murderer, had not impeached the course of the great designs, and holy intentions of this King (O France, for whom thou now so iustly lamentest) he had shaken the Scepter of the Turke, and we might well haue hoped, to haue seene our faire Lillies glister in the Church of the Easterne Empire, & once more to haue made the true God worshipped in *Palestine*.

Then, O vnhappy Realme of France, redouble thy sorrowes, and reuise the course of thy teares, as often as thou shalt

Charles Martell the Churches Protector.

The ancient inscription at Rauenna.

The famous enterprize of many French kings in defence of the truth.

remin-

The worth of a lew is neuer truly valued till it is lost.

Remembrance differ to the true sub-fances.

The inward vertues of a man are his true glory.

remember the death of this Prince. A Prince? yea, thy Shield, and the Shield of the mighty, proditoriously ouerthrowne in the Capitall of his Prouinces. Oh that I could (in this case) according to the manner of a *Pegasus*, strike with one foote into a fountaine of eloquence, or that the *Muses* and the *Graces* meeting together, would giue new motion, or rather new life to my languishing Oration, that I might reach to the point first propoed to my selfe, which was, either to lay open before you the praises of my King, or to let you see his life and heroycall vertues, and how much we are interested in his losse. These two attempts were very great, and if I feele my selfe to shrinke vnder the weight of the first, I must needs fall flat the with the charge of the second. *Because the wretchednesse of a priuation can neuer be really understood, but by knowing the excellency of the thing whereof we are deprived*, so said (long agoe) a learned Philosopher.

For as a Play of Comedies, may easily bring forth vpon his Stage, a man of goodly thew, in shape of *Hercules*, couered with a Lyons skinne, and bearing a long great Club on his shoulder, but yet made light and hollow within, and at this dreadfull appearance, comes nothing neere the vertues and incomparable strength of the true *Alcides*: Euen so an Oratour may easily produce some grosse description of great *Henry*, that most invincible Prince, giuing him golden Armour, mounted on a gallant Courser, attended with Drums and Trumpets, in midst of a confusion of armed men, a thorny wood of Pikes and Lances about him, and as the last ornament of renown, writing with an Eagles quill (yet lagging weary with circling the world) to make knowne to the two Poles, the admirable battailes wonne by this Monarch, and all this nothing indeed to great *Henry* the 4. This were no other then a meere phantasma, because his inward man, with his principall vertues, remained still hidden the viaticities of his spirit, the heates of his generous courage, and that true countenance of Maiesty, which carried on his brow the loue of his subiects, and terror of his enemies: these are things that strike dumbe all tongues, and are not any way to be declared. The interest and the damage then, which the whole world endu-

reth by his death, can neuer be sufficiently declared. Every man by himselfe (from the least to the greatest) may frame out his owne discourse, and finde himselfe immeasurably offended: yet all this is nothing else, but as if each man should point with his finger at his owne heart, and no iudgment to be made, whose paine is the most greivous?

*Synganis*, the Mother of *Darius*, her Nieces and other Persian Ladies wept more extremely for the death of *Alexander* (saith the History) then did the *Greeks* and other *Macedonians*. For he was the common bond of peace, and hee being broken, they found themselves (among all them which he had left) the very weakest, furthest off from succour, and most subiect to the iniuries of warre. Without all question, our sorrow hath bin common through the whole State, for this vnhappy accident, false vpon the common and publicke head. Our Princes pierced through with griefe, haue (to the whole world) sufficiently witnessed their affections. But great men stand safest on the boord, the lesser serue as poore Pawnes, & they haue the greatest cause to complaine. That great chaine or bond of peace, which vnited together so many kindes of spirits, is broken in the midst; yet peace and vniety (God be thanked for it) doth still remaine among vs.

As an Arrow shot from a good strong arme, flyeth farre through the ayre, not in regard of his owne proper or naturall wings, but by the Archers vertue who (in the loofe) gaue it the vigor of aduantage, euen so our peace as yet continueth by that strength and vertue, which the high vnderstanding and credite of our deceased king gaue vnto her. If we war against abuses, if vices may be cut off, and vertues replanted; wherefore should not this strong bond be new knit againe? But if they encrease, as they do, look then (deare people) for your danger to benere. The mighty can daily maintaine themselves; but the weak and feeble, they altogether vndergoe the worst, especially when disorders continue.

In this case, the body of a Common-wealth, and that of a beast do carry some resemblance. For as the members (which are found) doe not finde themselves so subiect to rheumes or deflections, but so loone

Plutarch in vit. Alexander.

Common affections doe not so neerely touch great men, as they do the meaner sort.

Comparison of a Common wealth to the body of a Beast.

soone as they present themselves, do send them to the diseased parts: Euen fo, in a body politike, those great ouerflowings that engender discords, do not so neerely touch the strongest in the State. Noblemen, as being more robust & powerful, know how to hurle such annoyances behinde them, and then their weight falls vpon the vulgar, who are compoled of slenderest resistance. Who seeth not then that the principall interest is ours? It is vpon vs that this blow is false. That fatal knife hath ript open our breasts, and hath sucked forth our blood, euen so farre as the very furthest Nations; who wholly affrighted at so damnable an attenate, haue testified, that this disaster was in common to them, communicating likewise in our sighes and teares.

But now wee sacrifice ouer much vnto griefe. O France! thou must giue a breathing time to thy forrowes; thy great Henry yet liueth, God hath not left him after so many victories; he hath rather snatcht him from beneath the armes of a temporal peace, to lodge him in his euerslasting rest, & made him change the Scutcheon of his Lillies for an eternal Diademe, the flowers whereof are without number and value, and the glory void of any date or limitation. This life hath nothing in propriety; what any man holds here, it is but as a deposit or pawne, it is but for a shortuallance, and a present of slender continuance. *Spumæ grauelis, quæ a procellis dispergitur*, saith the wise man: *Fumus qui a vento diffusus est*. It is a highway common to kings & subjects alike; to the haughty, and to the humble. *Omne capax mouet vtriusq; nomen*. Death (notwithstanding he is familiar to vs) yet in his passage along, if he hit thee against a shepheards cottage only, or if a poore labouring man meet with his sickle, these are blowes that moue no terror. But contrariwise, when he smites the greatest into the bottom of a tomb, when he shuiers Crownes in peeces, and breaks royal Scepters with a touch of his Biere, this is that which moueth astonishment in men; this is that wherein they see themselves, euen as in the clearest Chry stall, best representing to the life, the defects of their fraile and wretched nature.

They that haue contemned God at their life time, may take example by *Entellias*, lost in the lone of his owne peculiar ex-

cellencies: who afterward becoming a knight of *Athens*, tooke a Grashopper in the fields of *Egretum*, whereby he learned and came to acknowledgment of his lifes thornes. Whereupon, he builded a house of piety, in contempt of himselfe; where, in bequeathing all his hopes to God only, hee founded life and saluation for his soule. For, as a goodly Rose in rainy weather (being prickt with a pinne) will send forth a marvellous pleasing fauour: euen so, al the degrees of a great State, being prickt in the death of their King by the intolerable piercing thornes of bemoaning, do then send vp to heauen the most sweete Odors of infinite prayers, whereby they procure Diuine blessings to descend downe vpon their heads.

This is also the benefite, which (among our teares and laments) we ought to seeke for in our losse, because euen therein God himself hath giuen vs matter, whereby to comfort our selues. Set before your conceits, that great deluge of waters, which (in the time of *Noah*) drowned the whole world. Neuer did heauen before, or since, deliuer so great a sign of anger against the sins of men. And yet notwithstanding, among all the billows and floating of dead bodies aloft on the waters: the height of top of an oliue tree did shew it self, whereof the Doue brought a pretentation to the good old man, as a symbol of grace, carrying an assured testimony, that the ouerflow should soone cease, & the Ark be deliuered from all perils whatsoeuer.

Euen so, in the frightfull deluge of tears, which appeared to swallow vs al vp in the waues, wee haue a sacred Oliue plant, a branch of that royall tree, euery way answerable to that holy Doue, verily raised to this purpose by the holy ghost, to bring this aged French State a thirteenth *Leues*, the liuely image of the great *Henry*, so lately taken from vs. *Leues* I say, the true Oliue branch sent from heauen, to preface our great mercy; (vnder who we are to expect the increasing of al those choise vertues and felicities that wee felt vnder the flourishing reigne of his Father. In behalfe of whom, I may wel (O France) addresse those speeches to thee, deliuered by the wise *K. Salomon*. *Beatus in terra, Rex tuus filius est Nobilium*: *Blessed art thou (O Land) when thy King is the sonne of Nobles*. Happy art thou O France, for thy King

All degrees in a State are wounded by the death of this King.

In the midst of most violent extremities, God is then ready with his diuine helps.

Lewes the young son and successor to great King Henry.

Excell. 16. 17.

## CHAP. V.

The Battell of Rauenna: Which was fought in Italy, in Anno, 1512. betwene Gaston du Foix, Duke of Nemours, General for Leues the xij. King of France, on the one party: and Raymond de Cardonna, Viceroi of Naples, General for the King of Spaine, and Pope Iulio, on the other.



HE Generall of the French Army in Italy, being named *Gaston du Foix*, for *Leues* King of France, against the Pope and King of Spaine, being giuen to vnderstand that the opposit powers for the Pope and Spaniards were marching onward (according to a former passed promise) for giuing assistance vnto *Marco Antonio de Cardonna*, who was besieged by him in the Citie of *Rauenna*; misdoubting some sodaine interruption in his politike enemy, brake vp the sledge, making a retreat for the space of some three miles from *Rauenna*, as it were to meete with the leagued army. That night they made a bridge ouer the riuer of *Rouco*, and leuelled the highest banks equall with the Riuer, for the easier passage of the Souldiers in all places. Afterward the 11. day of Aprill, being then Easter day, the Germane foote souldiers made their passage ouer this made Bridge of the Riuer: but the souldiers appointed for the vaw-ward and middle battell, they went thorow the Foord. As for the reer-ward, being led by *Don Iuo de Alegres*, and consisting of foure hundred bolde resolute men, they remained still on the riuer bank towards *Rauenna*, for better assisting the maine army when neede required, and curbing the Garrison of *Rauenna*, if they should presume to fall forth. But for keeping a Bridge (formerly made vpon *Montano*) hee left a valiant Gentleman, named *Paris Scot*, with a thousand foote vnder his charge.

All things being ordered in this manner, his battailes were ranged in this order. The vaw-gard, that had the great Artillery before them, consisting of 700. horse, besides

The Author doth not let downe therea sonth vnto this battell.

The passage of his people ouer the riuer

In what manner hee ordered and ranged his severall battailes, in expedition of the eremie

Cosimo de Medicis the Great Duke of Florence.

Vertue and Nobilitie are the best pillars to support a kingdom.

Stanza in Lb. 16. 17.

King is the son of Nobles. For the Father of thy King, descending from so many kings, was no lesse adorned with Vertues, then Crownes: And his Mother on the other side) being issued from so many great Dukes of *Tuscany*, the very beautifull seat of all Italy from the illustrious blood of that great *Cosimo de Medicis*, that afforded so many Fathers to the Church, and floures to thy Diademe, witnesseth the height of thy good fortune, hauing brought forth this young, yet great Prince, who truly *Filius est Nobilium*.

The Isle of *Delphos* was sometime most wretched, and yielded it self to the greedy appetite of the waisting billowes of the sea; till *Apollo* was borne there, who made it immouable, and constantly confirmed it against all tempests. O France! if heerefore thou hast bin beaten with stormes and the rude windes of discord, agitated by the flux and reflux of some vnhappy partialities, what needest thou now to feare, *Cum Rex tuus filius est Nobilium*? Thy totterings are already past, and I see thee (for euer) settled in the Bay of a most blessed peace, euen in the armes of thy King, so Noble in extraction both by Father and Mother. These are the wishes which we yeelde thee, euen from all Orders and estates, vnited both in hearts and wils, to submit our selues in a perfect obedience: As we also protest, neuer to be ingrateful to the most happy memorie of that Great *Henrie*, from whom so manie blessings hath continually fallen vpon vs.

In elder times, the Graces were figured holding handes together, teaching men thereby, that a benefite receiued with one hand, ought immediately to be requited with the other: But Kings are ouer-great to attend the returne of such benefites, as they poure out vpon their people. And as for vs, wee are not able to acknowledge them, which haue beene receiued from our good Prince; except in seruing him loyally both with hearts and hands, as becometh most faithfull & obedient subjects. If that the hand (to our great griefe) hence-forward can do nothing; yet let the heart (as being more powerfull) continue that office, in waiting, vntill it shal please the heauenly Maiesty, to make vs blessedly see him againe, in the Celestiall repose of his glory.

The number of a King is no mean motive or preferential to neighbouring Nations.

No man in this life leaues any certaintie of his abiding

Excell. 19. 11.

A worthy example for all Atheistes to take warning by.

beside Germane foote, led by the Duke of Ferrara, and the Seneschall of Normandy; this power was placed on the bank of the river, being then on the right hand, whereby the foot troopes flanked the left wing of the horse. Somewhat nere to the vanguard, the foot appointed for the mid battalion, being partly *Gafoignes*, and the rest of other Prouinces in France, tooke their charge, and *Don Iuo de Alegres* was their Commander. Further remote from the River banke, the reegarde had their place, being in number five thousand foot and all Italians, vnder the conduct of *Federico de Bozzolo*; and this battel was flanked by all the Archers mounted on horsebacke, and other light horsemen, amounting to three thousand.

These battalies were not ordered to erre one another, but in the shape of a Crescant or halfe Moon, and directly behinde them were marshalled six hundred well appointed horse, conducted by *Seigneur de la Palice*, and the Cardinall *Sanslerino*, Legate for the Councell of Pisa, who bent their intentions against the Pope. He was a man of no meane constitution, full of heate and courage, armed Cap a pie in faire bright glittering Armor, and meeter (in dede) for the office of a Commander in field, then to supply the place of a Cardinall. As for *Gaston du Foix*, ayiming onely at honour and victory, he would not berake himselfe to anie particular charge in the Campe; but selecting som thirty choise Gentlemen, such as he thought fit to share with him in his best fortune of the day; wandered at liberty, as to bee prouident in all places, and for the readier helpe, where neede should require.

He was the man of best marke amongst them all, not onely in regard of his splendent Armes, but likewise for his sprightly countenance, dreadfull carriage, & resolution no way to be daunted. Hauing ranged his battalions into such due form, as nothing wanted but the signal for fight aduancing himselfe on the bay of the River, where best he might haue attention, and animate his army with boldest spirit, more eloquently then Souldier-like (as some suppose, thus he spake.

### The Oration of Gaston du

*Foix, before the fight, to his whole Armie.*

**M**Y Fellow-Souldiers, the thing which you haue so long coveted & desired, to wit, to encounter the enemy in an open champaigne you haue

behold how Fortune hath this day blest ye withall, as not forgetting her former Murtherly care of ye, in many a famous and well-nor victory. See what a gracious opportunity is here presented to ye, such as precedent times, nor memory of man hath ever acknowledged, victory hovering ouer your heades, embracing ye within the very winges of her bounty, not onely for \* Rauenna it self, fully and meerey prostrated to your power: but likewise all the Townes and Cities of \* Romania, though but slender attributes of recompence to your high deserts, yet as an earnest of her further intended fauour vnto ye. For, finding Italy naked and empty, not a man left to stand or encounter with ye: what shall hinder your marching on to Rome it selfe? Seeme as if (euen now) you saw your entrance into it; and consider withall, the boundlesse wealth of that gripple and greedie Court (for many ages together) bled & violently torne, euen out of the bowelles of poore abused people, and iustly ordained now to be at your mercie as pillage and spoile. Proud Ornaments, Silver, Gold, precious Stones, all in heapes, and numberlesse summes, beside most rich and sumptuous prisoners, you may already plead full possession of the wide world standing amazed at your fortunes. And Rome thus being yours, Naples lies fairly before ye, inuaiting ye to com thither with the same successe, and there to reuenge your manifold iniuries.

When I consider your valour, fortune, & famous victories, woon within the compass of so few dayes; when your manly looks, and more then many actions, do quicken my memory, that there is hardly one among ye, but hath made good proofe of his courage; by apparant and pregnant testimony of his great spirit: there is not any objection whatsoever, to foretell the assured felicitie of victory. What are our enemies, but the same Spaniards, that (merely upon our coming)

\* An ancient City by the Adriaticke Sea  
\* A very spacious & fruitful country.

\* A Towne of Companies in Italy.

\* A City in Italy called Iulio, the name of a famous Conely.

fled by night out of \* Bologna? Nay more, they are the same white-liver dmen, that (not many daies since) escape! our swordes by bafe running away, seuking within the wals of \* Amola and Faenza, or the neighbouring mountains. They are a nation that neuer durst fight with our armie in the Neapolitan kingdom, in any place of indifferencie or easie access, but euermore upon aduantage, being supplied with munitions, riuers, and ditches, as relying more on close hid ambushes & treacherie, then on any sort of manhood or valor.

And yet let mee further tell ye concerning these Spaniards, that they are not those tried and ancient well-skild seruitors in the Neapolitan wars, but meere fresh-water Souldiers, utterly without skill or experience, neuer fighting against other weapons of resistance, but Bowes, Arrows, & the bluntest Launces of the Moores. And yet notwithstanding, by that timorous people, weake in body, worfe in spirit, wanting knowledge in armes and military actions, they were (with great shame) overthrowne the last year in the Isle of Gerba.

And there this very man, Don Pedro de Nauarro, one of so great note & name among them, that by taking himselfe to his heeles, hee deliuered a notorious testimony of the difference betweene: the beating downe wals with shot and powder, & fighting with true fortitude & hardiment. See how they are shewt up within a ditch, made this last night, euen in meere trembling feare, & how their foot are covered with a rampier, consisting of Carriages & hooked waggones, as meaning to try the battel with those childsh instruments, & not with the Marrow, Muscles, and Arteries of men, or with the chearfull viuacity of spirit.

Make no doubt (deare hearts) but our great Ordinance shall drive them out of their holes, and beate them to the open field: where they shall plainly perceiue, that the power of the French, the courage of the Germanes, and unconquerable resolution of the Italians, doth go far beyond the cunning subtilities of the Spaniards. The greatest obscuring of our glory, is that we ouermatch them in number being (every nere) twice as many as they. Neuertheless, seeing fortune hath bin so bountifull to vs, it were indiscretion not to make use of so happy a benefit, which will rather be imputed to temerity and improuidence in them, then to any comarall aduantage in vs. Nor doth courage or valour incite them on, but the authority of Fabritio de Colonna, in his rash promise made to Marco Antonio; or rather the in-

stice of heauen hath thus provoked them, to the end, that the pride and confestible heyinous actions of Iulio, that false and counterfet Pope, as also the deceitfull treacheries of the King of Arragon, may haue condigne and worthy punishment.

But why wast I time in so many words? Or why should this victory be so long kept from ye, by circumstantiall speeches in a skilful oration, whereby needlesse for Souldiers of undamned spirit? March on then, my valiant fellows in armes, with full assurance, that this day I shall giue the whole Empire of Italy to my King, & the wealthy spoyle among you all. I, your Capitaine and Commander, will be present with you in euery place; and, as I euer haue done, so this day more especially will I oppose my life vnto all perils, rather then a thim of ye shall miscarry. Nay, I shall repate my self for the most fortunate Captaine, that euer was seeing that by this dayes victory, I shall not onely make my Souldiers most glorious, but the richest of all other Armies, within the compass of three hundred yeares.

This Oration ended, and the aire echoing the noise of Drums & Trumpets, the Spaniards espying the French past the river, in this manner they ranged their battalies. The vanguard, consisting of 800. horse, and conducted by Don Fabritio de Colonna, stood placed along the banke of the river, wherto was added 600. foot on the right hand. Likewise along the River, stood the middle battel of 600. horse, being flanked with 4000. foot, the Victory being the Leader thereof, & with him the Marquesse of Palada, as also John de Medici, legat to the Pope. Moreover, along the same river bank stood the reeward, conducted by Carrual a Spaniard; & in that battell were 4000. horse, and 4000. foot. All the light horsemen (whose General was Daulos, Marques of Pescara, a very yong Gentleman, but of exceeding great hope guarded the right side of the foot behind, for succoring any part that fainted. The great Ordinance was placed in the front of the horse, & Don Pedro de Nauarro General of the Spanish foote, accompanied with 500. horse, had not any place of certainty, but had planted at the ditch in the front of the foot, 30. waggones, like to the crooked Chariots vsed in ancient time. VV hereon he had placed field pieces, and very long Boares speares, for easier sustaining the furious feaze and charge of the French.

How the battalions of the Spaniards were ranged in the field.

The Councell of Pisa leuied forces against the Pope.

Gaston du Foix, a man of especiall note from all the rest.

Nauarro was General of the Spanish footmen, a man of great skill in vndermining.

In

Both sides  
stanc in ex-  
pectation of  
battell.

In this order they expected the assault & charge of their enemies strong army, with in the munitio of the ditch, but this counsel, as it profited nothing in the end, so in the very beginning it appeared to be pernicious. For it was the mind of *Fabritio de Colonna*, to invade the enemies, so soon as they began to come ouer the River; as thinking it more commodious to encounter with one only part of the enemies, thē to abide in the camp, defended but with a single ditch. But when *Don Pedro de Navarra* (whose counsel the Viceroy followed as Oracles) repugned this aduice: it was decreed (though nothing providently) that they should be suffered to passe ouer the river. The French being com within 200. paces of the ditch, stayed; perceiving that their enemies, kept themselves within their camp, not stirring any further least they should giue their enemies such advantage, as themselves desired to haue.

Much harme  
done by the  
great Ordnance  
in, nee on ei-  
ther side.

For more then two houres, both the armies were thus at a stand, but no meane store of shot came from the great Ordnance all that while on either side, where by the French foote endured great detriment. For *Nauarro* had planted his artillery in such a place, as he might at his pleasure hurt them; but the Duke of *Ferrara* made great halt, & brought his Artillery in the rere of the army, to another wing of the French, where the archers on horseback were planted, which wing, in regard that the army stood in the form of a crescent, was (we neere) on the rere of the enemies; from whence he beganne cruelly to flank their sides, especially of the horse, for the Spanish foot being brought by *Nauarro*, into a low place along the rampier of the river, & (by his command) laid flat on the ground, could no way be iniured by the shot. *Fabritio* called out aloud, and vrged the Viceroy by messengers often sent to begin the battel, before they were torn in pieces by the great Ordnance. But *Nauarro* being guided by peruerse ambition would not agree thereto. For, in regard he had promised himselfe victory, only throw the valor of the Spanish foot, yea, & although all the rest of the army wer slain, yet he imagined, that his glory would be the more augmented, the more y harmes were heaped on the rest of the army.

The willfull  
obstinacie of  
Don Pedro  
de Nauarro.

By this time, the men of armes and light horse, had endured so great a slaughter, as

it could be no longer borne: and as a most miserable & dreadful spectacle, here horses, there men from off those horses, fell down dead, and heads & arms being torn from the rest of the body, were seen lying aloft in the aire, whereat *Fabritio* beganne thus to exclaime. *And must we all (quoth he) dye here shamefully, by the wilful peruerfnes of one Marano? Must this army be utterly lost, and not one enemy slaine by vs? here are our many Trophies ouer the French? Must the honor of Spaine and Italy perish for one only Nauarro? No sooner had he spoken these words, but without staying for the signal, or any command fro the Viceroy, he droue his horsemen ouer the ditch whom the rest of the horse following, *Nauarro* was forced presently to giue the signal to his Regiment, & they rising with violent fury, encountered the Germanes, who were by this time come verie neere them. So the battels being met pelmei on all sides together, it was wonderful to behold; & surely this battel was the greatest that euer Italy had seene in many yeares: because that at *Tarro* was hardly any thing else, but a strong encounter of horse. And the battels in the kingdom of *Naples* were rather disorderings of array, or rash attempts, the deseruedly to be termed battels. And at *Giarada*, the smallest part of the *Venetians* power had fought: but heere two potent armies fought with harts firmly combined, either to vanquish or dy. Being enflamed, not only by perill, glory, and hope; but also mutual hatred, which y seuerall nations bare each other.*

In the encounter of the German foot with the Spaniards two Colonels of great fame the one named *Jacob Emser*, a German, & *Zamudo* a Spaniard, fought as if it had bin by way of challenge, before the fronts of the battailles: in which fight, the Spaniard killing his enemy, became the conqueror. The horsemen of the Confederates, were not comparable to them of France; beside that day they had bene so endangered, and meerey torne by the great Ordnance, that they were thereby made farre inferiour. So that, after they had a while sustayned the force of their enemies, rather by stoutnes of stomacke, then strength of body, and *Alegres* sending for *Palice* with the rereward, and the thousand foote also left at *Montona*; they were charged on all sides. Beside,

This battell of Rauenna was termed the most terrible and dreadful battell.

\*A nick-name  
giuen in scorn  
to a Spaniard.

This battell of Rauenna was termed the most terrible and dreadful battell.

A valiant  
fight between  
the chief Co-  
lonels on ei-  
ther side, Ja-  
cob Emser, &  
Zamudo.

The flight of  
the Viceroy  
and Caruans,  
and Antonio  
de Leua.

The Marquisse  
of Pescara  
and *Palada*  
taken.

The Spaniards  
policy in kil-  
ling many of  
the Germanes

The valiant  
death of *Ale-  
gres* and his  
son *Vincenzo*

*Fabritio de Colonna* fighting very valiantly, had bin taken by the Duke of *Ferraraes* Soldiers. Wherefore, seeing themselves no longer able to hold out against the enemies fury, & entrusted also by the example of their Captaines; turned their backs likewise. For the Viceroy and Caruans, neuer tarrying the vttermost triall of valour in their Souldiers, fled; leading away with thē the rereward, almost whole and vntoucht. With them also fled *Antonio de Leua*, a man (as then) of mean condition; but afterward being exercised in all degrees of martiall seruices, became a very famous Generall.

Now all the light horsemen were ouerthrowne, and *Pescara* their Captaine, weltring in blood & wounds, was taken also, and so was the Marquisse of *Palada*, who brought the second battail into the fight, through a field of ditches, bushes, & bryars, which much disordered the array. Beside, the field was couered wholly (as it were) with the mangled bodies of men & horses, which proued no small hinderance to them. But yet the Spanish foote being forsaken of the horsemen, fought with incredible fiercenes. And although they had bin somewhat repulied, at their first encounting with the Germanes, by reason of the strong ranks of Pikes; yet after they came within the reach of their Swords, many of the Spaniards (being couered with their Targets) got between the legs of the Germanes, wounding them in those disarmed parts with their Daggers, and so committing a very great slaughter among them, attayned (almost) to the miditt of the battaile. Among whom the Gascoigne foot, hauing won the way betweene the River and the Rampier, had sharply charged the Italian foote, who although they had sustained great losse by the Ordnance playing hotly vpon them, yet they had vtterly expelled them; if *Alegres* had not giuen a fresh and violent charge on them with his horsemen, & with greater force the good fortune. For when he saw his Son *Riuerreros* slaine in his sight, and almost at the very first encounter, he, vnwilling to surmount, after a losse so great and greuous; ranne in with his horse, euen among the thickest of his enemies, and fighting like a most valiant Captaine, after hee had slaine many, was slaine himselfe.

The Italian foote, when they could no

longer hold out against so great a multitude, began to shrink; but part of the Spaniards comming to their succor, they kept still in the battaile, and the German foote, oppressed by the other part of the Spaniards; could scarcely stand vp any longer. But now all the Spanish troops of horse being put to flight, *Gastou du Foix*, with a great multitude of his horsemen, set freshly on the Spaniards, and they, retiring rather, then driven out of the field, marching in good array, and in no part broken, took the way lying betweene the River & the high bank, going in an equall pace, with their Front very thicke of men, and repelling the French with the strength thereof, began to retire, and orderly depart out of the field. Which *Nauarro* beholding, was more desirous of death then life: & therefore not departing out of the battaile, was take prisoner. But high-minded *du Foix*, not brooking to see the Spanish foote march thus away safely, & (Victors-like) with their whole ranks vnbroken, perceiving also, that the victory was imperfect, vnslefe they were broken as well as the rest; in a vehement fury, he charged on their rere with a troop of horse. But heeing immediately enclosed in among them, and throwne off from his horse, or (as others say) oppressed with the flundering of his owne horse, was slaine with a Pike thrust into his side. And doubtles, if they ought to with for death (according as common opinion is) that haue attained to the highest degree of felicity: then assuredly, the death of this noble Gentlemen was most unfortunate, hauing gotten so glorious & eminent a victory. He dyed a very young man, hauing now won (among all men) immortal fame, because within the space of 3 Moneths, (being a Generall, almost before he was a Soldier) with incredible celerity & good successe, he had gotten so many glorious victories. The Lord *Lautrech* (his Cousin german) hauing receiued twety greuous wounds, lay beside him, well neere dead; but being carried to *Ferrara*, was cured by the diligent care and cure of good Chyrurgions. Thus through the death of noble *du Foix*, the Spanish foote were suffered to march away without impeachmēt. The rest of the Army was put to flight, all the bag and baggage taken, together with their Ensigns & Ordnance: as also the

Pedro de Nauarro taken prisoner.

The death of the Generall, *Gaston du Foix*, & receiued through his own rashness.

The Lord Lautrech cured in Germane to Gaston du Foix.

## CHAP. VI.

What prisoners were taken in this battell.

The number of men that were slain on both sides.

\*A Towne of Picenum in Italy beyond the peninus.

The courteous Treasurer of Normandy.

Popes Legate, *Iohn de Medijs*, *Fabricio de Colonna*, *Nauarro*, the Marquisse of *Paluda*, *Bitonto* and *Pescara*, and manie other Princes, the cheefe of the Nobilitie, and men of best name among the Spaniards and *Neapolitans*. The number of them that were slaine in this battell, is altogether vncertaine, yet among the variety of many reports, most do affirme, that (on both sides) there were slaine ten thousand at the least, whereof the third part were French, and the rest made vp among their enemies. But without all controuersie, the losse on the victors side was farre the greater, by reason of the death of *Du Foix*, *Alegres*, and many of the French Nobilitie, as also of *Jacob Emper.* and other the valiantest Captaines of the German foot, to whose valour and manhood this victory (bought with such a deere effusion of blood) was chiefly attributed.

Moreouer, many Captains of the *Gascoignes* and *Piccards* (which Nations lost that day all their glory among the French) were slaine with *Monsieur Molard*: but the death of *Du Foix* surpassed all other losses, with whom the courage, strength, life, and fiercenes of that army was viterly extinguished. The greatest part of the vanquished, that escaped from the battell, fled to \**Cesena*, & from thence to further places: neither did the Viceroy stay any where, vntill he came to *Ancona*, whether he brought but very few of his followers. For, the Duke of *Vrbine*, not onely raysed vp the Countreymen against them, but also sent souldiers to doe the like in *Pesaro*; onely they escaped safe, that passed thorough the *Florentines* Dominions.

And although after this battell, the victor Army tooke and sacked *Rauenna*, yet within very short time after, when the courteous Treasurer of *Normandie* (to saue charges) had dismissed the *Italian* Souldiers; and part of the men of Armes were returned for *France*, and the Emperor had reuoked the *Germanes*: they were (by a new Army of *Switzers* that came in the Popes ayde, and with whom also ioyned the *Venetians*) quite dispossessed of the whole Dukedome of *Millaine*, and all that euer the French King had beside in *Italy*.

What they were whom the world learned by the name of the Sibyllae; Of their Prophetes: but more principally of those things which they spake concerning Christian Religion.

THE History of the *Sibills*, is generally held to be very certaine, because euery one (almost) knoweth, that they foretold and prophesied many things. Neuer thelesse, to know when, whence and what they were, what they did, & at what times they wrote and prophesied, is most familiar to him that hath read ancient and authenticall bookes. It made me therefore the more willing, to make a Collection of their history, and so much the rather, because it is a matter of no meane maruel, to contemplate the gift of Prophesy, which God gaue to those women in diuers manners. But particularly to prophesie of the coming of Christ, of his life, of his passion, and other great mysteries of our holy faith: these we do purpose to speake of briefly, to the end, & the Ethnick Pagan may not any way excuse himself (although he will read but his owne bookes onely) no more then the Jew in reading his, and will not accept nor beleue our faith. I write this the rather, because (by common consent) those bookes were receyued among all the Gentiles, and the *Sibyllae* credited, especially by the *Romanes*, who in all their affayres and necessities had still their recourse to the *Sibylline* bookes, and tooke their best and most serious counsels from them.

All Historians, both Greeke & Latine haue written of them: our intent then shal best fit it selfe, without selecting to great a number, to make choise of the cheefest, the better to auoide prolixity, & set them down in some orderly maner. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny Solinus*, *Seruius*, *Martianus Capellus*, *Lactantius Firmianus*, *Eliaius*, *Suetas*, *Strabo*, *Marcus Varro*, *Virgil*, with the foundest part of all the Poets. *S. Augustin*, *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and the more part of all our Historians, largely writeth on them.

*Diodorus* saith, that the word *Sibyl* or *Sibylla*, implieth so much, as if a man should say, *A woman Prophetesse*, & filled or inspired

The certainty of the Sibyll history.

The diuers gifts of Prophesie bestowed on these women.

The Sibyll bookes receyued among all the Gentiles.

Authors that haue written concerning the Sibyll.

Interpretation of the word Sibylla.

Dissent about the Sibylls number.

Left Firm in Diuinitie.

Sibylla Perfected called also Sambra.

Left Firm in diuinitie.

The prophesie of Sibylla Perfected concerning christ.

red by God. *Seruius* on the fourth of the *Aeneides*, and *Lactantius* in his first Booke of *Diuine Institutions*, nameth them, *The Councell of Gods*. *Suidas* termeth it *Prophetesse*. These Authors doe not agree how many there were of these women, neither consent at what times; because some determine more, and others lesse. *Martianus Capellus* makes mention but of two, others remember foure, as *Eliaius* doth in his variable histories. *Marcus Varro* recordeth ten, whereof *Lactantius Firmianus* speaketh in his first booke, & him I meane to follow.

The first was of *Perficia*, named *Samber*, 14, of whom *Nicasius* maketh great mention, euen he that wrote the actions of great *Alexander*. Others say, that shee was of *Chaldea*, & others, that shee was a *Leweisse*, borne in a town feared nere to the red sea, called *Nos*. Her father was named *Berosus* and her mother *Erimothas*: shee composed 24 bookes in verse, wherein shee recounted wonderful things, concerning the coming of Christ, his life, and miracles. But yet they were vnder concealment, and deliuered with an artificiall obscurety, which was not to be vnderstande of euery one: where to all the other *Sibyllae* conformed themselves. So that *Lactantius Firmianus* without particularizing any one of them, describeth their particular Prophetesies of Christ. *Saint Augustine* maketh a summary of those things, which this woman and the rest said of Christ, and (among other) these very wordes.

*I shall be taken by the wicked handes of vnderleues, and they shall giue him blows on the face with their sacrilegious hands, & spit on him with their foule polluted mouthes: And he shall giue them his shoulders, suffering the to be whipped, and he holding his peace, without speaking any word, they shall thereby not know whence his words came. He shall likewise be crowned with thorns, giuing him gall to eat, & vinegar to drink. Behold him that fasting they shal make for him, so that thou blind and ignorant people, thou shalt not know thy God, conuerging among men. But shal crown him with thornes, providing for him vinegar & gall. Again, the veile of the Temple shall be rent, & the plaine bright day at noone, shal be like night, obscured or darkened for the space of three houres. And when he hath bin in hel, he shal returne to life, and rise againe.*

These wordes are so pregnant, that they

are the very proper tearnes of the Evangelists writing on Christ, and the verie same that the Prophets prophesied, especially *Esaie*, wherunto our holy Church giueth absolute beleefe. Beside, these Prophetesies of the *Sibyllae*, are deriued from the writings of *Lactantius*, *S. Augustine*, and *Cicero*, from *Marcus Varro*, & other Authors of the Gentiles, who dyed before the birth of Christ, as *Lactantius* approueth. And say moreouer (of the clues) that they said, *That he shall raise the dead; The lame & impotent shall walke and runne soundly; the deafe shall heare; the blind shall see; the dumbe shall speake plainly.* A little farther is added, *With five loanes & two shes, hee shall feede five thousand men in the wilderness: and that which remaineth, shal serue for satisfaction to the hope of manie.* Thus saue for the first *Sibylla*.

The second, they say, was a Native of *Libia*, and therefore named *Sibylla Libica*. Of her is large mention by *Enripides* in his Prologue called *Lamia*.

The third named her selfe *Thomis*, and was surnamed *Delphica*, in regard that shee was borne at *Delphos*. Other speaketh *Christippus*, in his booke of *Diuination*: that this woman (according to *Pliny*) the *Romanes* made a Statue vnto, and shee liued before the destruction of *Troy*: so that *Hommer* had set downe in his works, manie verses concerning her. *Piodorus Siculus* saith, that shee was called *Daphne*, and was daughter to *Titeius*, and that the *Argiues* hauing subdued *Thebes*, they sent her to *Delphos*, where afterward shee became a Prophetesse in the oracle of *Apollos*, so that (according to his relation) in that respect shee was called *Delphica*.

The fourth was named *Cumaea*, or *Italiana*, & not *Cumana* *Amalthea*, of whom we shall haue cause to speake anon. Shee was a native of *Cimeria*, a City of *Campania*, nere to *Cuma*. Her learned and iudicious Prophetesies, are written by *Neuius* in the *Punicke* Bookes, and by *Pisanius* in his *Annales*, and referred by *Lactantius*, and by *Virgil* in his *Eglogue*, which beginneth *Sicelides musa*, &c.

The fift was that so famously remembred *Sibylla Erythraea*, who so clearly (by Gods assistance) prophesied the greater part of our Religion. V wherefore as *Lactantius* sayeth, *In times lowe since, those Gentiles reputed as folly, & a defect of braine,*

Her words agree with the Prophets and Evangelists.

Left Firm in diuinitie.

Sibylla Libica Enripides Prologue.

Sibylla Delphica Christippus Diuination.

Diodorus Siculus.

Sibylla Cumana or Italiana.

Neuius in his Annales.

Sibylla Erythraea.

Left Firm in diuinitie.

to take of the Sibillaes verses: because they under stood not how it might bee, that a virgin should haue a child; and other supernatural things which they wrote, being declared in Bookes of ancient Historians and Poets. *Appollodorus* writeth of this Sibilla, that the Greekes going to besiege Troy, thee prophesied in them that Troy should be destroyed. Wherefore, all those that speake of her, make her more ancient then the destruction of Troy: yet *Eusebius* maketh her more nouell, for hee would haue her liue at such time as *Romulus* lyued in Rome. And *Strabo* saith, that she liued in the time of *Alexander the Great*. The Verses of this Sibilla *Erythraa*, are recited by *Eusebius*; the first words whereof, being traduced into our language, are thus: *Iesus Christ, Son of God, the Saviour*: which is a most admirable thing to think on. The consideration of those verses, and their further addition, are set downe by *S. Augustine*, in his 18. Booke of the City of God, deliuering it in these expresse words.

The earth shall sweate, a signe of iudgement from Heauen shall come a King, who shall be King for euer: and further, known in humane flesh, to the end, that by his presence he shall iudge the world. By which means, the incredulous, as well as the faithfull shall see God with their eyes, exalted among his Saints. And in the end of the world, the souls of men shall appeare in their owne flesh, and hee shall iudge them himselfe, when the rounditie of the incultured earth, shall be full of clouds of dust and grasse. Deen shall cast away Idols and Images, and all their Jewels and riches. Hee shall penetrate the inferiour parts, and breake the gates of the darkest hell. Then shall fyre and cleare light be giuen to the Saints, & the flame of eternal fire shall burne the Wicked. All secrets shall be discovered, every man shall be knowne of his companion: and God shall discover the Consciences and hearts of all. There shall be weeping and gnawing of teeth, and the Sunne and the Starrs shall bee darkened: the heauens shall breake, and the Moone lose her light; the mountains shall be humbled, and the valleys made equal with the hills. There shall not be any thing in the world that shall be higher or lower one then another: mountains and valleys shall be euen and plain, & all things shall siml. The earth shall be dried, and conuered to dust, Wells, Springs, and riuers shall burne, and with the same fire shall

the earth, sea, and ayre, be burned all. Then from heauen shall sound a Trumpet, with a dreadfull and horrible sound, and the earth in opening, shall discover the darkenesse and confusion of hell, and the paines & torments of the miserable damned.

These things, and many more besides, are spoken of this Sibilla in those Verses, declaring clearly Christ God incarnate, with the last iudgement, and resurrection of the dead. Now these things, before they came to passe, were no way intelligible; & that was the reason, why the Ethnicks and Gentiles might holde them to be follies and mockeries. In like manner, this Sibilla *Erythraa*, knowing well that which should happen, concerning her owne selfe, spake these words: *They will repute me for a blind & mocking prophesesse. Neuerthelesse, when those things which I speak shall be accomplished and verified, they will remember me, and no more tearme me a liar, but a Prophetes of the Great God.*

The Romans had great store of the verses written by this Sibilla *Erythraa*, whereof *Fenestella* speaketh more at large, and saith: That by a decree of the Senate, they sent Ambassadors vnto her, in regard of her Propheties: and that they brought backe great store of her verses, which they laid up in the Capitoll, with them which they had before. She was borne in *Erythra* in Ionia, a Prouince of the lesser Asia, and abutting vpon Caria: this I relate the rather, because there are found many other Cities to be of that name; as one in *Lybia*, another in *Bactria*, another in *Loeria*, and another in the Isle of *Cyprus*. But that shee was of that *Erythra* in Ionia, *Strabo* is my Author, and saith, That it hath a Port on the sea, nere to a Mountaine.

Another Sibilla, being the sixte, was borne in a place named *Phiton*, in the Isle of *Samos*, which is in the *Aegean* sea, nere to *Thrace*: or else in the other Isle of *Samos* in the same sea, and opposite against *Ephesus*, for which cause, shee was called *Sibilla Samia*, of whom further mention is made by *Erastus*.

The seauenth in order, is *Sibilla Cumana*, named *Amalthaea*; others call her *Demophila*; and *Suidas* tearmeth her *Hierophila*. Shee was called *Cumana*, because shee dwelt and prophesied in the Citie of *Cuma* in Italy, a Prouince of *Campania*, nere vnto \* *Bula*. Of this woman

Appollodorus lib. diuina.

Eusebius in Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 3.

Aug. in lib. 18. de Civitate dei.

The prophetes of Sibilla Erythraa.

Sibilla Erythraa, her prophetes of her selfe.

Fenestella lib. 4. de For.

\* A City in Asia nere vnto Caria.

Strabo in lib. 11.

Sibilla Samia Erastus.

Sibilla Cumana.

\* A pleasant City in Campaniam on the Sea side.

Nine Bookes brought to Tarquinus Superbus to be sold by this Sibilla Cumana.

Plin in lib. 9. cap. 4.

Met. 1. vnto in lib. 9. cap. 14.

Fenestella in lib. 4. de For.

Virgil in Aen. lib. 6.

man writeth *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Solinus*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Seruius*. This Sibilla brought to sell to *Tarquinus*, the proud King of Rome, nine fucral bookes; neuerthelesse, *Suidas* saith, that it was *Tarquinus Priscus*. For which Bookes, shee demanded three hundred peeces of gold, more then of great value: but because the price seemed excessive to the king, he would not buy them. Whereupon, shee burned three of them in his presence, and yet demanded the same summe for the fix that remained. Then the King thought her motion to be more impertinent then the former, and seemed to mocke her: whereupon shee burned three more of the fixe, and told him, that shee had but three left of the nine, and yet he should giue her as much for those three, as if hee had bought them all. The King being amazed at this her confident determination, and conceiuing (by good aduice) that those Bookes must needs containe some extraordinary great mysteries; bought the three at that price, which formerly shee demanded for them all, and those Bookes were placed in the Capitoll, where they were held in foueraigne reuerence & veneration.

*Pliny* saith, that shee had but 3 Bookes in all, and that shee burned two of them, & yet would haue as much for that one, as for all the three. But it sufficeth, that those Bookes were kept in great reputation, with them that the Romanes had of the other Sibillaes. For as *Marcus Varro* reporteth from *Lactantius*; the Romanes bestowed great cost and paines, in searching all Cities and Townes of Greece, Asia, and Italy, and brought to Rome all the Verses & Propheties, that could bee recovered of the Sibillaes, especially those of *Sibilla Erythraa*, for the care and safe keeping of which Bookes, fifteene men were particularly appointed, and none other but they might touch them. *Fenestella* sayeth, that when the Capitoll was burnt, the Senate sent againe to entreate *Sibilla Erythraa*, to helpe them in those Bookes. In which respect it is to bee presumed, that they had not at Rome the Bookes of *Sibilla Cumana* only, but likewise al the rest. And that *Sibilla*, whereof *Virgil* maketh mention in the beginning of his 6 Booke, who kept her selfe at *Cuma*, where (he sayeth) *Aeneas* tooke shipping, must needs

be the other *Cumaea*, whereof we haue already spoken. For it can be no way likely, that *Virgil* should suppose a *Sibilla*, at such time as *Aeneas* entred into Italy, nor that shee liued till the fixt King of Rome. Beside, *Seruius* interprets the same passage, saying, Or else it must needs be, that shee who sold the Bookes, was named *Cumana*, although it was not her name, and yet notwithstanding, shee dyed in that City.

The eight Sibilla, is said to be a native in the Territory of Troy, in a place named *Marmisa*, and this woman is reputed to be very ancient. For \* *Heracles Ponticus* saith, that shee liued in the time of *Solon* the Philosopher, and of the great King *Cyrus*.

The ninth Sibilla, diuers Authors doe report to be of the Country of *Phrygia*, and that shee prophesied in the City of *Ancyra*; of which name were two Cities, one in *Phrygia*, and the other in *Galatia*.

The tenth Sibilla, named her selfe *Albunea*, was borne in the City of \* *Tibur*, which standing fixteene miles distant from Rome, shee therefore was tearmed *Sibilla Tiburtina*.

Now, all these Sibillaes left many Bookes and Verses, wherein they prophesied of things that were to come, & principally of the fortunes of Rome, were they good or bad: so that in all important affaires, the Romanes would diligently search, and turne ouer the leaues of the Sibilla Bookes, and order their gouernment wholly by them. And in the same manner, as when wee would haue our speeches credited, wee vfe to say, this is Gospel: so would they say, these are the words of *Sibilla*; such was their credite & account among them. And for this cause *Iuuenall* saith,

*Credite me vobis solum recitare Sibilla.*

Heereupon some said, that the Sibillaes gaue their answers, written vpon leaues of Trees, as *Virgil* witnesseth in his fixt Booke. *Cicero* speaketh of those Sibillaes with great reuerence, saying: As wee haue formerly done, euen so from the capital Letters of their Verses, we may deriue, great, good, and gracious sentences.

Among many other things, they haue spoken much of Christian Religion, concerning the birth, life, and death of *Iesus Christ*, as we haue already declared. *Sibilla*

Seruius in lib. 1. cap. 9.

Sibilla Halicarnassensis.

\* Hee was schooller to Plato and Aristotle.

\* A City of the Sabines 10 miles from Rome.

The Romanes esteeme of the Sibilla Bookes.

Iuuenall, Virgil in Aen. lib. 6.

Cicero in Diuinal. lib. 2.

Diuers Prophetes concerning Christ.



*bellis Delphica* said, *The Prophet shall be borne of a Virgin, without any fleshly copulation.* Another said: *Hee that is to come, shall come, and shall reigne in poverty, concealing his Sovereignty, and shall come from the wombe of a Virgin.* And *Iosephus* (although he was a Jew by race and profession) speaking of the Tower of *Babylon*, hath these words. *Sithilla well remembred it, when she said thus. As such as men having but one Language, some of them shall build a very high Tower, as if thereby they would mount up to Heaven: God shall (even then) send great winds to destroy it, and divers Languages shall happen among the workmen, and therefore is the Tower named Babylon.*

These things, and others such like, were written by the *Sibyllas*, and acknowledged both by Christians, Jewes, and Gentiles, which the Gentiles (for their finnes) scarcely understood. But it fell out well for christians afterward, into whose hands these Bookes came, as *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Augustine*: the knowledge of which Bookes, or the least part of their Prophecies greatly confirmed the Christian, and quite confounded the Pagane and Gentile. There is report made of some other, who were also named *Sibyllas*, because they were reputed to be Diuiners and Prophetesses: as *Cassandra*, the daughter of King *Priamus*, and *Campusia Celophasia*, the daughter of *Calcas*, and *Mima Ierusalonica*, daughter to *Tiresias* the *Theban*; neuertheless, Historians speake onely but of these ten.

## CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Seuen Maruailes and Wonders of the World, what they were; also in what severall parts and places of the World they are remembered to bee by grauest Writers.

Such as haue read ancient Historians, Orators, and Poets, do finde, that they make mention in many of their Bookes, of 7 Maruailes or Wonders of the World, and that they were in diuers places. All they that haue written, do consent to fix, but concerning the seuenth, there are variable opinions, and likewise a great difference,

in placing one before another. Notwithstanding, I purpose to speake first of the walles of *Babylon*, which are ranked in the number of these Wonders, & vpon good reason, because the greatnesse of the place, as also the situation thereof, seemeth incredible.

In our former Volume, and in the Chapter of the diuersity of Languages, wee haue sufficiently declared, that they were founded in the same place, whereas *Nimrod* builded the Tower of *Babel*, and whereof the City tooke name. Concerning those walles, according to the foudest opinions, namely *Iustine*, and also as *Tragus Pompeius* saith, they were founded by the famous Queene *Semiramis*, Mother to *Ninus*. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Antoninus Marcellinus*, and *Paulus Orosius* doe maintaine the same, with the greater part of our Gentile Authors. Neuertheless, *S. Augustine* and *Iosephus* in his Antiquities say, that they were builded by *Nimrod*, assisted by the proud Gyants then liuing. But bee it, that the foundation or reparation of them was done by *Semiramis*; it is sufficient, that they were greatly ennobled by her.

The situation of the City was with a Plaine on the one side, and on the other ran the River of *Euphrates*. The modelle & figure of this City, was in a quadrangle, and the walles wonderfully high, as also wrought with maruailes cunning. The matter was of stone, ioynted with Lime & Ciment, growing in the Mines of that Country; but especially in the great Lake of *Indea*, where sometime flood *Sodeme* & *Gomarrha*, named *Alphalidia*, which yielded such a kinde of lime or mud, as bindeth like Pitch or Glue, the very strongest that is to be found. Historians do disagree about the height and largenes of the circuit, which might happen, through the diuersity of the measures they then used. *Pliny* saith, that the circuit of those walles was threecore thousand paces, so that one of the squares was fiftene thousand. He also saith, that they were two hundred foote in height, which foote exceeded by three fingers breadth, the measure of the Romane foote: and the thicknesse was fifty foote of the same measure, which was (indeed) a matter very admirable.

*Diodorus Siculus* saith, that the wals contained in all round about 360 Stades, and that

The first wonder of the world.

A reference to the first volume of this work.

*Iustinus Hist. ad 1. c. 1.*

*Tragus Pompeius in 1. c. 1.*

*Diodorus Siculus in 1. c. 1.*

*Antoninus Marcellinus in 1. c. 1.*

*Paulus Orosius in 1. c. 1.*

*S. Augustinus in 1. c. 1.*

*Iosephus in 1. c. 1.*

*Plinius in 1. c. 1.*

*Strabo in 1. c. 1.*

*Herodotus in 1. c. 1.*

*Thucydides in 1. c. 1.*

*Xenophon in 1. c. 1.*

*Cicero in 1. c. 1.*

*Seneca in 1. c. 1.*

*Lucian in 1. c. 1.*

*Plutarchus in 1. c. 1.*

*Appianus in 1. c. 1.*

*Florus in 1. c. 1.*

*Suetonius in 1. c. 1.*

*Julianus in 1. c. 1.*

*Cassiodorus in 1. c. 1.*

*Gregorius in 1. c. 1.*

*Isidorus in 1. c. 1.*

*Idem in 1. c. 1.*

*Idem in 1. c. 1.*

A Stades is reputed to be 1200 paces.

Three hundred thousand men set on worke daily.

*Paulus Orosius in 1. c. 1.*

*Strabo in 1. c. 1.*

*Herodotus in 1. c. 1.*

*Thucydides in 1. c. 1.*

*Xenophon in 1. c. 1.*

*Cicero in 1. c. 1.*

*Seneca in 1. c. 1.*

*Lucian in 1. c. 1.*

*Plutarchus in 1. c. 1.*

*Appianus in 1. c. 1.*

*Florus in 1. c. 1.*

*Suetonius in 1. c. 1.*

*Julianus in 1. c. 1.*

*Cassiodorus in 1. c. 1.*

that they were so broad and wide, as fixe Chariots might easily be trained in front together, without offending one another. The Bridges, the Mounts, the Towers, & the Gardens, *Semiramis* caused to be made, which were works of great astonishment. It is credibly set downe in Records, that shee kept daily at this worke, three hundred thousand men, out of all the kingdoms which were subiect to her. *Quintus Curtius* addeth thereto eight Stades more in length, and saith, that they were an hundred cubites high: but *Paulus Orosius* saith, that they were 480 Stades in length, which amount (taking six score & five paces in euery Stade) to threecore thousand paces, as *Pliny* said. *Strabo* saith and affirmeth, that they contained three hundred, eighty five Stades, and also that they were so broad, as the former named Chariots might in that manner goe on them, and yet not hurt or hinder one another, in their passing along together.

Moreover, Authors doe report maruaileous things, of Gardens made vpon the Arches and Towres, wherein grew Trees of vne measurable height. *Julius Solinus* confirms the same with *Pliny*. Some among the Authors do auouch, that the walles without, were engirt with Ditches full of water, as large and deepe as an indifferent wide River. In this City there were an hundred Gates of mettall, very admirable. And for conclusion, all that is written of the greatnesse and height of the walles, may well be credited, because (in truth) this City was the proudest in the whole world, and long time held the vniuersall Monarchy, which is an especial argument of her greatnesse. And the same is also described by *Aristotle*, when he saith: *That being once taken with enemies, they that dwell at the one end or side of the City, had no aduertisement thereof, till three whole daies space after.*

The second place of the worlds wonders, we giue to the Colossus of the Sun, which was at *Rhodes*. It was a Statue or Figure of a man, offered by the Gentiles, and dedicated to the Sunne, and some say to *Iupiter*. It was made of mettall, of an incredible greatnesse, and in height also like a huge Tower: so that it could hardly be imagined, how it was made and raised in that manner. *Pliny*, who discouereth all things, saith, that it contained three

score and ten cubites in height, and although at the making of it, there were many good workmen continually labouring, yet were they twelve years before it could be perfected, and it cost three hundred Talents. He that vndertooke the workmanship thereof, was named *Cares*, an Indian by birth, and Scholler to *Lysippus*.

This Statue was so immeasurably great, as it seemed, that the earth could not any longer sustaine it, because according to *Pliny* and *Paulus Orosius*, it stood not above fixe and fifty yeares: at the end of which time it fell, by reason of a great quaking and trembling of the earth. After which fall, and namely in the time of *Pliny*, many went to see it as a thing to wonder at. For, saith he, there were few men found, that could embrace the great fingers of this Statue: so that the very least of his fingers, was greater then any other Statues, how great euer. And yet he speaketh of an hundred other Colosses of meaner stature, which were also at *Rhodes*. But that is nothing to our purpose, except some one be desirous to say, that in regard of this great one, and the other lesser, the *Rhodiens* thereon were called *Colossenses* or *Colossians*. But that opinion is not approved by *Eratosthenes*, for he saith: *That those Colossians to whom S. Paul wrote, were people of a City in Phrygia, named Colossae.*

Returning then againe to our wonderfull Colossus, I say that it lay there ruined a very long time, euen till the dayes of Pope *Martin* the first, which was in the yeare fixe hundred, when the Infidels, and the Soldane of Egypt their Captaine, came vpon the *Rhodiens*, and according as *Platina* writeth in the life of Pope *Martin*, and *Antoninus Sabellicus*, in the third part of his Booke: they carried away that which they found of the reliques of this Colossus, and they finde nine hundred Camels to be laden with the mettall. Of other Colosses that were at *Rhodes*, and in other places, nothing so great, we purpose not to speake, because our present aime is at the seuen Wonders of the world onely.

In the third place, wee determine the Pyramides of Egypt, and vndoubtedly, if that be true which Historians haue written of them, they are things deferring admiration.

A notable Carver of Sicyon.

*Paulus Orosius in 1. c. 1.*

*Pliny in 1. c. 1.*

*Strabo in 1. c. 1.*

A fruitfull obiectiō answered by Erasmus.

A Towne of Phrygia, not farre from Laodicea.

*Platina in vit. Martini cap. 1. in Sabellicus in lib. 3.*

The third wonder of the world.



The Pyramids  
as they are

miration. These Pyramids were certaine buildings, which began beneath in quadrangle forme, and so rose vp (in a diminishing manner) a huge height, in the shape of a painted Diamond. And yet notwithstanding, they were of such greatnesse and taulnesse, consisting of such and so many stones, as also wrought with such perfection, as it is no easie matter to describe them, neyther to winne credible opinion of them. And yet (me-thinks) things so sufficiently authorized, by Authors both Chritians and Gentiles, men well esteemed and approued; their credence is no rashly to be slighted or denied. These Pyramids then are as very high towers, finishing in a spire or sharp point, and the etimology of the word cometh of *Py* in Greeke, as much to say, as fire, because it seemeth, that the height cometh to lessen and fayle, like as a flame of fire doth.

Among all other Pyramids, Historians make particular mention of 3 which were in Egypt, betwene the City of *Momphe*, which is now the *Cayre*, and the Ile that maketh or createth *Nilus*, named *Delta*, one of which is ranked among the seuen wonders. For it is said, that to the making thereof, there were continually employed three hundred and threecore thousand men, and the work lasted twenty whole yeares. Many do affirme it, and particularly *Pliny* in speaking more amply, alledging twelue authors for his warrant, as *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Herodotus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and many more, whereof some say, that the foundation and ground-work of this Pyramid, couered and contained eyght dayes journey of ground: others say leauen, and most agree on fixe, and as many (little more or lesse) in the height. *Pliny* saith, that each quadrangle or square contained 883 foote in bredth. The stones were of Marble, brought out of *Arabia*, and *Pomponius Mela* maintaineth, that the most part of them were thirty foote in largenesse. Wherby may be gathered, that so many thousand men must needs be busied, some in cutting and squaring those stones, others in bringing and carrying them, and other in laying them, beside the mighty multitudes, employed for fetching them so far off, and about other necessary occasions.

Of the other Pyramids the like is spoken, at least of the other two fore-named, one whereof was made by the vanity of the Kings of Egypt, who were the very richest in all the world: as well by the fruitfulness of the earth, as in regard also, that no man possessed any thing in proper, but only the King. Beside, after such time as *Ioseph* the Sonne of *Isaac*, aduised *Pharaoh*, to preferne the Corne in seuen yeares abundance, as prouision for the time of famine: during which space, by meanes of that Corne he had all the Lands of his people. Thus you see how the Kings became rich, and were serued by their subiects, even as if they had bene their slaues. And Historians do faithfully report, that the Kings caused those Pyramids to be builded, onely to feed their people that labored about it, and because they should leaue no wealth to their successors. For they affected rather, to dispenlein this manner with their people, then that any of their heyres should attaine the meanes to exceed the decaified by their goods and money.

I finde it recorded also, that those Pyramids serued for Sepulchers to their Kings. And whosoever doth well consider the multitude of hebrew people that serued in Egypt, and by whom the Kings made their Cities and Fortresses to be builded, will not be much amazed hereat, in regard that it is very certaine, that fixe hundred thousand men on foote, beside a great multitude of womyn & small children, departed out of that seruitude, and that all of them were employed, and serued in those wonderfull works. Wherby it is no meruaile at all, that such buildings should be made; for good Authors do auouch, that in Rootes, Garlike, and Onions, to sustaine the multitude of workers, there were dispenfed 18 hundred Talents, which at the rate (now adayes viced) is a million and foure-score thousand Crownes. *Diodorus* saith that round about it, and a large compasse also somewhat farre off, there was not to be seene the very smallest stone, neyther apparence that any man had trodden there, nor any signe of a foundation; but onely Sand, as small as the finest Sale. Wherby it seemed, as if that Pyramid had bene planted there by Gods owne hand, or to haue growne so naturally, and the top appeared

The Kings of  
Egypt the  
chief of the  
world.The reason of  
building these  
Pyramids.Those Pyramids  
were  
Sepulchers  
for their  
Kings.In what man-  
ner the work-  
men were fed.Diodorus Siculus  
lib. 1. cap. 1.The Pyramids  
are the  
wonder of  
the world.Plinius lib. 36.  
cap. 18.  
Diodorus Siculus  
lib. 1.  
Strabo lib. 17.  
Pomponius Mela  
lib. 2.  
Herodotus lib. 2.  
Ammianus Marcellinus  
lib. 22.The bredth  
of every  
square.Three hun-  
dred & thirce  
score thou-  
sand men em-  
ployed dayly,  
twenty yeares  
space.

red to touch heauen.

If we set aside those ancient Bookes, we shal yet finde testimonies of our owne times. *Peter Martyr of Millaine*, a very learned man, who was Ambassadour for the Kings Catholique, *Don Ferdinand*, & *Dame Isabella*, to the Soldane of Egypt, in the year 1501. wrote a Booke of what he had seene and done in his Ambassage. There he declareth, (as he did the like by word of mouth) that hee had seene those Pyramids, & agreed with that which those ancient Authours had written of them. Particularly, he speaketh of two seene by him, which were of incredible height, and saith, that he measured the square of one, finding it to be 315. paces, so that it contained about thirteen hundred in circuit, and on each side very huge stones made vp the buildings. Moreover he saith, that certaine men in his company, ascended vp one of them, with very great labour, & long space of time, and they declared to him, that on the toppe of all (as we viced to say) there was one stone wholly of it selfe, so great, as thirty men might easily stand vpon it. And when they were about, they said, they seemed as if they had lost their sight, and onely with looking downward, and tooke themselves to bee in a Cloud, such was the extremity of height, their braines being much troubled, and turned vpside-downe. So that (saith hee) there neede no doubt at all be made, concerning the great number of people employed, and the expences spoken of, in doing those works.

The fourth Meruaile or VVonder, was the *Maufolaa*. *Artemisia* was wife to *Maufolus*, King of *Caria*, a Province in the greater *Asia*. This woman (according to *Aulus Gellius*, and other historians) so dearly affected her husband, as it was generally recorded for a most notable example. Her husband the king dying first, she lamented his death with teares and complaints, more then were of ordinary custome. Needs would she erect a Toombe or Sepulcher for him, answerable to the extraordinary loue she bare him; and such (indeede) it proued to be, that it was recorded among the seuen wonders of the world. The stone of the whole constructure, was of a most excellent Marble, consisting of foure hun-

dred and eleuen foote in circuite about, and five and twenty cubites in height: it had also about it, fixe and twenty Colombs of admirable stone, and likewise of as famous sculpture.

The building was open on all sides, with Arches of seuentie three foote in widenesse: and it was framed by the hands of the most exquisite workmen then to be found. The part towards the East, was made & engrauen by *Scopas*; that on the North, by *Briax*; the South side by *Timotheus*, and that on the West, by *Leochares*. The perfection of the work was such, and that on the whole body so sumptuous & beautifull, as partly it was therefore called *Maufolaa*, and in regard also of the king, for whom it was made: so that euen to this very day, when any Toombes of such superficial Arte are made, they are called *Maufolaa*. Of these things mention is made by *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Herodotus*: *Strabo* also remembreth them, so doth *Aulus Gellius*, and many other historians. It is found written, that *Artemisia*, after the death of her husband, liued in continuall teares and mourning, and that she dyed before the worke could be fully finished: having drunke the bones of her husband, beate into powder, which she burned and buried in her owne body, that it might be the Sepulcher for his.

THE fifth Edifice of these VVonders, was the Temple of *Diana*, whom the Gentiles adored as a Goddess, and it was builded in the City of *Ephesus* in *Asia*, in the Prouince of *Ionia*. Of this Temple, great speech was made throughout the world: so that one named *Demetrius*, wrote a particular Booke thereof. *Pliny* writing of this Temple, saith that the *Amazones* caused it to be builded, and that it contained foure hundred and five and twenty foote in length, and two hundred and twenty in largenesse. The worke was so admirably artificiall, that it had 240 yeares to the perfecting. It was built in a Lake, to preuent the peril of earthquakes; and it is said withall, that on the foundation was laide great store of coale-dust, & wooll thereupon, the better to make firm and sure the moist and marshy place. It had an hundred and seuen Colombs or Pillars of most excellent Marble, & each of them was made by all the Kings of *Asia*:

What famous  
workmen made  
the Toombe,  
such as the  
world as then  
had not their  
like.Plinius lib. 35.  
cap. 1.  
Pomponius Mela  
lib. 2.  
Herodotus lib. 1.  
Strabo lib. 17.  
Aulus Gellius  
lib. 2.The fifth Won-  
der of the  
world.  
The Temple  
of Diana at  
Ephesus.Plinius lib. 36.  
cap. 34.The founda-  
tion of the  
Temple.

first: thirty seven of them were of most curious cunning and sculpture, and all the other of the choysell Marble.

The principall Masters of this worke, according to *Pliny*, was *Dreiphon*: but beleeving *Strabo*, it was *Archiphron*. Notwithstanding, this diuersity of opinion is sufferable, considering what length of time the businesse lasted: and therefore there must needs be more then one Master, especially for so many performances & varieties, in the diuersity of such times and intelligence. *Solinus* and *Pomponius Mela* say, that the *Amazons* builded & dedicated this Temple: and yet *Solinus* affirmeth, that when the mighty King *Xerxes* went to the conquest of Greece, & that he burned all the Temples; yet hee referred this only still standing. All Historians do consent with one accord, that the Pillars of this Temple supported the planked feeling of wood, the most excellently wrought that could be deuised, and that this whole couering was of Cedar, and all the doores and wainscotted works were of Cipres.

Yet afterward, a villaine seeing this solemn and ioueraigne building, conceived a lewd desire to burne it, as (indeed) he did. And being taken for the fact, confessed, that he did it to no other ende, but to leave a famous renouwe of his deed to the world. Wherefore *Valerius Maximus*, in his titles of desire of renouwe, and *Iulius Gellius* affirmeth also, that it was prohibited (vnder greuous penalty) that any man should doe so much as write his name, because he should verily lose the fame and renouwe, which he so earnestly affected. Yet all this serued to slender purpose, for *Solinus* and *Strabo* both say, that he was named *Herostratus*, and that when any came vp the vniuersal Prouerbe, that when any man would strive to be famous for some vicious deed; people would commonly say; *This is the renouwe of Herostratus*.

To speake yet of some other memorable matters to this purpose, it deserueth some respect to remember, that the very same day as the Temple was burning, *Alexander* the Great was borne, the Conquerour of all *Asia*; hereof are Authors, *Plutarch* in the life of *Alexander*, and *Cicero*, in his second booke of the Gods nature, where he speaketh it in two places,

and likewise in his booke of divination. Further he saith, that while the Temple burned, the Sages prognosticated the destruction of all *Asia*; even as afterward it was overcome by *Alexander*. Some do write, that this Temple was built againe afterward, in much more great and excellent manner then before, and that the Master of the worke was named *Democritus*.

THE sixt Wonder, was the Idoll or Image of *Jupiter Olympus*, which was in his Temple in *Achaia*, betwene the Cities of *Elis* and *Pisa*: and the place was named *Olympus*, as also the Temple, in regard of *Jupiter Olympus*, of whom write both *Strabo* and *Pomponius Mela*. They maintaine, that this Statue or Image, which stood in the Temple, was much renowned, as well for artificial perfection and admirable workmanship, as also for the greatnesse thereof. It was made of Porphyry, some say of Ivory, and by the hand of *Phidias*, the most excellent Carver and Engraver for Imagery (in Gold or Luory) that euer was; albeit *Pliny* nameth diuers other. *Strabo* saith, that the excellency thereof consisted in the greatnesse, and yet the matter which made it more admirable, was in being wrought of Porphyry, knit and vnited together of infinite small peeces.

Some say, that *Phidias* was taxed with one onely imperfection, to wit, that hee had not proportioned the Image to the capacity of the Temple, because hee had made it sitting, and so great, as when due consideration was made, what the height thereof would haue bene, if he had made him standing vpright on his feet, the temple had no way bene able to haue contained him.

Neuertheless, the renouwe of this Image did most highly illustrate the place, and made the Temple more knowne, then otherwise it would haue bene, although it was formerly held in great esteeme, by reason that in the very same place, were kept the sports and wrastlings called *Olympian*. And thence it came, that the yeares were counted by *Olympiades*, which they made from five yeares to five yeares: which pastimes were first instituted by *Hercules*, and afterward being left off, they were againe re-established by *Demetrius*, but according

The 6<sup>th</sup> Wonder of the world. The Image of Jupiter Olympus.

Strabo lib. 8. Pomponius Mela lib. 2.

Plin. lib. 35. cap. 36.

The place where the Olympian games were kept, being situated in a mountain, with a temple of Jupiter, and a city called Olympia.

cording to some Authours) by *Sphiron*, foure or five yeares after the destruction of *Troy*, especially according to *Eusebius*, and then began the yeare of the first *Olympiade*.

Now concerning the seventh Wonder, some say, that it was a Tower which stood in the Isle of *Pharos*, neere to the City of *Alexandria* in Egypt. *Pharos* was a small Island, long and narrow, seated on the coast of Egypt, ouer against the mouth of *Niles*, which in former time (according to *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny*) was wholly (as it were) engirt with firme Land, and afterward in the times of these Authours, the Sea embraced this firm land, excepting only a Bridge, whereby men went from the one place to the other. In the firme land is the great City of *Alexandria*, builded by *Alexander* the Great; which City was afterward a Colony of *Iulius Caesar*. In this Isle (named *Pharos*, after the name of a great Pilot, which belonged to *Menelaus*, and was there buried) the Kings of Egypt erected a Tower of Marble, maruallous in height and cunning workmanship, vpon a Mountain enuironed with water: the artificial performance of which Tower was such, that it cost 800. Talents, which value foure hundred and fourescore thousand Crownes, after the computation of *Budans*. And it was builded for no other purpose, but to set vp (in the night time) a lighted fire thereon, Beacon-wise, to guide and direct such Ships as came to take landing there: and this Tower, according to the greatest opinions, was erected by King *Ptolemaeus Philadelphus*, and the Master Architect that made it, was named *Sistratus*, which is confirmed to vs by *Pliny*.

*Caesar* in his Commentaries, highly praiseth the height and workmanship of this Tower; and saith, that it was also called *Pharos*, as taking name of the Island. As much saith *Ammianus Marcellinus*, declaring the history of this Tower. Also *Solinus* in his *Polyhistor*, in the ende of his 34 Chapter saith, that all the Towers which were afterward made, and for the like occasion, each of them was named *Pharos*, after the name of this, as was the *Pharos* of *Messina*, and in other places. And I am of the minde, that the kindled fires or lights, which are ordinarily carried in Ships, as guides to other in the night, vpon

pon this occasion are called *Pharoses*.

Thus this Tower is the last of the wonders, although (by diuers) it is not named in their number, but in stead thereof, the hanging gardens of *Babylon* are reckoned, wherof we haue already spoken. *Lactantius Firmianus* confirmeth it, and saith, that these gardens were vpon Arches & Towers, yet sheluing downward, admirable for great Trees in no meane abundance, and great store of Fountains: the forme of this building is amply described by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Cassius Rhodiginus*, discoursing on the seven Wonders of the world, doth not infer this Tower of *Pharos*; but the Obelisque of *Semiramis*, which was made after the same structure and forme of a Pyramid, for it began so in a quadrangle, and finished vpward in a point, and there was no difference betwene an Obeliske and a Pyramid; but that the Obeliske was all of one entire peece, and therefore of no such height as the Pyramids. I finde it written, that some of them haue bin great, like Towers, and of a very goodly stone. There is one now at Rome, nam'd a Needle, which was brought out of Egypt; and it is admirable, to see the greatnes thereof, as also to iudge how it was created thither. Concerning the Obeliske of *Semiramis*, wherof *Cassius* reporteth, and nameth it in the number of the 7 Wonders: he findeth it credibly auouched, that it was an 150. foot in height, and 24. foote square in a quadrangle, so that the whole circuite was 90. foote, and this Stone was so taken whole, out of the Mountaines of *Armenia*, & by the command of *Semiramis*, brought into *Chaldean Babylon*. But in truth, when due consideration is made, how it should be taken out of the Quarry, brought thence, and erected vp on end: it might appeare a matter incredible, if Antiquity had not yielded things as strange, and certified to vs by Authours, well deseruing beleefe, yea, and of other great Obelisks, made by the Kings of Egypt. *Pliny* describeth how they are fetcht forth of their Quarries. Of the Pyramids, Obelisks, Statues, & Colosses, mention is made by *Polybius*, in y beginning of his Booke, call'd *Hypnerotomachia*. Therefore I need not to make any further relation of them, fearing I haue offended already, by presuming ouer-farre vpon your patience, in what hath bin said, concerning these 7 Wonders of the world.

Q. CHAP.

The seventh Wonder of the world. The Tower of Pharos.

Pomponius Mela lib. 2. cap. 7.

How the life came to be called Pharos.

\*He also made a goodly Library, which contained 70000. Booke.

Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 13.

Solinus in cap. 34.

The hanging Gardens of Babylon. Lactantius Firmianus lib. 1. De moribus.

Diodorus Siculus lib. 2. Cassius Rhodiginus lib. 3.

The Obeliske of Semiramis.

Cassius Necessarius lib. 1. De moribus.

The height of Semiramis Obeliske, and the squareness.

Plin. lib. 2. cap. 8. & 9.

Polybius in lib. Hypnerotomachia.

CHAP. VIII. The Oration of *Antipater*, the Father to *Herod*, which he made before *Cæsar*, standing accused, for following *Pompeys* part.

## THE ARGUMENT.

After that *Pompey* had bin vanquished by *Cæsar*, he was massacred in *Egypt*, by them whose lives he had sometime saved. *Antigonus* the Jew, aspiring to the Royalty, accused (before *Cæsar*) *Antipater* the Idumæan, to have served and favoured *Pompey* in his enterprises. And that he had done no matter of service in *Egypt*, which could be interpreted for *Cæsar*, but rather for the succour of *Michridates*, and to cover his fault committed in following *Pompey*. But *Antipater*, for the better appearance of his good services, renting off his garments, shewed what wounds he had received in the service of *Cæsar*, and suddenly accompanied this scarry testimony, with these words ensuing.

**B**Ehold heere assured and certain witnesses, of my hatred against *Cæsar*, these wounds so apparant, and which are shining markes of my foules conceptions, to speak & defend the poore accused criminal. I offer to thee (*Lord Cæsar*) these wounds, aspledges of that affection which lies hidden in my heart, and wherof I make you a liberrall present. These are the gages of my faith, and this is an obligation written in my heart, and which will remaine engraven heere all my life time. If you will not please to credite my fellowes in Armes, nor to listen to the of my Nation; let it be demanded of mine enemies, and know from them, for whose sake I have received all these wounds. And what is the reason that I am thus pursued; but because I have bin noted loyally affected, in offering you my faithfull service.

I vnderstand and perceiue, that mine enemy reprocheth me with friendship to *Pompey*, and fixeth before his owne eyes, that I have favoured his cause. I confesse (*Lord Cæsar*) I confesse, that I haue bin a friend, not to men, but to the *Romane* name; and that neuer my desires were elsewhere addicted, nor my duty & diligence any way applied, but only in doing my most humble seruice to the Senate and people of *Rome*. I haue then borne Arms, not for a *Romane*, neither for his particular profite, but for the seruice of all. And let the case be admitted, that *Pompey* was acceptable to me, that I carried his cause, and maintained his quarrell; wherein am I therefore to be blamed? Hee was long time (before) my friend, that hee had war with you, or any discord grew betweene him and *Cæsar*. Moreouer (my Lord) he was your Kinsman, and you were his Father in law. He being in *Iudea*, there was

not any particular affection (whatsoever) that made me follow him: for I assisted him, as being General of the *Roman Army*. And yet notwithstanding, I neuer hazarded my selfe so far for him, neither did he ever finde such kinde knowledge of affection in me; as (for his sake) to take so many wounds, as I haue received in serving you. It is for you that I gaue the pledges of death, and for whom I became an enemy to mine owne body, exposing it to the Darts, Arrows, and Weapons of your enemies.

But is it any matter of amazement, if a slave, nursed vp in seruitude, do not know what wounds are, nor the hazards happening in warre? Or should it offend any man, if a disloyall fugitive should be ignorant what the worth of faith is, and what honesty remains among good minded men? Who can reprove me, but this my perpetuall enemy and yours, for sayling in loue and affection to the people of *Rome*? I am astonished, how *Antigonus* should be so hardy, as daring to blame or accuse any man before the *Romans*, against who it is his custome to make war, and that he should be so impudent, to make complaint before them, as if his Realme were fratched or rauisht from him. If it were so, yet his power should not bee exercised for his greatnesse or aduancement: but only to seize on you, to assaile the *Romane Legions*, & to practise vengeance against you for his father and brother. It much amazeth me, that such a wretch, & so vnthankfull as he is, feareth not the throne of the *Romane Emperour*, but dare (euen there) oppose and pursue innocents: without remembering, that a Kinsman of his, and a companion in the crime, hath there beene punished for felony, treason, and reuolt.

THE

## THE EFFECT.

Reason appearing (in *Cæsars* iudgement) to be vpon *Antipaters* side, he iudged also for him, and gaue him the gouernment of *Iudea*. By this means hee opened him the way, to giue the *Iewish* king done to the children of the said *Antipater*, and disseized them that were of the blood *Royall*, and of the true seed of *Dauid*.

CHAP. IX. The Oration of *Herod* to his Martiall troopes, being vpon the point of fighting with the *Arabes*.

## THE ARGUMENT.

**H**erod seeing that his Army stood like men amazed, as fearing a disadvantageable success of the warre, through (I know not what) superstitious conceits, grounded vpon prodiges and tremblings of the earth, which at that time had happened, and in regard whereof, his Souldiers shewed themselves very vnwilling to fight against the *Arabes*: Hee laboured by this Oration to perswade them, that all such things are naturall, exhorting them, not to leave the victory to their enemies, for any distrust in them; and these were his words.

**T**HE forces of the enemy hauing bin enfeebled and abated by many of our aduantageable encounters, vs of fortune to vs, and transporting

them with furious despaire, yea, making them to massacre our Legates and Ambassadors: I cannot chule but meruaile, how you should be thus affrighted without any occasion. At leastwise, it were reasonable and dreadlesse, without some good foundation, to preferre accidental occasions to any euident success, when men are assured of their owne vertue and forwardnesse. We haue had some encountering with the enemy, where the *Arabes* did not turne their backs vpon vs, & yet dealt but fraudulently (as they can well do) not to vanquish, but to delay vs from the victory: which matters, as they ought to encourage ye to the fight, so you should withall consider, that as you haue felt (I know not what) weakening of hart, by some earthquakes happening, they should be no terrors at all to vs, no more then to the, who stand with vs to endure this war.

And if we would but respect, on whom the damage of this persecution is false, you should perceiue, that it is vpon the *Arabes*, constraining them to keepe themselves in the field, because they should be still before them, that far go beyond them in courage and valiancy. For I see, that they distrust their owne strength & manhood, and yet taking heart, on the hopefull ruine of our troopes, they will needs aduenture to endure the war. But alas, that is a feeble hope, which proceedeth

not from his owne proper vertue and valour, but rather dependeth vpon others misery: inso much, as there is nothing more fraile nor mutable, then are felicities and aduersities hapning to men. For the estate & condition of humane occasions, whatsoeuer ouerthrowes they chace to feele, relieth vpon a very little time, & as felicity is neuer durable; euen so aduersity can neuer bee perpetuall, and a man continueth no longer miserable, then hee had a precedent time to bee fortunate. And of all these I can giue you a goodly and most manifest example.

In the first fights, wee had the victory ouer the *Arabes*, but war taking his courle and altering the lot and fortune thereof; we were vanquished by them whom (not long before) wee surmounted and ouerthrew. Vvich therefore yeeldeth reason to beleue, that we shall againe conquer them which vanquished vs: considering, that presumption is alwayes guided by indiscretion and want of fore-sight, whereas aduised feare armeth men with prouidence, to fit themselves for following successes, and thereby to learne duty and diligence. It neuer is otherwise in the state of felicity, but that boldnesse and temerity are equall companions, and want of discretion in Souldiers, neuer carries for the wise aduice & counsell of their Captaines; in briefe, they rush into the warre, without their leaue or commission. But I see that you are indiciouly fearefull, which makes mee to hold the victory so much the more assured. Courage then (deare friends and companions) take hart and hardiment, by advancing the glorious and ancient magnanimity of the *Iewes* your Predecessors.

Q

And

Fond prodigious and superstitious conceits in mens braines, make them cowards to walke at tempts.

A Souldier stands obliged to follow his General.

The Coward cannot usage of liberte, nor the obliging of duty, suffice.

An Army vnder a false and a false hope, at last being deceived, but to delay the victory to the enemy.

The vncertainty of mens felicitie and aduersities.

Presumption maketh a man impudent, but discreete feare maketh him wise.

The effect of the accusation obtruded by *Antigonus* against *Antipater*.

Wounds are a Souldiers speaking witness, when himselfe is silent.

A free and most honorable confession.

Ordinary and  
natural oc-  
currences shal  
be never breac  
d in any in  
solublers.

And let not the moanings of insensible things, breed any terror in you, neither carry any conceite, that earthquakes can be any argument or preface, of any other disaster or mishap, then what hath already happened. For the Elements haue their defects as well as we, and no other harme or danger is to be doubted, then what en- sueth to themselves: considering, that neither tremblings of the earth, nor mortality of creatures are but their owne in- juries, and signifie no other perill or pre- judice at all.

And yet we should not feare to suffer matter of greefe, in regard that (already) we haue endured most afflicting and in- supportable greouances: he that hath pun- ished vs, will bee appeased, and become againe as milde vnto vs, as if hee had not chastised vs. For what can we expect from him, after this irksome pestilence, but on- ly his holy fauour and mercy, seeing for two offences, he hath bin pleased to afflict and punish vs? For the rest, as concern- ing that which belongeth to this war, all is in his entire condition; because the plague hath ended them that were not in the Campe, and our victory hath taken them from the enemy, euē those men that were the cheefest for his battailes. If our Flocks or Herds of Cattell are dead, the enemy hath had a losse of much better things, being bereft both of wit and fence, when (contrary to all right and equity) he slew our Ambassadors. The *Arabes* haue

broken the law common to all Nations: for no people are so cruell and barbarous, but Ambassadors ought to be inuicibly respected of them.

Let them therefore expect from God, a iust vengeance for such crimes, to cha- stise their euill doing, for the finnes of our aduersaries are of such importance, as there is not any law, be it humane or di- uine, that will leaue them unpunished. Let vs go forth then, yea, let vs go to fight; not to get their spoiles, or conquer their lands; but for the glory of God, and the defence of his honour. Let not the loue of your wives and children spur ye on to the war; but only the diuine fauour, which you know to be present with you. So go- ing on this manner to the fight, our de- sires shall not be thereby effected, but our obedience to God, for doing vengeance on them, whom the Law forbiddeth any man to touch. Beside, Ambassadors are they, who (among the furies of armed e- nemies) onely mediate peace, & such men are neuer numbered or ranked with aduer- saries; because their blood being shedde, cryeth incessantly for iust vengeance in our soules. Haste wee then in going to the fight, in regard that God is hee, which offereth himselfe to reuenge our friends slaine. The very murdered Ambassadors will fight for vs more furiously, and better then our selues: and ringed round with a squadron of Angels, let vs on to the bat- tle, and vnder confusion of our enemies.

Ambassadors  
ought to be  
respected of  
the people,  
how barbarous  
be euery.

Ambassadors  
are neuer ac-  
counted or  
ranked among  
other enemies.

#### THE EFFECT.

By these words of the General, the Jewish Soldiers recovered heart, and seeking occasion to affront the enemy, at length assailed them with such fury, as the *Arabes* were enforced to fight, and had a great losse of men. Beside, such as fled, retired into the Mountaines; except a part of them, which yielded themselves to the Iewes. The rest affecting rather to die like ho- nest men, then submit themselves basely, fell to hand by blowes againe, where they were slaine and hewed in peeces, yet not without leaving sufficient testimony to the Iewes, of their valour.

CHAP. X. The Oration of Herod before Augustus Caesar, who had conceived anger against him, because he had taken part, and followed Marke Anthony.

#### THE ARGUMENT.

Augustus Caesar, having vanquished Marke Anthony in Egypt, it seemeth he was ad- dressed, that except he chastised Herod also, he was not fully possesse of the victory. He- rod tasting the euill affection of this Prince, went to him to Rhodes, where presenting him- selfe, and vowing the generosity of an inuincible spirit, he declared to Augustus; that if he did not helpe Anthony, it was not through want of any good will, but because he had no means to do it. Affecting much rather, to confesse that he had become an enemy to Caesar, then shew himselfe ingratefull to his friend. And although he presented himselfe before him, without a kingly Crowne on his head, and clothed like a man that had no dignity: yet his words expres- sed the Amenty of a great Prince, and these were they.

Diuers hard  
measures were  
offered to  
Herod, which  
made him rat-  
ther goe to  
Augustus, thē  
he to Ierusalem.

I Confesse (O mighty Monarch *Augus- tus*) that I haue bene a loyall com- panion to Marke Anthony in his af- faires, as to the man, from whom I recei- ued the kingdome of *Iudea*. And I will not deny, but that I was very highly be- holding to him, as I would more plainly haue expressed by Armes, if the enuy of *Cleopatra* had not given mee hinderance, and if the *Arabes* had not broken my de- signs and enterprizes. For which cause, and constrained by such necessities, I came not against you (in his assistance) with weapons in my hand: because I had no desire at all to forgoe my deare friend, and much lesse was I affraid to enter bat- tle against you in his behalfe; but onely in this respect, that I was busied in defend- ing mine owne Countries. And albeit that I assisted him not personally in the battaile, yet Anthony found mee not vn- thankfull to him; for I furnished him with men and victuals, for the succouring and refreshing of his Army, and I am well as- sured (Great *Augustus*) that you would not haue thought me ingratefull to Marke Anthony, if you had bene in the battaile at *Actium*.

A benefit re- ceived, doth so oblige a true hearted friend, as no feare can keepe him from conf- essing it.

You see Sir, that I hide not my selfe, fearing more to be reputed ingratefull on your aduersaries behalfe, then doubting that any one should imagine me your e- nemy. I make more account of your iudgement, then of all the successes of warre: because before you, the merits of vertue are not in any perill, in regard you know how to purchase honor, and punish mis-behaviours and vices. Consider (gentle Prince) that as I neuer forsooke Anthony, so long as Fortune spake fairly to him: euē so, all disasters, and dead as he is, cannot yet make mee to forget and leaue him. You haue vanquished (O Caesar) you haue vanquished Marke Anthony, by power, and by a great number of your Legions; you haue surmounted him by the wisdom of your Councils: the strength of the Empire hath cast him downe, from which hee was farre gone, and whereof he made not any reckoning;

your vertues haue ouerthrowne him, or rather he hath bene ruined by his owne vices. For an Egyptian woman charmed and enchanted him; the delights of E- gypt made him too soft and delicate; yea, he was wholly effeminately drowned in the *Alexandrian* luxuries. In briefe, hee hath bene conquered, because he better affected to be cast downe with *Cleopatra*, then to conquer without her; and so to be delected by a woman, was more gree- uous and insupportable to his friends, thē euē it could be to his enemies.

I aduised him, to vntwine himselfe from that wretched woman, and to bee the death of a beast so dangerous; I pro- mised him succour in his affaires, and for- ces to preuaile by in his fight: yea, I offered to beare him company in this warre. But the miserable man, was so doating on the beauties of that woman, and merely enchanted by *Cleopatra*, as hee is brought to be iust nothing, by reason that he wold not beleue me. I confesse (Great Caesar) that I am also conquered with him, but yet my offence is not so great. for al- though *Cleopatra* quite quailed, and made a dishonourable prey of poore Anthony, yet he had not the like power ouer mee: And as hee would not abandon that barbarous wanton woman, euē so could not I forgoe my great friend in his aduer- sities. It was hee that did dresse a Royall Crowne on my head, neuertheless, I would not bee so bold to appeare in your presence, with the ornaments I recei- ued from so loyall a friend, fearing to offend you by those fauours which he did me to me: & yet, although I haue left off my known lueries of dignity, I haue not lost a iote of my gracefull in courage. You may iudge therefore as it shall seeme best to your selfe; for whatsoeuer sentence you pronounce on me, yet I am sure to carry this reputation with mee, and to my no meane contentment; that I was good and perfect in mine affections; that I left not my friend in life nor death, and neyther good or bad fortune had power to ouer- throw me,

Monstrous is  
thierery, when a man  
leaves a loyall  
friend, and  
leaves to the  
beast all e-  
ments of a  
lambent  
woman.

There is no  
thing compa-  
rable to the  
enue affec-  
tion of one ma-  
n to another; it  
goeth far be-  
yond the love  
of women.

If Princes  
would banish  
flatterers, thō  
being about  
them, their  
Muckey wold  
dine with the  
more glorious  
flatterer.

CHAP. XI. The magnanimous answer of Augustus to Herod, confirming him in his dignity, whereby is demonstrated, that a Prince ought rather to affect truth spoken by his friend, then feigned flattery, coming from the mouth of a dissembling counterfeiter. And therefore Augustus perceiving how falsely Herod had spoken to him, confiding himselfe rather his enemy, then ingratefull towards Marke Anthony, and taking delight in his libertie of speech, as proceeding from a generous and royall heart, returned him this answer following.

**H**euuen protect thee *Herod*, and enioy at this instant (better then euer before) the honour of thy Kingdome. For we enuy not thy virtues, neither doth it dispelase vs, that thou shouldst be such a man as thou art: but rather it is to vs most high contentment. And truly, thou art well worthy to rule & command, seeing thou hast so loyally kept thy faith given to a man onely, and being put in distresse, and assailed with aduerities; yet thou art not ashamed to confesse thy selfe the friend to *Marke Anthony*, and such as thou wast to him in his prosperie, such diddest thou continue still to him when his fortune fell contrary. Now, albeit I haue conquered *Anthony*, yet I neuer thought to overcome thee: for thy friendship remaining so entire, placeth thee in ranke with them that haue wonne the victory. Which is the reason, that I no lesse with thee for my friend, then I praise and commend thy stedfast loyalty, because no changes of Fortune, haue power to alter thy minde and desires.

Thou neuer didst abandon *Anthony*, but it was he that estranged himselfe from thee: for he better affected to follow the counsels of *Cleopatra*, then them of so deare and true a friend as *Herod*. The ignorance of *Anthony* is the reason of my winning thee: for hee made choyse of a pernicious and foolish woman, and reiected a most worthy loyall friend. And yet it is no matter of meruaile, that *Anthony* should be vanquished by *Cleopatra*, and keepe himselfe wholly with her: see-

ing that being victorious, yet hee would needs become a voluntary slaue. Could you account it strange, that *Cleopatra* should turne *Anthony* from your counsels, seeing he could separate him from me, and of being my fellow-Companion in the Empire, caule him to become my mortall enemy? Seeing therefore, that with mee you haue lost *Marke Anthony*; with mee I purpose you shall liue and raigne.

And trust me, your commendable and insigne enterprize deserveth great recompence, and is worthy (by vs) to bee highly guerdoned: considering, that while wee were busied in the late pasted warres, you haue overcome and subiected the *Barbarians*, although they seemed to be unconquerable. For we repured them to bee our enemies, and so we do make account of all those that are aduerser to the Iewish Nation, and such as molest them, must know that they make warre with vs. You haue therefore fought for vs, and for vs you haue wonne the victory; in which respect, we permit you to reigne, and grant you the kingdome which you possesse: Commanding, that by our donation it shall be confirmed to you, and established durable, your merite being not little, because you haue made no diminution thereof. Also in further recompence, I will deale in such sort with you, as you shall haue no cause to wish for the presence of *Marke Anthony*: esteeming it altogether vnbeseeeming vs, if hauing (while hee liued) overcome him in warre, being now dead, we should not go beyond him in acknowledgement and friendship.

When men become esteemingly minded, all many countenances naturally to them.

A notable signe of a virtuous and well understanding Prince.

#### THE EFFECT.

*Cæsar* and *Herod* hauing thus discouered together, *Augustus*, to shew what account he made of this great Warriour *Herod*: did set a Royall Crowne vpon his head, and confirmed him in his authority, with hope to enlarge the limits of his kingdome. As likewise hee did afterward, hauing obserued, how *Herod* acknowledged the benefits of his Maiesty, when as he furnished and refreshed him with water and victualles, at such time as a great dearth and scarcity was in the *Romane Army*. From whence *Cæsar* being returned, hee gaue Townes and Castles on the Sea to *Herod*, and accepted him as one of his best friends, which he had in the East.

CHAP. XII. The Oration of *Herod* to the Iewes, vpon the partage or diuiding of his Seigneuries, to be made to his children.

#### THE ARGUMENT.

Like as *Herod* was happy in his warlike enterprizes, so did bad fortune follow him in the domestike Affaires of his house, for hauing children of diuers beds, the humors also

He is a true friend indeed that continueth always one and the same in all conditions.

When Princes enioy then eares to flatterers, their Courts shall neuer want quarrels and contentions.

of them being as diners: caused the Palace Royall to bee daily filled with quarrels and defiances, according as flatterers were heard, and fauoured by *Herod*. Now, the matters grew so farre, that the King and one of his sonnes, named *Antipater* (who was his eldest) must go to Rome to declare their grieuances; where *Antipater* behaued himselfe so well, that hee wonne the Emperor, and qualified the anger of his Father, who receiued him into grace againe. Nevertheless, *Cæsar* ordained, that children should be obedient to their fathers, as that it should be lawfull for Fathers, to declare him for King (after his decesse) that should best in his liking; because *Antipater* had accused his younger brethren, being issued of blood Royall on all sides, euen as well as he was borne: *Herod* not being as then in authority, but aspiring to the Crowne. So soone as the king was returned from Rome, he caused an assembly of the people of *Ierusalem*, to whom he declared what he had done in this voyage, saying these very Words.

Contention, quarrell, and disobedience in children, are no meane moouers of griefe to their parents.

**N**O without great occasion, and that very beneficiall to my selfe (you *Iewes Citizens*) did I make my voyage vnto Rome, to the end that *Cæsar* might iudge, concerning the quarrell betwene me and my children. To him I went, because my selfe knew not how, neither would I take vpon me to censure a cause, wherein I might easily fayle, by being transported with choller: & therefore he that gaue me the Kingdome, I thought fittest to ordaine, concerning the succession, and to bestow it on such a one of my sonnes, whom he should conueie to be the worthiest. Now, among so many benefices as I receiued from him, this he added to them, that in a great difficulty, he did so facilitate the matter, that he gaue me my sonne againe, whom I had well-nere lost, and accorded the brethren together, vpon the difference growing betwene them, touching succession in the kingdome. You see mee then returned, farre richer then before I went; for I haue learned to be a better Father, then formerly I haue beene; and my children also are tutor'd to beare themselves in better manner to me, and all this hath happened through the grace and mildnes of Great *Augustus*. For, he hath appointed, that the appenage of my sonnes, and their succession in the kingdome, shall depend vpon mine owne will; to the end, that the prerogatiue and aduancement of which of them soeuer it be, shall not breed any pride or presuming in anie one of them. Hee hath permitted me, to choyse such a successor as I will haue, to wit, he that shall be the most obedient to me, and giueth the greatest honor to his Father.

Now, concerning my selfe (O you my

louing Citizens of *Ierusalem*) I will follow heerein the iudgment of *Cæsar*, who respecting my younger sonnes from the accusation laide vpon them; hath made them equall to the eldest in hope, that (one day) they may succcede after me. In which respect, this very day, I make and declare them Kings all three together, the eldest hauing the priuledge, in regard of his age, and the other because of their Nobility in blood. I would not haue you moued at the number of Princes, considering that the greatnesse and magnificence of the kingdome, sufficeth to maintaine and furnish effectually a far greater number, although there were no more aduantages. First of all, I make God the Iudge of this my aduice and ordinance; & next, I would haue you to be witnesses and testifiers thereof; to the end, that you may honor them according to right, & equally them that *Cæsar* hath accorded, and whom my selfe (being their father) do establish and appoint vnto you as Princes. To whom also you may doe such honor, as shall not exceede the bounds of reason in ouer-much esteeming them; and yet in no lesse fashion then belongeth to them. For too much honour puffes vp the heart with presumption, and neglect or contempt causeth rage and choller. Wherefore, I would haue that dutie done vnto them, as appertaineth to the merits delivered from them: for you cannot giue so much content to him, who is honoured aboue his deserts, as you doe harme to him, to whom dutie is denied vnderfeudly. Oftentimes, it cometh so to passe, that both the one and other are offended, in regard it is meet flattery, which occasioneth the indifereate sentence of preference.

Beside, let me further say freely to you, that

Too much honouring a man, maketh him insolent, and contempt is the meane to make him mad.

Obedience is an excellent lesson, when it shall teach a man howe to haue a Kingdome.

Honor done  
to children, is  
the greater  
glory to their  
Fathers.

that I am the common father to them all three, and you know well enough, that honor done to the Children, redoundeth the more to the Fathers glory. Notwithstanding, if there be any, that shall flatteringly honor my sonnes beyond reason, they make themselves guilty of treason to them: because they shal proue Authours of the recidiation and rebellion, for the which we fell at first into difference. In making too much esteeme of our youth, is to giue it too free a heart and head, and boldnesse in attempting beyond capacity: yet let no man thinke, that I am enuieus of the advancement and glorie of mine owne Childre. No, heaven is my witnesse, how I rather with their power meane and stirred, whereby wee may the better liue in peace; then in growing ouer-great, to swell vp their hearts as high, and thereby spend the rest of our dayes in troubles and seditions. For, that which is established by pride and insuasion, hath but small and slender continuance, and slippeth away sodainly, but that which is possessed with loue and gracious liking, it hath as good and successfull enduring.

What Pride  
buildeth, Pre-  
sumption o-  
uer throweth.

I will therefore bee carefull in taking order, that my Kindred and Friends may bee the pledges of peace and concord for ever hereafter, betwene mee and my Sonnes; by whose exhortations and admonitions, they will bee moued to loue and cherishe one another. For, as an euill purpose makes a deep wound in the heart of him that heares it tolde him: euen so, much more are they corrupted, who are made drunke by them that daily frequent it, and whose soules are continually infected by so foule a plague; so that the contagion spreades it selfe ouer all them, that then are about, or come into their company.

A wicked in-  
tention wound-  
eth the heart  
deeply of him  
to whom it is  
reuealed.

Although a man be (by nature) very courteous and peaceable; yet, let a Lake or Poole be neuer so calme and still, when impetuous windes throwe their churlish blastes vpon it, it will swell, and shewe a discontented countenance. In the very same manner, are the mildest Natures of men madded, and quite peruered by the meanes of lewd and wicked Counsellors. In breief, it is on mee that all my Subiects must fixe their expectation, and there assuredly settle their confidence for

whatsoeuer advancement happeneth to my Sonnes; yet so it is, that I will not lose a iote of mine authority and power. And when all is said, there is not a Captaine or soldier, but w<sup>l</sup> I expresse more reuerence to the father of Conductors and Generals, then to them that command ouer the whole Army.

It is my selfe alone, without any other, that will bee the discharge of al, and will onely recompence them, who hauing done their dutie vnto mee, shall acknowledge what seruices they haue done to my Sonnes. If I finde dutie performed without peruering; no doubt but deferred recompence will follow thereon; but deceite and cogging shall finde such reward, and so surely paie him, that he will vterly lose all the fruite of his labor, and that which he fawnd for by knauish flattery.

Deceite doth  
make common  
by deceite his  
owne matter,  
& Flattery  
are the falsh  
knowes that  
can be.

Now, as concerning you (my good and deere Sonnes) fasten your first regard vpon the common bond of nature, which vnitheth brute beastes together, and cauech their alliance to keepe such a mutuall agreement: as there is not any beast so vntactable, but with the perill of his life, hee will strue and labour to defend his young ones from danger. Carry honour and reuerence to *Cesar*, who hath reconciled you together; and next, haue regard of mee, and of the Honour which is due vnto mee; who had much rather pray yee to doe so, then to command it to be done, albeit you know that it still remaineth in my power to Command.

Continue in the bond which you haue knit together; you are brethren, I would not haue you breake that vnion, neyther to be the occasion of disioyning that for which ye were borne. I shall giue you Habites, Attendants, and Royall honors, but much more precious is that whereto I exhort ye, inuolable amity, being vnited together in one and the same will. If you declare such mutual affection, your authoritie will bee the more acceptable vnto mee: but amity saying, you dart your malice thorow my heart, and throw the very foule of Kingly Gouvernement.

Authoritie  
without amity  
is vile & hurt-  
full.

Therefore, vntill I haue made prooue of this your Vertue, yee shall enioy no Kingdome, but the Royall Title onely:

if you loue your father, the effect of name will follow, in the meane while, approue among your selues, how and what affection I beare vnto you. You shall enioy al that is goodly and pleasing in the dignitie Royall, as Princes of the blood: but concerning the charges of the Empire, and troublesome burthen of State-affayres,

they shall lye vpon me, though it were better to cun ber many, then one onely. By this meanes, it shall bee very profitable for you, to accommodate your selues to that which I haue desired: because I loue the glorie which shuld still thine in you, and which I truly account to be mine owne.

## THE EFFECT.

Herod hauing deliuered all these speeches, and greatly comforted his sons, howsoeuer some reioyce thereat, as not discerning so far off, that which was hidden under these words: yet the better sort felt themselves offended. For they perceived, that this equality serued but for a sparke, to kindle the concealed fire in the breasts of the brethren, who could not endure any advantages, how little soeuer, especially hauing all but one and the same prerogative. So that this proued to be the cause of ruine to one another, as also of distrust and extreme cruelty in King Herod.

## CHAP. XIII.

The Battaile of Riotta or Nouara, which was fought in the Dukedome of Milan, betwene Iohn Trivulzi, and the Lord of Trimouille, Generals for Lewes the xij. King of France, on the one side, and Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan, accompanied with the Switzers, on the other, in the yeare 1513.



The Kings for-  
e left of  
Milan, was  
the occasion  
of this warre.

Ewes King of France, the twelfth of that name, ill digesting the losse of *Milaine*, and som other disgraces formerly receiued, made his election of two speciall Captaines, well experienced in martiall affaires, and also of no meane authority; the Lords *Trivulzi* and *Trimouille*, to passe the Alps, and enter Italy. A further choise was likewise made, for the more happy successe in this attempt, of *Robert de la Marche*, whom hee sent for out of the Countrey of *Luca*, and his blacke Regiment of *Germans* by some termed *Allemaignes*, as also the Lord *Lewes Beaumont*, who came from the Frontiers of *Nauarre*, and brought with him those feneial bands of *Cascoignes*, that had before serued *Seigneur de la Palice* at *Panipelen*, when they fought against the Spaniards. Some few Ensignes of foot (but of very choice men) were intermingled with them; for such Gentlemen as serued

not with horse, held it no disgrace, thus to be employed on foote, and went vnto it with chearefull alacny. At which power being very aptly appointed, and furnished with great Ordinance vnto their owne good liking, they hasted away with speed for Italy.

On the contrary side, the Duke of *Milaine*, named *Maximilian Sforza*, understanding this French preparation made for him; he was not negligent in his owne occasions: but moued the Switzers to reuilit *Lombardy*, as in some former expeditions they had done, and to friend him with their manly assistance, in which motion he purchased no denial. The *Ammans*, or they that beare the Office of Maiores, in the Cantons of *Vri, Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, as lying nereest vnto Italy, with their warlike powers, were the first that passed ouer the Alps: being seconded or followed by the like bands of *Gliris*, *Zug*, *Lucerna*, *Schaffouse*, *Zurich*, and *Berne*, and these made vp another martiall company. The third and last confort, consisted of five thousand foot, conducted by *Altofasco*, a most expert and forward captaine. But *Maximilian* became somewhat discouraged, by an vnexpected reuolt of *Sacranora Visconti*, that did keepe a swarme of desperate fellows about him in *Milaine*, all errant vnthriftes, though leaning to Nobility, and others beside; and therefore ioynd with the first company of Switzers, going to *Nouara*, expecting there (yet free from priuy awais and

The Switzers  
are solicited  
to succor duke  
Maximilian  
Sforza, and  
come to him  
with their va-  
riant banus.

Of what feuer-  
all bands the  
French Army  
consisted.

The French Army cometh before Nouara.

and treachery) when the rest of the Switzers should come.

Before the Towne of *Nouara*, came the French Forces, yet hearing that the second supply of Switzers were somewhat neere, and that *Altosaxo* was at *Galarita*, they retreated to *Riota*, which was about some twenty Furlonges from *Nouara*, hard by the River of *Mars*. No sooner were the second Conuoy of Switzers entred the Towne, and had theyr Mornings refection; but the Captaine called for a consultation, for concluding vpon matters fittest to be done: wherevpon, *Carasse*, *Amman* of *Zurich*, offering the first motion of speech, began in this manner.

### The Oration of Carasse, Amman of Zurich.



*Valiant, and invincible spiritued Brethren, let not the attempts which you have resolutely concluded on, coole through want of courage, or cowardly lofe in selfe, in needlesse attending for Altosaxo, for such as come with him. For is hath ever bene knowne, that the surest and happiest way to fortunate successe, is to siffle delay with speedy expedition; and so we shall finde it, if wee haue the prouidence to pursue it: Nor neede we, whose courage and constancy stand equal, by kissing each other, listen to any other recreant word, but onely braue and speedy expedition: lest the day shining now fauircly for vs, cloud it selfe in our lingering, and so we lose our glorious expectation. Occasion is yet offered vs, and we may take hold on his happy forelocke; for, it is not number, but Noblenesse of minde that gives honor to the actions vsue. A handfull is enow for a heaped multitude, and while hope holds them, that Altosaxo is our Load-starre, and we dare doe nothing till he shine out with vs, they may be decieued in their idle supposition, & we more then matters of so good advantage. Let therefore their erroneous conceits, lead vs the way to true discipline, for a sodaine and vnexpected onset, strikes terror in an enemies soule, and followes him both with flight and slaughter. Let their overweening pride ribbet them, and take we hold on this happy and beneficial*

counsel: which guides ye to vndoubted victory, if with dreadlesse hartes you ply to pursue it.

No sooner had *Carasse* come vnto his speeches period, but all the Captaine and Ensignes consented to him, and a graue consultation grew immediately, for best proceeding in their purpose. Herevpon, refection and rest was generally commended; and after the second watch, present repaire vnto their Colours; where before day-dawning they should bee acquainted with other instructions. Imagine heere (as wellly you may) that euery minde late musing with serious conceits, what issue the intended fight would sort vnto; & by this time the Sun was set. But now listen to a wonder, and truly no lesse in mine opinion. The Dogges which the French had brought to field with them, quite leauing their Campe, all in a troope together entered *Nouara*, and the Switzers Centinels, with such as walked the round, or kept the *Corps du Guard*; the dogs fawning on the one after another, euen as if they were already become their Masters, or shortly should; laide downe their eares, wagged their tailes in louing manner, and licked their hands.

But the Switzers, not intending to haue their priuate cogitations discouraged, cunningly gaue order, that in euery part of the City, now at one place, then at another, Drums should still be beaten; that if any scouts or spies tooke notice of them, they should the easier bee periwaded of their sodaine coming forth, as also to continue their enemies in Armour skill; they hauing all the day before bin so prepared, and on horseback. Thus they thaped their outward desseignes, while theyr clofer determinations aimed at other ends, as to strengthen their bodies with food & rest, and to win another daies respite more for their better contestation in trial of honor. And let me tell yee, that the Lawes are so strict and seuerer among the Switzers, that if any shal dare (in publicke view of the Armie) to do any thing cowardly, or with feare, shameful & vnriting men of valour; he is immediately slaine by his following fellow, so that the greater feare confounds the lesse, and begets an honorable death, in stead of that which is otherwise attended on with nothing but infamy.

The

Diligence in the conduct to happy success.

A very strange and admirable accident.

Men can be too cunning for an insidious enemy.

The Switzers were careful for holding the best opportunity.

The Army consisting of about 9000. foote, made choise of a thousand Horfse beside, men of well tryed and vndaunted valour, to take the charge of eight Faulcons, and to keepe with *Maximilian* and his Horfse (which indeede were but few, yet of the cheefe Nobility): while the rest did throw themselves into two batailles, and silently, without beating any Drum, marched towards the enemy two seuerall wayes.

Now *Trivulzi*, being reputed for a wise and well experienced Captaine, suspected nothing lesse, then that a few tyred foote, and also before *Altosaxo* came; would venture out vpon a stronger power, or hazard any the least fortune of battaile. But vnderstanding that the Enemy was within sight, he cald vnto *Trimouille* and the other Captaine, giuing order for placing the Ordinance, the signals for fight to be giuen, and what hee knew by discipline or experience, to wait vpon the need of danger.

Such was the shortnesse of time, and the courage of the foe so mounted for fight, that the French scarcely had leisure to bridle their horses, & arm their heads: for they had stood most part of the day & night in Armes, expecting stil what shold be commanded, and at last (though very late) newes coming, that all was whist and quiet at *Nouara*, had got into theyr Cabines to rest. But the Light-horfs being sooner ready then they looked for, yssued forth in time conuenient, making a long Wing to the left handwarde, and met the thousand Switzers as they were marching on. And they, for more safely shunning the great Ordinance, which played vpon them tempestuously, fetcht a small compas about towards the River of *Mora*, with intent to passe a Bridge, & so fet on the enemies tents in the rere. So marching in a broad way towards the River, they were hotly rent and torne with the Ordinance, and mightily pressed also with the light horfse.

But then *Mottina*, whose courage could not be quailed, changed his former resolution, and entreated Duke *Maximilian*, (being then in great danger, by reason that the *Epirotes* insulued round about him) to leaue the fight, and returne to the City instantly, that so the warres mayne head might be kept, which lay open vnto

the tyranny of chances, and there to wait the successe of expected victory. *Maximilian* made an honourable refusal; for such was the constancy of his courage, as he would endure all common accidents of Fortune, rather then be blurd with the least disgrace.

Heerevpon, two vnder Captaine, and two Ancients seized his horfse by the bridle, and renting the Crest from off his Helmet, threw an olde cloake about him to hide his Armes, and forcing him (whether he would or no) led him out of the field with a troope of Horfse, and so conducted him to the City, to stand cleare from danger, while they endured the brunt of the day. Afterward *Mottina* rallied his swaying battell, which (by this time) hadde lost three of their Faulcons, then reicing the wounded into the midle of the battell, and beating back the over-forward *Epirotes*, slew there *Alexio Bogisna*, a noble Grecian Captaine, and so defeated them utterly.

Then rushing into the enemies campe, where the drudges and stragglers beeing slaine, and the soldiers of that station disordered; the carriage and baggage were surprized. But some little while before *Mottina* had thus preuailed, another company, that tooke a longer iourney through the Corne-fields, then growne vp, and receyuing little harme by the Ordinance, had made a fresh charge on the Enemies side.

The French forces were ordered into three battallions, *Trimouille* and *De la March* having the leading of the wings, and *Trivulzi* the middle Regiment, or maine battaile. As for the *Launcoquens* Battallion, they had got themselves within a ditch, and betweene the batailles of the Horfse, because their Trench being a new and somewhat admirable kinde of Workmanship, deuised by *Robert de la March*, to hemme them in against the chances of warre: vpon so sodaine a coming of the enemy, coule not by any meanes bee fet vp and pitcht. The Switzers bringing their Batailles about towards the right hand, and vpon this Squadron of the *Germaines* or *Allemaignes*, very courageously turned to them; perceiving that victory would loone bee wonne, hauing once defeated the cheefest force of the Enemies Armie.

Which

Alexio Bogisna a Grecian Captain slain

In what manner the French were ordered for the fight.

A noble & valiant resolution in Duke Maximilian.

This he spoke in the hearing of the whole Company.

By foolish supposition in an enemy, he is soonly taken turly.



The Ammans  
of Zug and  
Berne slain &  
yet the fould-  
iers not a little  
discourag'd.

Which the French Captains beholding, gaue present order to discharge their great Ordnance vpon them, breaking through the ranks, with mighty slaughter, the Horſſe alſo comming hotely on them on the left ſide. The Ammans of *Berne* and *Zug* were ſlaine in this confuſion, which nothing diſmayed their fouldiers courage, nor their owne vnauoydable perill, and wofull hauocke of their Fellowes about them; but chearfully animating themſelves, and wheeling round into a ring, propelled the Horſſe very valiantly, and (as before they had concluded) ſuddenly getting ouer the ditch, ſet vpon the *Allemaignes* courageouſly. Now began a fierce and bloody fight, no noiſe or words ſpoken on either ſide; but onely a diſmal claiſhing of Weapons and armor, and the ſoft ſighes of ſuch as fell downe dead, giuing their laſt adiew vnto the world.

Where both  
ſides contend  
for honour,  
great muſt  
the violence  
of the fight  
be.

The *Allemaignes*, that they might reuenge the laughter of their country-men the yeare before at *Pavia*; and now (by new renoune) redeeme their glorie loſt fourteen yeares paſt at *Bruderholz*, on the confines of *Baſile*, fought very fiercely. And the *Switzers* that they might yet (one day) deſtroy their olde and peculiar enemies, fellowes that had runne out of *Germany*, and (in reproach to the Emperour) ſerued the French King; were not a ior behinde them, either in ſtrength, or feruency of courage.

Now, while the *Switzers* and *Allemaignes* fought thus at the puſh of pike, *Newes* came to *Trivulzi* and *Trimouille*, that the bagge and baggage were taken; thoſe that were appointed for keeping the campe alſo ſlaine, beſide tumult and slaughter in euery place. Which report ſo daunted the French, that a great part of their horſe (euery man being careful for his luggage) ran (without any command) to ouercome it againe.

A ſtratagem  
of the Switz-  
ers to beguile  
the French.

In another quarter alſo, & at the ſame inſtant almoſt, the third company or battallion of the *Switzers*, ſhewed themſelves at the front of the French, which Battallion (while the French hadde (in vaine) diſcharged their Ordnance into a Wood ſtanding before them, in regard that the *Switzers* (to deceiue the enemy) had poſitively left a few of the drudges amongſt the trees, as making a ſhew of ambuſhed

armed men) had cloſely crept along by a ſide way, by little and little ſloppings downe, and trayling their Pikes vpon the ground after them.

Now, ſo great was their contempt of the bullets flying about them, and the charge ſo dreadfull, that the French and *Nasurine* foote (their Captaine *Beaumont* being ſlaine) two bands alſo of *Gentwyses* and *Salucians* defeated, and their Ordnance taken, and turned vpon their backs that fled; the *Allemaignes* now being almoſt quite deſtroyed, their Tents taken, the enemy overthrowing all, and largely Lords of the field; betwene ſhame and fear turned their backs. VVhen all men were thus diſmayed, the Captaines yet continued fearleſſe (conſidering the fearfullneſſe of their preſent eſtate) and went ralliating the diſordered ranks, and turning themſelves vnto the cries of their Companions, made them to abide and fight.

The vnder Officers and Ancients, entreated them for to exempt all feare, the Lancequeneers bare the brunt of the battell, and the fight began to be repaired in all places. But the horſemen, nothing moued with their Captaines encouraging words, ſhamefully fled. For the *Switzers* although their Captaine *Mottins* was ſlaine by a piece of Ordnance; yet, hauing gotten the Campe, ſet fiercely and bloodily on the left ſide of the Horſſe, & likewiſe on the right, and then on their backs came a greater power with terrible Pikes, to the no little terror of the diſordered horſe.

In repairing the field, there permiſſed *Montſalcon*, Captaine to the Duke of *Albanies* company of horſe, and *Coriolano Trivulzi*, a young Gentleman of ſingular force. But, the *Allemaignes* loſing haſte their men, two Enſignes, and their General *Floranges* very greuously hurt, had fought moſt conſtantly a long while together: but perceiving now the Horſſe to forſake them, the foote in euery quarter to bee defeated, and the great Ordnance taken, accounting flight to be very ſhamefull, yet void of ſecuritie; ſet the points of their weapons vpright, according to their vſuall manner, and yielded, ſeeking mercy of the victor enemy. In this tempeſt of affliction and confuſion, *Robert de la Marche*, Lord of *Cadan*, ſhorte through

Lewis Lord  
Blamont ſlain

Mottins Cap-  
taine of the  
Switzers ſlaine

Montſalcon  
and Coriolan  
no and Tri-  
vulzi ſlaine

The Alle-  
maignes yel-  
ded to the e-  
nemies mercy

The louing  
cruelty a Fa-  
ther in his  
ſonnes.

Discipline ob-  
ſerued among  
the Switzers.

When con-  
fuſion is in  
an army, per-  
ſwaſions  
fraiſe  
little.

thorough with deadly ſorrow, beholding his two ſonnes, the Lords *Floranges* and *Gemeſe* engirt by the enemy, and meerly in deſperate danger of life: with a troope of Horſſe, boldly brake into the middeſt of the enemies battell, and they lying among the mangled bodies halfe dead, pittifully embred with their owne blood and woundes, laying them ouerthwart the neckes of two Horſſes; to his no little prayſe, both for manly proweſſe and fatherly pittie, woorthily brought them thence, preſeruing their liues for future renoune, and in a farre more fortunate field.

Thus the *Switzers*, fighting in three ſeueral Squadrons or Companies, within the compaſſe of an houre and a halfe, or thereabout, perfected a moſt memorable famous battayle, and vveightie warre.

And although their enemies lay ſlaine before their faces, ſtored with goodlie and rich Furniture, which was able to allure them: yet would they make no ſeyſure on the ſpoyle, but kept within care of their Country Discipline, which permits not to take any armed man priſoner in the battaile, neither to follow him that flyeth.

This made them to ſtand ſtill a great part of the day, as doubting leaſt the French, prouoked eyther by policie in their Captaines, or their owne ſhame; ſhould retreat backe againe, and take them at aduantage in deſpoyling the dead. But this feare was much more diſcrete then needefull, becauſe the Enemy kept on ſtill in flight, and *Trivulzi* galloping too and fro, confounded with extremity of duſt and hoarſeneſſe in crying to them, was vterly vnable, eyther by ſoule or faire perſwaſions, or the commanding Authoritie of a Generall, to ſtay the Enſignes or the Horſſe, that throwing away their Lances, ſtroue with greateſt egerneſſe, who ſhould bee foremoſt.

It is reported, that the whole troops of French Horſſe might haue bene vterly overthrowne and ſpoyled in their flight, if Duke *Maximilian* had made an oppoſition but with two hundred light Horſſe: for there was not a French-man that carried a Lance beyonde *Seſſithes*, ſuch was their heate and haſt to be gone.

And yet within a ſhort while after, *Stenia Sabello*, and *Corradino Crivelly*, with certaine light Horſſe, purſued them vnto the Towne of *Treſcato*: but the *Conradines* and *Peazzants*, flocking amaine out of the Fieldes and Hamlets to the ſpoyle, made a moſt cruell slaughter where anie bootie was to be had, at hedges, ditches, and all other places, that hindered the tired French in their flight.

The ſame day the *Switzers*, gathering together the ſlaine bodies of their countrymen, carried them on their ſoulders into the Cittie, to giue them the laſt honour of buriall. Amongſt them, were ſlaine a thouſand and three hundred, ſeauen hundred being torne with the great pieces of Ordnance, and almoſt as many were wounded, but of the French were ſlaine eight thouſand of all degrees.

Duke *Maximilian*, not a little ioyfull of ſuch fortunate ſucceſſe, ſummoned the Souldiors together, and ioyſo confounding ſpeech, as he was ſcarſe able to vter a worde; which appeared by the teares trickling downe his cheekes, gaue them all moſt hearty thanks; and, as a gift of inſtant benefite and pleaſure, all the *Vicualles* then taken, beſide the Ordnance and generall ſpoyle, hee frankly beſtowed vpon them. As for the admirable Trench, wherein conſiſted ſuch vndoubted hope of Victorie, inuented by a warlike witte, brought ouer the Alpes with much labour, and great charge: that being taken from the enemy, was ſet vp in a publique place, for a future Monument of that victorie: and this deceyed the *Allemaignes* moſt, that they holde it vterly needleſſe to erect their Trench that day, which lay ſtill in the Waggon, becauſe ſucceſſe ſeemed then to crowne on the enemy.

Vpon Conference had afterwards with *Trimouille* at *Bologna*, concerning all theſe matters; he did not frivolouſly impute the fault vnto *Trivulzi*, for not encamping on his owne grounds (as *Trimouille* had perſwaded him) in regard of ſpoyling the Graſſe, which then at that time was ready to bee mowne. But *Trivulzi*, as a man neuer conquered before, yet diſputing on ſeueral cients hapning in the battaile, threw the maine error on aduerſe fate, which too much enuyed

The loſt gi-  
rained on  
both ſides.

The gratitude  
of Duke Ma-  
ximilian  
Sforza to-  
wards his ſol-  
diers.

When a loſſe  
is ſuſtained,  
excuſes or  
complaints  
are alledged  
then, ſo no  
end.

R his

his worth and renowne. And hee faide very truly, that men, made more then mad, by cowardly and degenerate feare, in the cheefest heate and fury of fight; are no way able to be restrained or ordered, by the best or most skillfull Capitaine that euer liued.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Of the force of sudden Chances and unexpected Euent, for the disposition as well of mans power, as of his policy. And of the hazards and doubtfull euent of Battails, and other enterprizes of Warre.*



Although the successe of mens affairs is most vncertaine, variable, & subiect to infinit changes and hazards; yet in nothing so much as in matters, wherein mans power is most seene, to wit, in matters of warre, whereof the euent is so doubtfull and dangerous, that (as *Isaiah* saide to *Epimanondas*) He is not wise that doth not feare them. And therefore it is reported of *Phocion*, a most excellent Capitaine of the *Athenians*, that although hee was chosen five and forty times Generall of their armies; yet hee himselfe did euer perswade the to peace, as fearing the successe of warre. And *Hanniball* hauing bene for 16 yeares victorious in *Italy*, and forced at the length to defend his owne country, which was *Carthage* (where *Scipio* the *Romane* had already ouerthrowne two great armies of the *Carthaginians*, and was ready also to present him battaile) he doubted so much the euent thereof, that crauing conference with *Scipio*, he sought to perswade him to peace, representing vnto him the hazard of warre, and aduising him to consider in the prosperous course of his victories, not onely what had happened to other men, but also what might ensue to himselfe, & that to make peace was in his own hands, but if he came once to the battaile, the victory should bee in the hands of God. And lastly, that *Nuquam minus quam in bello euentus rependunt*. The euent of things

do no where lesse answer the expectation of men, then in warre.

Thus spake *Hanniball*, who may also well serue for an example of his owne admonitions. For though he had bin many yeares together, the iourge of the *Romans*, and the most famous and renowned Capitaine then liuing; yea, and was (as it were) growne old with victories in foreigne Countries, euen before the very gates of *Rome*; yet was hee at length venterly ouerthrowne by a *Romane*, a young man, inferior to him in reputation, experience, and forces, and in that battaile which most imported him, and wherein (by the iudgement of all men) he employed all the endeavour, military arte and skill he had, or which could bee required in a most prudent and valiant Capitaine.

This change and decay of fortune in war, may be exemplified in many others, as famous Captaines as euer were; as in the worthy *Iudas Mithribes*, *Cyrus*, king of *Persia*; *Pyrrhus*, king of *Epyrus*; *Marcellus*; *Pompeius Magnus*; *Marcus Antonius*, Competitor of *Augustus Caesar*, the Emperour *Constantinus*; and *Heraculus Belisarius*; *Edward* the third, King of *England*; our famous Countinman, *John Talbot*, the first Earle of *Shrewsbury*, whose name is yet terrible to the *French*; the great Earle of *Warwicke*, in the time of *Edward* the fourth; *Charles*, Duke of *Bourgonne*; *Nicholas Prismicus*; *Lewes* the 12. king of *France*; and now lastly (in our memory) the Emperour *Charles* the first. All which (with many other whom I omit for breuities sake) hauing by many notable victories got the fame and renowne of most famous Captaines, were eyther at last disgraciously killed, or else receyued some great ouerthrowes, or had (at least) some notorious decay of their former and wonted prosperous successe.

The consideration hereof, had mooued diuers most valiant Captaines, to auoid the aduenture of battaile as much as might be, and rather seek to overcome their enemies by stratagems, practises, and delays: as *L. Fabius Maximus*, who (by such meanes) distressed *Hanniball*, much more then others could do by main battailes. And therefore *Emilius* the Poet saide of him; *Cunctando resistitur*; He repaired the State of the *Romans* by delays. And it is also written of the valiant

The ouerthrow of Hanniball by a young Roman libid.

The chances decay of fortune in warre exemplified in many famous Captaines. Marcellus of Iudomachia, Plutarch, Polyd. Virg. Plut. Com. Guicciard. Pedro Mexu. Sarm.

The doubtfull encounter of Hanniball is greatly to be feared.

Emilius and other, libid.

Schall. varia. Item. Cap. 1. Para.

Philipp comm. cap. 17. 18. 19.

Philipp comm. cap. 17. 18. 19.

Abate. Ilost. huius an. tail. and why. Comm. libid.

Idem Cap. 64. The practise of Lewes the 6th of France to overcome an enemy in a short battail.

Maritima. B. lay. The present on which France the 1. King of France, vict against the invasion of Charles the Emperour.

valiant *Franciscus Sforza* Duke of *Milaine*, that he would neuer ioyne battaile with an enemy, but when hee could not otherwise choofe.

And *Lewes* the eleuenth, K. of *France* (who was no lesse valourous in war, then prudent in peace) feared nothing more, as *Philipp de Commynes* testifieth, then the hazard of warre; and especially of a battaile, which by all meanes possible hee sought to auoid. In somuch, that when any enemy entered *France*; hee procured to make peace or truce with him, whatsoeuer it cost him. As appeared when *Edward* the fourth King of *England* was ther with a strong Armie, to whom he gaue a great summe of ready money, and granted to pay him a tribute of fiftie thousand Crownes a yeare, besides diuers pensions to his Councillors, and other hard conditions; rather then hee would hazard a battell with him, knowing the casualtie thereof, and that as *Commynes* saith, *Une bataille perdue a nauuaise quele*; A battaile lost had an ill taile or consequence. For it redoubleth the hope and courage of the Victors; it astonisheth and discourageth the vanquished; it shaketh the fidelity of subiects, it ministreth matter and opportunity of conspiracie to malecontents, of reuolt to Townes, and of alienation to confederates, who commonly sway with the good successe. And for this cause, not onely King *Lewes* the eleuenth, but also other wise Princes haue vied, when an enemy hath bin ready to enter their countries: to dismanle all the Townes in his way that were not tenable, and to fortifie and make strong the rest, retrying thither all the Cattle and prouision of the country, and destroying all the Corne vpon the ground, thereby to consume him with famine, long siedges, and all kindes of delays whatsoever, rather then seek to ouerthrow it by a maine battail. This was very prudently practised by *Frances* the first, King of *France*, at such time as the Emperour *Charles* determined to enter into *Prouence*, with a great and puissant army: in somuch, that when *K. Frances* vnderstoode, that the people of the Countrey resisted the destruction of chey Corne, and other commodities; he straight way sent his armie to destroy it. Whereby the Emperour finding all Townes fortified, and no prouision a-

broad was left them, were forced (after hee had besiedged *Marfeilles* some certaine moneths) to retire himselfe for lack of victuals.

And this I haue thought good to signify by the way, for that *Philipp de Commynes*, and *Martin du Bellay* (both of them notable Historiographers, and Councillors, the first to *Lewes* 11. and the other to *Frances* the first) do greatly approve this manner of proceeding in these Princes, and propose it for a rule of state to all such Kings & Princes, as, being in possession their Kingdomes and States, are invaded by Forreiners; though for those that inuade and seeke to conquer, *Philipp de Commynes*, thinketh it meete and conuenient to seeke battaile, to make short worke, by reason of the difficulty to bee succoured, and of the infinite dangers & inconueniences, which happen by delays to an armie of strangers in foraine countreys. Besides, hee that inuadeth and seeketh to conquer, commonly aduentureth no more but his present armie, and that in hope to gaine a Crowne, whereas the Prince in possession, aduentureth his whole state against nothing, and a state is lost (many times) with the losse of a battaile at home, if the victory bee well followed.

But now let vs returne to speake of fodaine Chances, and to touch some particularities, thereby to shew very manifestly and evidently, the weakeneesse of mans wit and power, and the casualty of warlike attempts.

Let vs first and formost consider, by howe many accidents the mightiest armies are many times quite disperfed and disipated, and the greatest enterprizes ouerthrowne: as sometimes it falleth out by the death of some one man, sometimes by the diffention of Leaders and Captaines amongst themselves, sometimes by the mutiny of souldiers, sometimes by meanes of a Tempest or vnseasonable weather; sometimes agayne by plagues, or other diseases in the Campe; and sometimes againe (as *Guicciardine* noteth in his second Booke) by a commandement eyther not well vnderstood, or ill executed; by a little temeritie or disorder, which may chaunce to happen by some vaine worde or speech, euen of the meanest Souldiour. And last of all

R 2 (saith

Philipp comm. cap. 19. The inuader ought to seek battail, & why.

The diuers casualties of warlike attempts.

Guicciard. lib. 1.

(faith hee) by infinite chances which happen at vnwares, vnpossible to bee foreseen and preuented, by the wicor counsell of any Captaine.

Heereto I also adde out of *Commines*, that be the counsell neuer so well taken, and the plot neuer so well layed: yet it is neuer or seldom executed in the fildes, as it is ordaind in the Chamber. And that sometimes, by the least motions or occasions that may bee, the victorie is wonne or lost: Which (saith hee)

is a great Mytery, whereby Kingdomes and States do rise or fall. And hereupon, the selfe same Authour groundeth two Conclusions, no lesse piously then wisely. The one, that no humane wit is able (of it selfe) sufficiently to gouerne an Army of men: and the other, that God reserueth to himselfe the successe of battels and disposeth of his victory at his wil and pleasure.

This will be made cleare by examples, by the which, I will first of all shewe the force of foddaine chances in battaile, and other enterprizes of Warre. And after that all victorie proceedeth from the providence and hand of God, and not from the power and pollicie of mortall man. As concerning the first, we see many and sundry times, that great designements are broken, and potent armies dissolved by accidents, without any force or stroke of the Enemy. Vhen *Leues* the Emperour (called *Leues* of *Bavaria*) was in *Italy*, with a great and puissant armie, and readie to besiege *Florence*, vpon the confidence he had in the valor and assistance of *Castruccio* of *Pisa*, whom the *Florentines* feared more then any man liuing: it chanced that the sayde *Castruccio* dyed: whereupon, the Emperour broke his designement, and returned into *Germanie* with his army.

Also, in the time of the great Schisme which was holden betwixt *Vrbane*, the sixte Pope of that name, and *Clement* the false Pope, who was called *Clement* the seventh, and liued in *Auignon*; *Leues* Duke of *Aniou*, Vnckle vnto *Charles* the sixt King of *France*, went into *Italy* with an huge armie, wherein hee hadde aboue thirtie thousand Horfse, partly to deliuer *Rome*, Queene of *Naples*, (who was besiedged by *Charles* *Orsazzo*, Nephew vnto *Leues* King of *Hungary*)

and partly to depose Pope *Vrbane*, in fauour of *Clement*. When he had already entered into *Italy*, and began to make warre in the Territorie of *Eologna* (which belonged to the Church) and was likely in al mens opinion (by reason of his great forces) to obtaine his desire in all he pretended; he foddainly fell sicke and dyed; whereupon, all that mightie and innumerable army, disperfed and dissolved it selfe; and euery man returned from whence he came.

The like hath chanced diuers times, by some great plague and mortalitie in armies, as in that of the Christians, which beganne in *Thunis* in *Africa*, vnder the conduct and command of *Leues*, the ninth King of *France*: which armie was so mollested with pestilence, that it was forced for to rise from the fledge at such time, euen when the Towne was brought to extremitie, and must needs haue rendered it selfe within few daies.

Furthermore, such is the force of foddaine feares which fall vpon men, sometimes by meere chance, without anie iust cause, that the greatest armies are vterly ouerthrowne thereby. And no maruel seeing no man is so valiant, but that hee may bee seized and transported with a foddaine feare. And therefore the *Lacedemonians*, before they went forth to fight, were wont to sacrifice to the Muses, to obtaine their assistance, against the fierce and furious assaults of foddaine passions. VVhich taking reason many times at vnwares, and (as it were) at an advantage, doe so oppress it, that they becaue a man of all iudgement and discourse for a time, and no passion more then feare. VVhereof I my selfe saw a notable experience, in a most valiant Spanishe Capitaine in *France*, which happened in the time of a League, who going out of his Garrison, with certaine Troopes vpon an occasion, and meeting with the Enemy by chance, where hee least suspected, tooke such a fright thereat, that he ranne homewit with might and maine, and tolde vs (for I was ther at the same instat time) that all the Souldiers were cut in peeces, and that hee himselfe elcaped very hardly. Neuerthelesse, within fise or sixe houres after, they all returned home safe, and not so much as any one man hurt, though they came scattering one after ano-

another, for they all fledde as well as he, and the rather by his example. Which would haue vterly disgraced him, if in very many occasions (before) hee had not got the reputation of one of the most valiant men of his Nation, in which respect it was rather wondered at in him, then blamed.

But to shewe the like effect of foddaine feare in whole Armies, vpon diuers accidents. When *Asynulphus* the Emperour besiedged *Rome*, it chanced, that a Hare (being started by some of the Camp) ran towards the Citie, and that a great number of the souldiers pursued her with very great rowt and cryes, which the Romans seeing from the Towne, and conceyuing that the enemy meant to giue some furious and violent assault thereto, were surprized with such a feare, that they abandoned the wals and Rampiers, and the enemy cpying, and taking the opportunity therof, scaled the walles, and tooke the Towne.

Also, when *Sigismund*, King of *Hungary*, (who was afterward Emperour) gaue battell to an Army of the Turkes, nere to *Anagolis*, and was assisted with exceeding great numbers of the French, and of diuers other Nations, the French Horfse being in the vanguard, and seeing themselves (after a while) hardly oppressed, alighted from their Horfles to fight on fote. But their Horfles being loose, ranne all backe toward the campe, which the Hungarians and others that were in the reere perceiuing, and imagining that the Horfse-men were slaine; tooke such a fright therewith, that they ranne away, whereby the Turkes got a notable Victorie, with great slaughter of the Christians, especially of the French, who wer almost all slaine.

Also at *Ptolomais* in *Aegypt*, which the Christians besieged two yeares together, the Suldane, who came with an armie to succour it, gaue them an ouerthrowe by the like chance; of a Horfse, which beeing let loose, ranne backe to the Campe. For whereas diuers souldiers called one vnto another to stay him, many ranne out of their ranks (to take him) with such disorder, that they seemed to those that were behinde, and some what farre off, to run away; whereupon, a great part of the Christian Army began to flye. And this

happened at such a time, as the Soldane with his Souldiers (being put to the worke) were running out of the fild: who seeing the Christians flye, called backe his men, charged them afresh, and got the Victorie.

*Charles* Duke of *Burgoyne*, besiedging *Granfon*, & vnderstanding that the Switzers came to succour it, went to meete them, to giue them battaile. The Souldiers of the vanguard, as they wer marching, meaning for to take a better way, reured a little backe. The reeward seeing the same, imagined that they fled, and began themselves to flye, whereupon the rest also did the like; and (in conclusion) the Duke and all ran away, abandoning their artillery and Campe, to the spoile of the Switzers, who were exceedingly enriched thereby, and yet slew only but seven men, for all the rest faued themselves by flight. Thus much concerning foddaine feares, whereto I will adde a few more examples of other accidents.

*Gildo*, Gouernor of *Affricke*, vnder the Emperours *Aradius* and *Honorius*, rebelled against the Empire, and his own brother *Mascezell* was employed against him for General, who had not (in a certaine occasion) aboue 5000. men to fight with 70000. And the armies being so nere together, that they were ready to Charge one another, *Mascezell* beganne to make motions of peace; & receiuing some hard and crosse language of one that bare an Ensigne, stroke him vpon the same arme that helde it, wherewith the Ensigne fell, and diuers others that followed, seeing it, and conceiuing that he which bare it had yielded it, went in great hast, and yielded themselves. VVhereupon, *Gildo* fled away with a great part of the armie, and the rest surrendered themselves to *Mascezell*.

Also in the battell of *Cirignola*, in the Kingdome of *Naples*, betwixt the Spaniards and the French, a worde spoken by the Count of *Nemount*, (who was then General of the French) beeing misconstrued by his Souldiers, was a very great cause of their ouerthrow. For, the battell being already begonne, and the Count finding withall, that he could not passe a cerain Ditch (ouer which he had thought to haue ledde some part of his Armie, to charge the Spaniards on the other side,

Phil. Comines  
Plots are fel-  
dome or ne-  
uer executed  
in the field, as  
they are ordain-  
ed in the chamber.

Idem Ibid.

Leues Duke  
of Anjou, King  
of France.

Paul Emilius  
Lodouicus

Of the force  
of foddaine feare  
in battell.

Rome surprized  
by Asynulphus  
the Emperour  
through a foddaine  
feare.  
Sigidius Regius  
Hic. An. 596.

Abatell left  
behind Christians  
and Turkes  
easily through a foddaine  
feare.  
Paul Emilius  
Hic. An. 95.

Paul Emilius  
de la Trinité

The Christians  
ouerthrowne  
by the Soldane  
through a foddaine  
feare.  
Paul Emilius  
Philippus  
Nemontus  
Chor.

No passion  
bereaueeth  
a man of his  
senses, more  
then foddaine  
feare.

Pietro Mexia,  
in Lodouico Ba-  
rbara.

Paul Emilius  
Comes.

Phil. Comines  
Chas. Duke  
of Burgoyne  
ouerthrowne  
by the Switz-  
ers at Gran-  
fon.

Examples of  
Battailes lost  
by diuers o-  
ther accidents  
Gildus lib. 7  
cap. 56.

Gildo Gouer-  
ner of Affrica  
ouerthrowne  
by a strange  
accident.

Calicut lib. 1.  
The French  
ouerthrowne  
by the Spani-  
ards, through  
a word mis-  
taken.

cried vnto the Souldiers that followed him, *Backe, backe*; meaning to lead them another way. But they not knowing the cause, vnderstood that he had them flye, which they all began to doe: and others (seeing the same) followed their example. It chanced also at the same time, that the Count was slaine; whereupon the whole Army of the French ranne away, and lefte the fildes and victorie to the Spaniards.

Againe, whosoeuer hath reade any thing of the ancient warres, or hath any experience in these our times; cannot be ignorant, what confusion may be bred in a battaile, by a little disorder growen vpon some fodaine accident; whereby Armies (many times) are causes of their owne overthrow. As it chanced to *Hannibal* in his last battaile with *Scipio*, wherein his owne Elephants turning backe vpon his Horse-men, so brake & disordered them, that the Romans taking advantage thereof, did easily put them all vnto flight.

The like to this, hath happened sometimes in this our age, and namely, a few yeares past in France, in the yeare of our Lord, 1590. in the battaile of *Yury*, betwene the King of France, *Henrie* the fourth, and the Duke of *Mayne*, then Generall for the League. In which Battaille, the Horsemen of the League, flying backe vpon their owne foote, brake them in such sort, that theyr Enemy entring withall easily defeated them.

Lastly, to shew evidently the force of chance in warre, is there any thing more vncertaine or vncoustant then winde and weather? And yet neuertheless, thereupon (many times) dependeth the successe of battailes, and other warlike attempts; especially by sea, where the winde & weather do predominate, and check al the power of men. For, who is ignorant, that be the Naue neuer so potent, it can neuer goe out of the harbour, nor arrive where it should to encounter the enemy; if winde and weather be not fauourable? Which is also as necessary and importat for obtaining victory in a conflict by sea, wherein, the first advantage that an expert Sea-man seeketh to get of his Enemy, is to winne the winde of him: which winde also changing (sometimes) during the Conflict, doth giue both the aduan-

tage and victory to the enemy. As it fell out in the Battaille of *Lepanto*, which happened betwene the Christians and the Turkes, wherein the Winde beeing first fauourable vnto the Turkes, suddenly changed, and draue all the smoke of the Artillerie and small shot vpon them, whereby they were so blinded, that they were very easily and speedily overthrowne.

And thus it chanceth in like manner in battailes vpon Land; and therefore wise Captaines seeke not onely to haue the Sunne, but also the winde on theyr backs: for, it often fauoureth, that a storme of Haile or Raine in the face of an enemy, or a violent winde, driving either the dust, or the smoke of shot and Artillerie vpon it, giueth the victory to the enemy. As in the famous battaile at *Cannus*, when *Hannibal* overthrowne the *Romaines*, and slew foure thousand horse, and seuen and twenty hundred horse, and tooke three thousand and three hundred prisoners. He had the winde in his fauor, which being in his backe, and withall so violent, that it draue the dust into the *Romaines* eyes, and did greatly facilitate his victory.

The like, or rather a farre greater victory, got *Scipio Africanus* against *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, whom hee put vnto flight, and slew five thousand foote, and foure thousand horse, with the losse only of three hundred forty nine men, by the helpe of a foggy mist, and a shoure of raine. For the mist was so thicke, that the huge Army of *Antiochus* could not one part of it see another: whereas it wrought no such effect in the small Army of the *Romaines*. And againe, the raine so weakened the Bowes and Slings of *Antiochus* his Souldiers, that they serued to little or no purpose: whereas the *Romaines* vnging onely Swordes and Darts, receyued no damage thereby. And to come neerer to our time, wee readeth that *Adolphus* the Emperour was slaine, and his whole armie cleane overthrowne and vanquished by *Albertus*, by reason that the Sun vvas in their faces.

Also, amongst some other causes of the losse of the great Battaille of *Ghratadada*, betwene the Venetians, and the French, *Guichardin* obserueth, that a certain shoure of raine; which fel cun-

The battelle of Lepanto, betwene the Christians and the Turkes. See in the *Monist.* 1571.

The storme that fell on Hannibal at Cannus. See *Lib.* 2. *Lib.* 2.

The victory of Scipio against Antiochus. See *Lib.* 1. *Lib.* 1.

Pedro Mexia in his *Lib.* de *Adolpho*. See *Lib.* 3.

as they were fighting, made the ground so slippery vpon a sudden, that the foote of the Venetians could not hold their footing, to defend themselves against the French Horse. By which means they were easily broken, and the greater part of them slaine.

Thus then wee see, how great a sway chance beareth in battailes and enterprizes of warre, and consequently, how little confidence is to bee reposed in the witte, pollicy, power, and endeavour of men, for the good successe thereof. VVhich depenaceth vpon infinit accidents, chancing so diuersly (according to the difference of persons, times, places, and circumstances) that neyther the wisdome of any Generall can force them, nor any diligence, dexterity, or industry of Souldiers preuent them, though al should concur in the highest degree. For be the Soldiers neuer so obedient, dexterious, & diligent, and the Captaine neuer so wise and valiant; yet what assurance is there of good successe, when a sudden danger shall foefly both Captaine and Soldiers, that neyther the one shall know what to command, nor the other how to obey; when an erroneous conceite of some few, or had example of some one, or a word mistaken, or a blast of winde, or a shewer of raine, and innumerable other accidents, not possible to be fore-seene or remedied, shall giue the victory to the weaker, yea, to those that are (in a manner) vanquished before? Therefore I will thus conclude this Chapter, that the successe of Battailles, and all warlike attempts, dependeth wholly on the will and secret iudgements of God.

## CHAP. XV.

How our Ancients and reuerend Predecessors, punished such in former times, as durst do any dishonour to their Mistresses.

VVas the more willing to insert this Chapter, to the end that the youth of our times may know and vnderstand, in what veneration and regard, our Ancients held the honour of Ladies, Gentle-

women, and Mistresses, and not without very great reason. For it is a notorious treason, & high point of dishonesty, that he who abideth as a seruant in a house, should entermeddle in seeking to purchase the loue of his Mistresse: nay, and that which is worse, to obtaine the cheefest point of al. In the compassing or contriuing whereof, he maketh the husband infamous, doth iniurie to the wife, scandalizeth neighbourhood, and overthroweth himselfe.

*Plutarch* in his Booke of Mariage writeth, that the *Licasmians* had a law, that if any strangers were found to conferre in secret with the Mistresse of their lodging, they had their tongues cut out of their mouthes; and if they presumed any further, then it was the losse of their liues. *Julius Caesar* caused one of his Captaines to be beheaded, because he had dishonored the Mistresse of the house where hee was lodged: without attending any excuse he could or should make, and without any complaint vrged by the husband.

The Emperour *Aurelius*, standing on a day at his window in his Pallace, & beholding a young man, who drew his Mistresse losily by the sleue of her gowne; had them both brought before him immediately, and although the young man and his Mistresse both deplored, that it was onely done in iest; yet *Aurelius* commanded (neuertheless) the same hand to be smitten off.

*Macrobius* writeth in his *Saturnales*, that such persons were reputed infamous among the Romanes, as should giue any commendations of the Mistresse of a Family, eyther in regard of her beauty, modest behauiour, or any other seemly quality. For such praises they repured, to giue euident notice of more priuate knowledge, and such knowledge vrged speech, and speech being the discloser of the hart, would afterward grow to the shameful acte. In the like manner *Anlus Gellius* reccordeth, that the same punishment was inflicted on him that dishonored his Mistresse, as to him that corrupted a vestall virgin: which penalty was, to haue his body cut in foure parts, or else to bee stoned to death aliue.

## CHAP.

Battell lost by a little disorder.

The battell of Yury in France Anno 1590.

The victory in battle dependeth sometimes vpon winde & weather as well by land as by sea.

Plutarch in his *Lib.* 2.

The severity of Julius Caesar to a Captaine.

Marcus Aurelius, a iust and leuere Emperour.

Macrobius in *Saturn.*

Anl. Gellius in *Lib.* 1.

The Authors reason for this Chapter heere inserted doth.

cried vnto the Souldiers that followed him, *Backe, backe*; meaning to lead them another way. But they not knowing the cause, vnderstood that he had them flye, which they all began to doe: and others (seeing the same) followed their example. It chanced also at the same time, that the Count was slaine; whereupon the whole Army of the French ranne away, and lefte the fildes and victorie to the Spaniards.

Againe, whosoeuer hath reade any thing of the ancient warres, or hath any experience in these our times; cannot be ignorant, what confusion may bee bred in a battaile, by a little disorder growing vpon some sodaine accident; whereby Armies (many times) are causes of their owne overthrow. As it chanced to *Hannibal* in his last battaile with *Scipio*, when in his owne Elephants turning backe vpon his Horse-men, so brake & disordered them, that the Romans taking advantage thereof, did easily put them all vnto flight.

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Lastly, to shew evidently the force of chance in warre, is there any thing more vncertaine or vnconstant then winde and weather? And yet neuertheless, thereupon (many times) dependeth the successe of battailes, and other warlike attempts; especially by sea, where the winde & weather do predominate, and check al the power of men. For, who is ignorant, that be the Naue neuer so potent, it can neuer goe out of the harbour, nor arrive where it should to encounter the enemy, if winde and weather be not fauourable? Which is also as necessary and importat for obtaining victory in a conflict by sea, wherein, the first advantage that an expert Sea-man seeketh to get of his Enemy, is to winne the winde of him: which winde also changing (sometimes) during the Conflict, doth giue both the aduan-

tage and victory to the enemy. As it fell out in the Battaille of *Lepanto*, which happened betweene the Christians and the Turkes, wherein the Winde being first fauourable vnto the Turkes, sodainly changed, and draue all the smoake of the Artillerie and small shot vpon them, whereby they were so blinded, that they were very easily and speedily overthrowne.

And thus it chanceth in like manner in battailes vpon Land; and therefore wise Capitaines seeke not onely to haue the Sunne, but also the winde on their backs: for, it often to lesh out, that a storme of Haile or Raine in the face of an enemy, or a violent winde, drauing either the dust, or the smoake of shot and Artillerie vpon it, giueth the victory to the enemy. As in the famous battaile at *Cannas*, when *Hannibal* overthrowed the *Romaines*, and slew foure thousand foote, and seuen and twenty hundred horse, and tooke three thousand and three hundred prisoners. He had the winde in his fauor, which being in his backe, and withall so violent, that it draue the dust into the *Romaines* eyes, and did greatly facilitate his victory.

The like, or rather a farre greater victory, got *Scipio Africanus* against *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, whom hee put vnto flight, and slew five thousand foote, and foure thousand horse, with the losse only of three hundred forty nine men, by the helpe of a foggy mist, and a shewre of raine. For the mist was so thicke, that the huge Army of *Antiochus* could not one part of it see another: whereas it wrought no such effect in the small Army of the *Romaines*. And againe, the raine so weakened the Bowes and Slings of *Antiochus* his Souldiers, that they serued to little or no purpose: whereas the *Romaines* vsing onely Swordes and Darts, receyued no damage thereby. And to come neerer to our time, wee reade that *Adolphus* the Emperour was slaine, and his vvhole arme cleane overthrowne and vanquished by *Albertus*, by reason that the Sun was in their faces.

Also, amongst some other causes of the losse of the great Battaille of *Chalradadda*, betweene the Venetians, and the French, *Guiccardin* obserueth, that a certain shewre of raine; which fel euen

The battelle of Lepanto, betweene the Christians and the Turkes. See more particulars, 1571.

The great victory of Hannibal at Cannas. See the History. Dec. 20. 211.

The victory of Scipio Africanus against Antiochus. See the History. Dec. 4. 191.

Pedro Mexia in the top of the ship. See the History. Dec. 21. 1571.

as they were fighting, made the ground so slippery vpon a sudden, that the foote of the Venetians could not hold their footing, to defend themselves against the French Horse. By which meanes they were easily broken, and the greater part of them slaine.

Thus then wee see, how great a sway chance beareth in battailes and enterprizes of warre, and consequently, how little confidence is to bee reposed in the witte, pollicy, power, and endeavour of men, for the good successe thereof. VVhich dependeth vpon infinit accidents, chancing so diuersly (according to the difference of persons, times, places, and circumstances) that neither the wisdom of any Generall can foresee them, nor any diligence, dexterity, or industry of Souldiers preuent them, though al should concur in the highest degree. For be the Soldiers neuer so obedient, dexterious, & diligent, and the Capitaine neuer so wise and valiant; yet what assurance is there of good successe, when a sudden danger shall so dismay both Capitaine and Soldiers, that neither the one shall know what to command, nor the other how to obey; when an erroneous conceite of some few, or bad example of some one, or a word mistaken, or a blast of winde, or a shewer of raine, and innumerable other accidents, not possible to be fore-seene or remedied, shall giue the victory to the weaker, yea, to those that are (in a manner) vanquished before? Therefore I will thus conclude this Chapter, that the successe of Battailles, and all warlike attempts, dependeth wholly on the will and secret iudgements of God.

## CHAP. XV.

How our Ancients and reuerend Predecessors, punished such in former times, as durst do any dishonour to their Mistresses.

VVas the more willing to insert this Chapter, to the ende that the youth of our times may know and vnderstand, in what veneration and regard, our Ancients held the honour of Ladyes, Gentle-

women, and Mistresses, and not without very great reason. For it is a notorious treason, & high point of dishonesty, that he who abideth as a seruant in a house, should entermeddle in seeking to purchase the loue of his Mistresse: nay, and that which is worse, to obtaine the cheefest point of al. In the compassing or contriuing whereof, he maketh the husband infamous, doth iniurie to the wife, scandalizeth neighbourhood, and overthroweth himselfe.

*Plutarch*, in his Booke of Mariage writeth, that the *Licamians* had a law, that if any strangers were found to conferre in secret with the Mistresse of their lodging, they had their tongues cut out of their mouths; and if they presumed any further, then it was the losse of their liues. *Julius Caesar* caused one of his Capitaines to be beheaded, because he had dishonored the Mistresse of the house where hee was lodged: without attending any excuse he could or should make, and without any complaint vrged by the husband.

The Emperour *Aurelius*, standing on a day at his window in his Pallace, & beholding a young man, who drew his Mistresse losily by the sleue of her gowne; had them both brought before him immediately, and although the young man and his Mistresse both deposed, that it was onely done in iest; yet *Aurelius* commanded (neuertheless) the same hand to be smitten off.

*Macrobius* writeth in his *Saturnales*, that such persons were reputed infamous among the *Romanes*, as should giue any commendation of the Mistresse of a Family, cyther in regard of her beauty, modest behauiour, or any other seemly quality. For such praises they repured, to giue euident notice of more priuate knowledge, and such knowledge vrged speech, and speech being the discloser of the hart, would afterward grow to the shamefull acte. In the like manner *Anulus Gellius* recordeth, that the same punishment was inflicted on him that dishonored his Mistresse, as to him that corrupted a vestall virgin: which penalty was, to haue his body cut in foure parts, or else to bee stoned to death aliue.

CHAP.

Battell lost by a little disorder.

The battell of Yury in France in Anno 1590.

The victory in battle dependeth sometimes vpon winde & weather as well by land as by sea.

Plutarch in lib. Mariage. p. 3.

The severity of Julius Caesar to a Capitaine.

Marcus Aurelius, a mist and leuere Emperour.

Macrobius in Saturna.

Anulus Gellius in lib. 10.

The Authors reason for this Chapter here inserted done.

## CHAP. XVII.

Concerning diuers kindes of Salutation, used among our Ancients, when they met together.

**T**HE manner that our Elders obserued in their Salutations one to another, was very diuers, and each one according to their Countries vfe.

The *Idumæans* at their meetings, vfed to speake these words: *The Lord bee with you.*

The true *Hebræes*, saluting each other, said, *God saue you my Brother.*

The *Philosophers* were wont to say; *God in a good houre.*

The *Thebanes* said; *God giue you health.* The *Romans* salutations were as if they they would say; *God send or giue you good fortune.*

The *Sicilians* said; *God keepe you.* The *Carthagenians* did not vfe any salutations by speeches at their meetings, but as a signe of loue and friendlines, they would kisse their right hands each together, and then kisse one another.

The *Moores* likewise at their meetings, would kisse the right shoulder of one another: and when they tooke leaue for their departing, then they would kis each others knee.

In *Italy* they haue three feuerall kindes of salutations for a whole day. In the morning they say, *Dio ti dia il buono giorno*; *God giue you a good morning*: At midnoon, *Dio ti dia salute*; *God giue you health.* And at euening they say, *Buona sera*, *Good euen.* They say also many times, *Miracommendo, I commend me to yee.* And after two or three houres of night is past, then they say, *Dio ti dia la buona notte*; *God giue you the goodnesse of the night.* Sometime also they are accustomed to say, *Idio ti contenti*, *God content yee.*

In the kingdom of *Valentia* in *Spain*, when men meete together, they salute each other in this manner; *Gentle Sir, you are well come.* And at the departing, the one saith, *God remaine with you*; and the o-

ther replyeth, *God in a good houre.*

In *Catholonia*, such persons as chance to meete together, salute one another thus; *You are very well arrived heere Sir.*

In *Castile* some vfe to say, *God keepe you*; others, *God be with you.* And when they leaue each other, the one saith, *God conduct you*; and the other answereth, *The blessed Angels beare you company.* Some also vfe to say; *With your good grace and fauour.* And others, *Adieu Sir.* In the Court some vfe to say, *I kisse the hands of your mercy.* And some other, *I kisse the feet of your Honour or Worship.* Which Courting salutations are altogether vaine, and (for the most part) deliuered with feigning and dissimulation. For many offer to kisse the hands and feet of one another, that would much rather cut them off, then any way kisse them, desiring indeed to see each others viter ruine. And certainly (me-thinks) that men of worth, authority, and respect, ought not to vfe any such salutations; because to kisse the feet, hath bin accounted a matter of great dignity, and appertaining to the Pope only. And to kisse the hand, is a gracious fauour attributed by Kings and Princes, to such Subiects as they thinke worthy of such grace.

But without gadding after so many kindes of vanities, and diuersity of idle words, it is a matter meete and reasonable, that wee who are Christians, should imitate Iesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, saluting one another, with such words as he saluted his Disciples, saying; *Peace be with you.* Our Redeemer entrusted vs also, to salute houses at our entreing into them, saying; *Peace be in this house.*

*Epaminondas* said, that vntill the age of thirty years, we should salute men thus; *You are very well come hither*, for all this while it appeareth, that they are but come into the world. From thirty vp to fifty, then to salute thus; *Well be yee*; because that then they know what manner of thing the world is. And from fifty defending downe againe, to say, *God in a good and blessed houre.* For then it appeareth, that they are beginning, to take leaue of the world, and that as they had an entreing into it, so there must needs be a departing from it.

CHAP.

The Catholonia.

The Castilian.

Court Salutations.

The vnicity of Court salutations.

How Christians should salute one another.

An excellent obseruation of the famous Epaminondas

## CHAP. XVII.

What a commendable thing it is to pardon iniuries, especially in Princes and great Lords.

**I**T hath euermore bene a praise-worthy thing, to pardon iniuries and offences: which Princes and great Lords should neuer be vnmindfull of, but continually to remember the words, which *Julius Caesar* spake to *Manilius*. Who (on a time) demanding of him, what that was which being performed by him, he thereby thought to receiue the greatest glory, and in remembrance whereof hee ought most to reioyce? VVhereto he thus answered. *By the immortal Gods I sweare to thee Manilius, that I neuer thought my selfe to haue merited glory, for any other thing whatsoeuer in this life, nor any other else so much to reioyce me; then in pardoning such as had iniured me, and rewarding them that did me seruice.* VVords vndoubtedly worthy of praise, pleasing to heare, notable to reade, and necessary to be followed. For although *Julius Caesar* beleeued as a Pagane, yet his works fauoured of a good Christian: and we miserable men, beleeuing all as Christians, yet our works come farre short of such beleeve, through the tentations of our corrupt flesh. Because humane wretchednesse is grown to such an encreasing in these cases, that many would pardon the iniuries of their enemies; and yet notwithstanding, dare not do it for feare of men: who vnderstanding, that such a man is willing to forgieue his enemy, presently vfe to say; that hee rather doth it through weaknesse and cowardise, then in any respect of charity.

## CHAP. XVIII.

From whence (as the first) came the title or name of King, and also of Emperour.

**O**VR reuerend Fore-fathers, according to the diuersity of Nations, called their Princes by diuers names. The

*Egyptians* called their cheefest Lords and Rulers, *Pharaohs*: The *Bybians*, *Ptolomies*: The *Parthians*, *Artaxides*: The *Albanes*, *Syltues*: The *Sicilians*, *Tyrants*: And the *Argiues*, *Kings*. Heere we are to vnderstand, that long since in former times, to be a King, was not any dignity, but an office onely: as euen now (among vs) is a Gouernour of the Common-wealth.

*Plutarch*, in his Bookes of Common-wealth, saith, that at the beginning, all such as gouerned, were called *Tyrants*: but afterward, all those that gouerned badly, were termed *Tyrants*, and such as ruled well were styled *Kings*, as a different note from them. For as the King maintained common vility, and preferred the safety of the Commonwealth, before his owne respects and commodities; so the Tyrant referred his dominion to his cupidity and profite, alledging his will onely, as the sole reason of all his vniust commands. The King fed the flock, and the Tyrant deuoured it: the one obeyed lawes, & the other commanded aboue them, and also would breake them when himselife pleased: this man was equall, the other vniust; the one obtrayned the kingdome by vertue, and therein conserued it; the other vsurped it by power, and so by power held it.

From the beginning of the foundation of *Rome*, the *Romans* created Kings, to bee gouerned and defended by them: neuerthelesse, they afterward found such kinde of gouernment to be so bad, as they would endure no more but seuen Kings. And after they had banished perpetually the *Tarquins* for their tyranny, cleaned or purged the Citty, and flaine their offerings: they made a solemne oath, for them, their children, and successors, neuer more to create any Kings, eyther to gouerne *Rome* or them. But forasmuch as the *Romane* Common-wealth, had formerly receiued great benefits by their Kings, as by *Numa Pompilius*, and that their Kings only had the charge of sacred things: they resolved to keepe the name of King perpetually in their Citty, to the end, it should not appeare, that with the expulsion of the Kings, they derogated from diuine Religion and Service.

And because the Auguries or Diviners had saide, that that name was consecrated to the Gods: the *Romans* ordainned, that one man among them should be

Due vnto of Nations called diuersity on style: giue to this or thence.

The difference of the words Tyrant, and King, and the feuerall manner of their gouerning in the Common-wealth.

The first creation of Kings in Rome.

Diuitius Haly-caran Lib. 5.

The Idumæans.

The Hebræes.

The Philosophers.

The Thebanes.

The Romans.

The Sicilians.

The Carthagenians.

The Moores.

The Italians.

The Valentian.

## CHAP. XIX.

*What was the reason, and upon what occasion, Kings in ancient times were created & established: And of the Dignity Royall.*



OR two principall causes, Kings were at first anciently established: One, to the end they should preferue common iustice and equity, by which bond humane society is maintained, and without which the lesser would be oppressed by the greater, all things being done by power, and no right observed. The other, because they should defend the goods and safety of their Citizens from enemies. The necessities of life assembled men among themselves, and conioyned them by a naturall society: which hath beene caused by mutual succours, support, and offices fitting mankinde. The beginning of this society, was reason and speech, whereby wee are differing from all brutish creatures. Reason caused many and infinite artes to be invented, and speech (which is the interpreter of the spirit) learned, entrusted, & communicated them, not onely by this mutual coniunction; but also hath stored the life of man with many commodities.

The first and cheefest, was the coniunction and coupling of man with woman, whereof was made one house, wherein all things were to the in common, & thence ensued plurality of houses. For Brothers, Sisters, and Cousins contracting marriage together at the beginning, and could not afterward (by multiplicity of their children) be contained all in one house, they went to dwell in other houses. So of one house at the first, came Boroughs and Villages, euen as Colonies of kindred. Finally, from Boroughs & Villages were deriued Citties, and becoming to be peopled, were enclosed with walles, confirmed with lawes, and entrusted with sciences: for without all these, they could not be preferred from the conspiracies of men, and therefore were to be ruled by some one, and couerousnesse of reigning is so great, that all would command, and none obey, or yeeld reuerence.

VVherefore, like as Saylor, when they are surprized with an impetuous tempest, run for refuge to the Patron of the Ship,

And as  
worthy con-  
spatious

yea,

Two reasons  
for the esta-  
blishing of  
Kings.

The begining  
of humane  
society.

The first con-  
iunction of  
man and wo-  
man, & what  
ensued thereon

Of one house  
at the first  
followed the  
peopling of  
Townes and  
Villages.

Eccle. 9. 9.

The world  
would perish  
if the power  
of God did  
not gaine int.

Herod. ant. 4.

The first be-  
ginning of  
Royall and  
Kingly Iuri-  
diction.

Royall Mai-  
esty, he to  
be armed  
with good  
Lawes.

yea, & before they will set forth to Sea, fore-seeing future perils, make their recourse to a good Pilot, in whom they repose their trust and safety: Euen so as requisite is it, to giue the gouernment of a City, to such a one as may well conduct the common-wealth, and render iustice and right to euery man. For where there is no Gouernor (saith Ecclesiastes) the people are scattered. All things which consist on a certaine order, should be referred to one head or cheefe. Which we may obserue in some brutish creatures; as in Bees, who obserue a forme or image of a common-wealth among them. This world it selfe (the parts whereof are conioyned among themselves, by admirable order and artificiall workmanship) would fayle and come to nothing, if it were not gouerned by the power of God. Therefore such as cannot endure the dominion of many, will submit themselves to the regimēt of one; in whom, for opinion of wisdome and goodnesse, they may safely repose their trust. Not onely then to the Medes (saith Herodotus) but also to all other people, Kings (vertuously inclined) were established for the administration of Iustice.

In elder times, kingdomes came not to the Sonnes of Kings, but was giuen to such a one, whom they thought would wisely and religiously maintaine the foundation of the Common-wealth, by concord and iustice. In those olde dayes, a King gouerned in euery City, and after other Townes became annexed to the principallity and dominion of one: Kings had beginning to gouerne ouer diuers people, and thence ensued, that according to the names of Kings, the Regions were so called, which the Romanes termed Provinces. Moreover, euery King should excell one another in iustice and power, to the end, that he may the better vniue his people by equitie, and defend the Common-wealth from enemies. And by good right it may be sayd, that Royall Maiestie ought not only to be decorated with Armes: but ought also to be armed with lawes, that at all times, both of warre and peace, he may both manfully and vprightly gouerne.

Now, speaking of this Royall dignitie, double it is to be great and holy, that Kings being protectors and defenders of

societies among men, do therein imitate the prouidence of God: the office and action of whom, is to rule and gouerne all things, & therefore by good right, they may be termed Vicars and Ministers of the almighty and soveraign Rector of the whole world, and he himselfe hath called them Gods. Plato reputed a kindome among mortall men, to be a diuine and soveraigne goodnesse; because it came neere to the diuine nature, and power celestiall. How farre then some do surpass each other in many things, so a King doth excell all other men in dignity and honor, not humane but diuine.

Porus, a King among the Indians, being taken prisoner in batraille, when Alexander demanded of him, after what manner he would be vsed; Like a King, quoth he. Again he vrged the same demand, & still he returned the same answer. For (quoth hee) all is comprized under the word King. The name of King was of so great veneration among Nations, that the Indians and Persians adored their Kings as a diuine image, and helde it for their highest and cheefest happinesse, to haue at any time but a sight of them. Pors renowned Iupiter by the name of king, more then any other title. And in ancient times, Kings did not onely gouerne the common-wealth; but also had the charge and super-intendency of Ceremonies & Sacrifices. Kings then are sacred, considering that the Hebrewes with one and the same oyle, anointed both their Kings & high Priests.

Let vs seee and obserue, how one kinde of reason, and the like of vnderstanding, do gouerne in man like a Queene. Let vs consider the other works of nature, which by a wonderfull kinde of concord, restrained and combined together, depend only vpon one. So that if things which imitate nature, are the most perfect and excellent, then questionlesse, Monarchy is most absolute and entire, farre aboue Aristocratic, Democratic, Oligarchy, or Laocratic, yea, all other kinds of gouernment, where eyther many persons, or few, or the people themselves do rule and command. And like as it is a very hard matter, to finde many men good and honest, rather then one only: so it is more hard, that the manners of one man should be so soone corrupted, as of many. So that

Kings imitate  
the prouidence  
and goodnesse  
of God.

Plato in lib. 4.  
de Legis.

An excellent  
example of  
Porus King of  
India.

The charge  
and office of  
Kings in an-  
cient times.

Things imita-  
ting nature,  
are the most  
perfect and  
excellent.

The King or  
Master of the  
Sacrifices.

The first  
cheefe Priest  
in Rome.

The original  
of the name  
of Emperour,  
and whereof  
it was deri-  
ued.

The Roman  
Dictators.

The name of  
Emperour gi-  
uen to Caesar  
by the people.

The five di-  
ginites of the  
Senate.

Many other  
Offices of  
State among  
the Romanes.



The world to  
be governed  
by one man  
only.

that if the whole world were governed by one man, there would not bee so many differences, manners, customes, nor diversities of religion, nor so many warres, offences, and slaughters. But when Cities are vnder the sway and power of many, they are then ouer-toyled with troubles, seditions, and dissensions, by reason of inordinate willes and affections in the greatest: who licence themselves to all euill, beeing partiall and discordant one towards another. Whereof God said by the mouth of his Prophet; *Many Pastours haue ruined my Vine.*

To serue and  
attend vpon  
the command  
of many, is no  
meanes illaury

Let me demaund one question, is it not much more seruile and slauish, to attend on the willes of many, then of one only. Nay, are not the couerous desires of one man sooner to be satisfied, then of many? you cannot chuse but grant it, and I craue no better iudgement. For as it is neyther good nor necessary, that in one house there should be many fathers of the

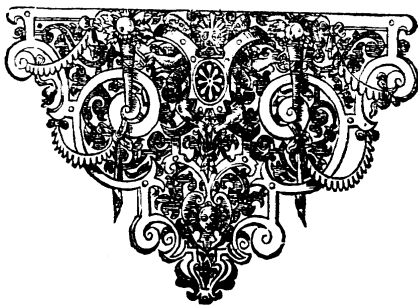
Family: euen so is it neyther secure nor profitable, that the Common-wealth should bee governed by the authority of many. Whereof *Licurgus* gaue good assurance, when some one required, that Democratic should bee established in *Sparta*, hee returned this answer; *Begin it then in thine owne house first.*

Yet very true it is, that one man only, how great or small soeuer in power & prerogatiue, cannot (of himselfe) provide for all occasions, and in all places: but he may by his Lieutenants (as God by the ministry of his Angels) exercise his authority throughout all his Lands vnder his obedience, as hauing the eye of his minde euery where, for contraiuing his Subiects in quietnesse, and causing iustice to be administered vnto them. I say then, as a conclusion to this Chapter, that wee ought to huc, in and vnder the vntie of these foure things; *Of one God; Of one king; Of one faith; And of one Law.*

The power &  
prerogatiue  
of a King by  
his Lieutenants.

THE

## The End of the Second Booke.



## THE THIRD BOOKE.

### The Originall of the Switzers, and their feuerall CANTONS.

*Containing, the Government of the Country; the publike estate of the thirteene Cantons, and of their Confederates, both in generall and particular: Their Baylywickes, and Iurisdiccions; The Originall and condition of all their Alliances; Their battels, victories, conquests, and other memororable actions; from the Emperor Raoul of Habsbourg, vntil the time of Charles the first.*

#### CHAP. I.

The Preface  
or induction  
of the Author



Because amongst those Common-wealthes of Freedom, gouerned by a certain number of Lords, many haue held opinion, that (at this present time) the Commonwealth of the Switzers is the cheefest, next vnto that of *Venice*: I haue many times questioned with diuers people, that were no Switzers, how, and after what manner this Common-wealth was first established & gouerned. For they did highly maruaile, that so many people, hauing but little, should ally and encrease themselves in so short while, euen as enclosed within a defensive wall or circuite, and continue firmly knit together in peace, for such a large and long expence of yeeres.

The common  
wealth of the  
Athenians.

The common  
wealth of the  
Achians.

The Common-wealth of the Athenians, excelling all the rest in Greece, was assembled and selected of many people, and from many places, not only into one countrey, but also within one & the same city. As for the Commonwealth of the Achians, composed of twelue towns or cities, it did not last long, nor prosper: but after it continued in some dignitie, vnder

*Aratus* and *Philopoemen*, soone afterward it was subdued by the Romaines, because she abused her owne liberty. After the death of *Iosias*, the Common-wealth of *Israel*, exposed (thorow her owne fault) to pillage and violence of enemies, was many times protected and defended by Iudges and valiant persons, which God had raised vp for that purpose: but at the last, the twelue Tribes, as beeing glutted or surferred with their own liberty, made choise of a King out of their own motion.

In the time of our Ancestors, by the intermeddling and solicitation of the Emperour *Frederick*, the Townes of \* *Suaba* v. nited themselves together, and (by that meanes) were esteemed inuincible: but hauing rashly attempted (and by badde conduct) war against the Switzers, the former confederation lost much of the latter. Which afterward, it seemed she recovered againe, when the confederates expelled the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and ruined all the Castles of *Suaba*, detained by diuers theues and robbers. So that soon after the time of their league was expired they became so strange one to another, that they who before were their friends and allies, were reputed by them as their greatest enemies, and ioyed themselves with those that had most molested them; by which meanes, in verie few yeares this league was vtterly lost and vanished.

The common  
wealth of *Israel*.

\* By some termed *Pomerania*.

All Switzer-  
land is no o-  
ther but one  
Common-  
wealth, & the  
reason thereof.

Passage by  
plurality of  
votes, bindeth  
all sub-  
jects.

The nation of  
the Switzer  
consisteth of  
estates in co-  
mon.

How Com-  
monwealths are  
maintained.

Troubles soon  
ended, & mu-  
tual love em-  
braced.

Now albeit there are many people, & a great number of Townes and Cities in *Swetia*; yet is it neuertheless, but euen as one City or Commonwealth. I know that learned men will hardly credite this, because they suppose vs to haue no society, nor any coniunction of government, and so (by consequent) it cannot be said, that *Swetia* can yeild the body of a Commonwealth considering also, that the Townes are not tyed to the ordinances of other Cities or Townes, except with their owne good will and liking, as in the Conventions priuate of associates. So it is, that in the same degree of Commonwealth, whatsoever hath passed by plurality of voyces, it bindeth all the Subjects of that Commonwealth. As for my self, I am not willing to contest with the learned: for I freely confesse the truth of their saying; if wee consider matters exactly. But in regard that the whole Nation of the Switzers consisteth of common estates, governing many Provinces in common, deliberating altogether on the affaires of peace and warre, hauing (almost) a like Lawes and Customes, and are so strictly conioyned by perpetuall Conventions: admit that this were not one onely Commonwealth, and in such nature as hath bene formerly spoken of; yet notwithstanding, wee that write and speake of these matters some-what more popularly, do imagine, that we shall not much faile, in calling this association and league, the City and Commonwealth of the Switzers.

Thus then this Commonwealth established by perpetuall alliances, hath conserved her liberty for the space of more then two hundred yeares, with great concord, and incredible vnion of hearts of all the Switzers. For albeit that once or twice (according as it hapneth almost ordinarily in all great Commonwealths) they haue bene prouoked and stirred to ciuill warres: yet notwithstanding, those troubles were immediately pacified, and al-reuinited together againe in sincere & cordiall affection; embracing the laudable desire of their predecessors, to study still for the freedome of their Countreys maintenance. Neuertheless, there are some kind of men (enemies to the Switzers) so impudent, as to reproch vs, that in *Heluetia*, euery man is a master or com-

mander, and that our Ancestors, hauing put to death, or troden vnder foote the awe of our Noblemen, by these meanes entred into this liberty, contrary vnto all right and reason. Others do (more truly) confesse, that our Noble-men did offer such outrage to our predecessors, both in words and deeds, that they had iust occasion to vndertake Armes, which all that while they managed very sharply, as it happeneth among people much abused and prouoked. But to satisfie the irresolution of some friends, who vnderstand not the estate of our affaires, and to rembarre the calumnies of the enuious, I thought good to employ my labour, in describing the forme of the Switzers Commonwealth, by reproofing all vntruthes to the full, and ascending to the height of their originall.

All *Heluetia* or *Switzerland*, is at this day considered in three parts: for first of all, the thirteene Cantons haue alwayes allyed and combined themselves, as into one body of a City. And these are they, *Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Uri, Suits, Vnderwald, Zug, Glaris, Basile, Fribourg, Soleurre, Schaffouse, and Appenzel*. In the second place are the associates and confederates of the thirteene Cantons, to wit, first of all, the Abbot and Towne of *S. Gal*; next, the confedered *Grifons*, the Byshop of *Sion*, and the whole countries of *Valais, Rotuile, Mulhouse, and Bienne*. Consequently, the territories or Bayliwickes, which are governed by the 13. Cantons in common, to witte; *Turgow, Bade, the Rheguses*, now adayes called *Rhinthal, Sargans*, the free Provinces, the inhabitants of *Lugano, Locarne, Mendrisse, and the Vale Madie*, whereto may well bee ioyned them of *Bellizone*, who are vnder the dominion of the three lesser Cantons. The cities and townes of the Cantons & confederates, are *Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Zug, Basile, Fribourg, Soleurre, Schaffouse, S. Gal, Coire* of the *Grifons*, *Syon* in *Valais*, *Rotuile, Mulhouse, and Bienne* for all the rest do dwell in villages.

Moreover, all of them abide not in Switzerland, neither within those limites proposed by *Cesar* in his Commentaries: for of the thirteene Cantons, *Basile* is as a quarter apart, which was anciently called the countrie of the *Raurasians*. *Schaffouse* is in *Allemagne* or *Germany*, on the further

The reason for the Authors writing of this discourse.

The persons and portions of Heluetia.

The thirteene Cantons.

Associates and Confederates

Iurisdiccions or Bayliwicks

Cities and Townes of the Cantons and Confederates

Villages appertaining to him.

Lat. Conf. in com. mens. Lib. 4.

The Abbot & the town of Saint Gal.

An ancient people of Germany.

The order of the Bayliwicks.

Diversity of authorities in the iurisdiccions of the Cantons.

Authority of sentence in criminall occasions.

Associations in matter of government and authority

side of the *Rhine*: and one part of them of *Glaris* and of *Vri*, do touch (as some conceiue) with the *Grifons* and the *Alpes*. As for the associates, except the Abbot and Towne of *S. Gal* and *Bienne*: al the rest are out of the limits of the ancient country of *Heluetia*. First we consider, that the *Grifons* retaineth still their name and old country of the *Rhatians*. Next is the *Valaisians*, who in elder times were called *Viberins, Sedusians*, and *Veragrius*. *Rotuile* is in *Germany*, and *Mulhouse* towards the *Franche Comté*. Now as concerning the Iurisdiccions or Bayliwicks, they of *Rhinthal* and of the *Sargans*, are *Grifons*. But they of *Lugano, Locarne, Mendrisse*, of the *Vale Madie*, and of *Bellizone*, are Italians by original and Language: the other Iurisdiccions remaine in Switzerland.

And heere you are to vnderstand, that these Cantons doe not hold equal authority ouer the distinct countries; but according as the associations haue bene made in diuersity of times, euen so is the authority of the Cantons diuers. They of *Turgow*, hold as their Lords and heads the feauen most ancient Cantons, namely, *Zurich, Lucerne, Uri, Suits, Vnderwald, Zug & Glaris*. *Berne, Fribourg & Soleurre*, do vndergoe some right in criminall causes. For the Prouosthip or Precedency of the Empire (as they vse to terme it) and iudgement of criminall processe, was heerebefore referred to them of *Confiance*, as their due: but among other conditions of peace, after the warre of *Suscha*, this authority was granted vnto the Switzers, which appertained equally to the fore-named Cantons, because they all ioyned together in the selfe-same warre. Moreover, those feuen Cantons commanding at *Bada*, did the like to them of *Sargans, Rhinthal*, and ouer the Free Provinces also. True it is, that in their gouernement of *Bada*, they associated the men of *Berne* with them; and they of *Appenzel* in the gouernment of *Rhinthal*; and all the Cantons to the foure Bayliwicks, which are on the confines of *Italy*. *Bellizone* is subiect to them of *Vri, Suits*, and *Vnderwald*: and such (at this day) is the condition and estate of the Switzers Commonwealth. Now, I purpose to shew the times, the cause, and the principall Articles of the Switzers league. Also,

what hath bene the estate of each *Canton*, before they became allyed together, and what their dues and rightes haue bene, and are. Lastly, what warres they haue maintained since their League was made.

## CHAP. II.

Of the three first Cantons of the Switzers.



N the yeare after the natiuity of our Lord Iesus Christ, 1307, they of *Vri, Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, were the very first that Cantoned themselves. They were termed Swaines or Boores of the country, dwelling in vallies, and in their owne Language, stiled, *Diedrey Lander*, also *Diedrey Waldstett*. And, in time, *Lucerne* came into the fourth place. They dwelt in the Valleys of the *Alpes*, betweene the *Grifons* country, the *Vale of Linuier*, and high *Valais*, and were seated betweene the *Canton* of *Zurich*, and the countrie of *Ergow*. Some doe affirme, that they of *Suits*, are descended of the *Cimbrians*; they of *Vri*, of the *Tauriscis*; & they of *Vnderwald*, of



certaine banished Romanes; and indeed, their magnanimity in war, declares them to be issued of generous Ancestors.

Their Annals do testifie, that the Emperor *Lewes*, sonne to *Charlemaign*, at the request of the Byshop of *Rome*, granted these people liberty, to bee gouerned by Lawes made among themselves, & gaue them many other Priuiledges, for their faithfull seruice in warre against the *Sazars*, in behalfe of the citie of *Rome*. For the *Sarrasians*, who in those times much troubled *Africa*, hauing inuaded *Sicilie*, came likewise into *Italy*: where they rooke some places: and afterward marching vnto *Rome*, easily made themselves Masters of the Vatican, which

The three first Cantons, and bo- they Cantoned themselves.

Of whom and whence these people are scelerally descended.

The Emperors fauour to these people.

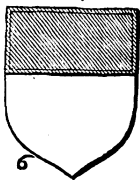
S 2 then

then stood voyd of any defence. There they robbed the Temple of Saint Peter, breaking downe the gates thereof, that were of siluer and very great value, and afterward burnt and destroyed it. Hauing continued there diuers dayes in determination to surprize



the whole Cittie; they heard tydings (as Historians say) that a great band of soldiers, belonging to \* C<sup>h</sup> Alpine Gaule, came to the succor of Rome, which

made them forthwith recoile, and to waite all the plaine Countrey about Rome. Among other badde seruices, they robbed the Temple of S. Paul vpon the way to \* O<sup>h</sup>ia, and stuffed it with such fires, as the more part thereof was vitterly ruined. From thence continuing on theyr course in spoile and ranage, euen so far as mount C<sup>h</sup>sinum, they stole away all the Jewels and Ornaments of the Abbey, and defaced a great part thereof. Thence getting vnto the sea shore, and lading their Shippes with their stoule booties: finding them ready to set saile, they lanchd forth into the maine.



Now, the Annales of Switzerland or Heluetia, do say; that these three first Cantons, and they of the Valley of H<sup>h</sup>sell, were present at this fore-mentioned succor and supply, and passed two seuerall times into Italy, vnder the conduct of a certaine Italian Marquesse, named G<sup>y</sup>. They pursued the Sarazins, and cut their rere-gard in peeces, bringing back a great spoile from this ouerthrowe of theirs, which they altogether gaue to the Temple of S. Peter, euen all that they hadde gotten from the enemy. In regard whereof, the Pope (as a recompence for so great a benefite) obtained (on theyr behalfe) great priuiledges from the King of France; and moreover, presented them with those Ensignes or Standards; which yet, in our daies, they vse to beare in war.

Notwithstanding, the Emperor Lewes sonne to Lewes the Debonnaire, and youn-

gest sonne to Charlemagne, gaue them of Vri to the Abbey which he had builte at Turegum, now called Zurich, where his daughter Hildegard was Lady Abbess: and the wordes of the Donation (truelly translated out of the Latine Copie) are these which follow.

*The Donation of the Emperour Lewes to the Abbey of Turegum.*



*E*give to our Abbey, founded at Turegum, where Saint Felix and Saint Regula rest in the Lord with their bodies; our Bourrough or Towne of Turegum, situated in the Duchy of Suabia, in the Territory of Durgan, with all the appurtenances and dependances in diuers charges: to wit, the village of Vri, with the churches, houses, and other buildings aboue named: The slaues, male and female, young and old, lands arable and desert, Woods, Meadows, pasture grounds, Fish ponds, Rivers, Ports, Passages things found and yet to find, with all olde rents and reuenues. Moreover, our Forreist named Albis, and generally all those things fore-mentioned, that either now or hereafter do and may appertaine vnto vs, without reseruing or retaining any thing whatsoeuer.

But it is not to bee thought, that this Donation did wholly abolish the ancient priuiledges and libertie of them of Vri: For, if we may credit them, the Emperour gaue not the Seignury of all the country to this recited Abbey, but of one Village or two onely. Moreover, if it were so that the whole valley of Vri had bin vnder subiection to this Abbey, yet notwithstanding, it coulde not much preiudice their freedome: because such as were any way subiect to Monasteries or Conuents, were obliged vnder certaine conditions, and enioyed their liberties in the meane while, onely their seruice to the Church excepted.

Beside, they receiued their Gouernors or Prouosts of the empire, to take knowledge and censure in causes criminall, without any appeale. They of Vri also did formerly do the like; and as concerning other causes, their Iudge, whom they tearme Amman (as much to say, as Maior or Bourgomaister) with his Counsellors or Assitants, was chosen from among

The lands & people of Vri giuen to the Abbey of Turegum.

According to the auncient Latine Copie

The ancient priuiledges & liberties of Vri, not translated by this gite.

among the people, by good knowledge had of him and them, & they are to provide in common for the affaires of the Common wealth. They of Suits & Vnderwald do gouerne themselues in the same manner: and among them, men belonging to the Church, haue some power and priuiledges. In these feuerall quarters wer good store of Nobleinen. As among them of Vri, the Barons of Attinghusle, Schwynberg and Pitzinge: The Lords of Sillini, Winterberg, Mose, Sedorf, Spiring, Meier, of Bourgs and of Oetzfeld. Among them of Suits, the Lords of Stenacker, Roggenberg, Schuuanow. In the quarters of Vnderwald, the Lords of Wolfenschieff, Hauenne, Rudenz, Altsch, Walterberg, Lembourg, Liebourg, and Hinnerville. At the beginning, these Gentlemen carryed themselues very kindly with the other Inhabitants, and part of them serued as vassalles to some neighbouring Earles. But when they grew rich thorow successeion of times, they began to misprize the people, and to subiect them to theyr vniust commands. The Gouernors, who ought to conserue the peoples libertie, making semblance of not seeing such harsh behauiours: fauoured the Gentlemen, as being next in condition to themselues, and by those means both augmented & supported their power.

In those times especially, not onlie the freedome of the Switzers Cantons, but likewise of many Townes in Germany, were in manifest danger. The Emperors were excommunicated, and in open warres assailed by the Popes, so that all Germany was diuided into two factions, one part wherof followed the Popes power, and the other the Emperors. The people of Switzerland, and some few of their Nobility, tooke part with Frederick the lawfull emperor, who (for that cause) renewed and reconfirmed the ancient priuiledges of their liberty. They of Suits can yet shew the Letters Patents of Frederick the second, written in the month of September, in the yeare 1240. whereby he receiued them of Suits into the safeguard of the empire, as members thereof; and that they should not be any way aliened or estranged thence, hee confirmed their priuiledges, and called them people of free condition.

On the contrary side, the most part of

the Nobility, especially such as were as vassalls to Conuents and Abbaies, which were then in very great credit, they followed the Popes faction. Hence sprung the hatreds, enmities, and first foundation of ciuill dissentions, all taking a wonderfull increasing in the Interregnum of manie yeares, after the death of Fredericke. Neuerthelesse, in those very times, the forenamed people did (euen then) enioy their intire liberty, although many ambuscadoes were prepared to deprive them of it: as appeareth sufficiently by a deed patent of confederacie for three yeares, by them of Vri and Suits, with them of the Towne of Zurich, the tenor of which confederacie followeth thus.

*A true Copy of the Patent of Confederacie, betweene Zurich, Vri, and Suits.*

**T**O all them to whome these Letters shall come, to be eiber seen or heard: We Arnold Mueur de Sillini, Amman, and the people of Vri: and we Conrad de Iberg, Amman and the people of Suits, and of the Diocesse of Constunce. We make it knowne, that we are obliged together by oath, mutually to ayd and counsell each other, from the Feast of the nativity of Iesus Christ, untill & for the space of three yeares ensuing, on these conditions following. Whatsoeuer hath bin done or past before 3 day, both not any way by vs together. If a Lord, whatsoeuer he be, haue a seruitor or vassall among vs: that vassall or seruitor shall be subiect vnto him, according to the custom which hath heretofore bin vsed in the kings time. But if the Lord shall confine him beyond that limitation; then will we enioyn to succour the seruitor. If any of the Allies or confederates shall possesse himselfe of any Castles or other places, without the consent and liking of the other Allies, they shall not stand bound to furnish the with the charge of Garrison or munition. If any one haue done damage by fire or spoile on any place, we will ioyne all our meines together, to make war on them that shall haue committed such an offense. If any shall attempt to invade or set upon the lands of Vri and Suits: they of Zurich shall impeach them to their uttermost power. If they cannot attaine thereunto: they shall then endamage them by burning, sacking, and all other helpes of hostility. If any shall besiege the Towne of Zurich, and shall

The vacencie of a Princes rule, make way to manie haraues.

Meanes to resist against tyranny.

Translated truly out of the auncient record.

The couenent of conditions agreed vpon between them For vassalls and seruants.

For allies and confederates.

Against fire or other spoile.

Against invasion to be offered on eyther side.

\* Called also Gallia Togata, and Citerior Gallia, betweene them and the Alpes

\* A city built by Ancus Martius in the monthes of Tyber.

Collected out of the Heluetian Annales.

A great spoile made of the Sarazins by the three first Cantons.

For the Vines  
and trees a-  
bout Zurich.

Against novelty in alliance.

Six men chosen for Vri & Suits out of Zurich, and as many out of Vri and Suits, to command all the rest.

Provision for  
death of any  
of the twelve  
in the time of  
contemplation

The Switzers  
continually  
jealous of their  
liberty.

The Nobilitie  
insulted too  
much ouerthe  
people.

spoyle the Vines and trees about it : they of V-  
ri and Suites shall oppose all their forces a-  
gainst them, and shall rob and burne the ene-  
mies Country. If any one of these inter-obli-  
ged parties, doe make confederation with any  
other, the other Allies shall not stand bounde  
thereto.

Moreover, we of Vri and of Suits, haue made choise of sixe persons among the Citizens of Zurich; namely, Raoul Muller, Roger Mannes, Raoul Beggenh, knights, Gaultier de Saint Pierre, Garnier Biberlin, and Conrad Krieg. And we of Zurich haue choise three among them of Vri; namely, Garnier de Attinghuf, Burckhard, the old Amman, Conrad Maieur of Orschuel. And as many of Suits, namely; Conrad, Amman of Iberg, Raoul Stauffacher, and Conrad Hun. These twelue men, according to their discretion, shall giue command to all the Altes, for mutual ayding & succouring one another, both how and whensoever neede shall require, in those affayres where of the conditions haue formerly bin expressed. If any one of these twelue men shall chance to die within compasse of the three yeares alliance, the other shall stand bound by Oath, to substitute another in his place within fourteen daies after following. And to the end that all before declared, may continue firme for the time prefixed: Wee the Senate and Citizens of Zurich, and we the people of Vri and Suits, haue put our Seales to three instruments of the same tenure, concerning this our faithfull alliance. Given at Zurich the day of Saint Galen the year of our Lord God, M. CC. II.

These Letters of alliance, made an 100. years before that they of Zurich hadde contracted perpetual alliance with the three first Cantons, do evidently declare how those people were euermore ieaious of their liberty, without offering wrong neuertheless vnto any person in consueing it. Now, about ten yeares after this alliance made, the Empire being troubled with factions, in regard it was debilitate of an Emperour, and *helmetia* much molested by the ouermuch license, which the Nobility tooke to themselves day by day the three Cantons hauing heard *Raoul of Habsbourg* (who was afterward Emperour) to be highly commended for many Vertues clearly shining in him, gaue him yearly pledges, and electing him for their head, made alliance with him, that they

liberty might be maintained at the sword's point, if neede required. They of *Zurich*, *Basle*, and *Strasbourg* did as much at the very same time. The like did manie free Townes of Germany, being called vnto their succour, and gaue mony euery year to the neighbouring Princes, to the end, they might be secured by their meanes.

The authority of *Rouel*, being buſied in other warres about *Zurich*, *Buſle*, and *Strasbourg*, coming forth of abilitie to reſſeſſe the inſolence of the Nobilitie: at length the people (being too much trod downe by great mens outrages) undertooke Armes, and expelled them forth of the Country that had raiſed this diſorder. This warre continued twelve yeares, about the yeare of our Lord, 1260, and ſome few yeares following. And in this warre, all the Cantons beganne to fortify the paſſages of their Countreies. They of *Suits* builded a Tower at Mount *Sattell*, fortifying and cutting off the great highway. They of *Friburg*, did dam vpon the Lake with a ſtrong prouiſion of ſtokes & ſtrubs, toward the village of *Stanz*, and fortified the Port, by means of a Tower which they builded there. The year 1273, it came to paſſe, that *Rouel* of *Habsburg* was elected King of the Romaines. Then the Gentlemen of *Switzerland* went vnto him, and gaue him to vnderſtand, that the people had rebelled: on the contrary, the people maintained, how much the Nobility had outraged them. The King hauing heard both parties, and leene the priuiledges of the people, gaue ſentence to their benefit, and made peace between them and the Noblemen expelled out of *Helvetia*, whither they returned again for the more part. As for the reſt of the country, the king did generally confirme Go- uernours in the name of the Empire, & not of the houſe of *Auftria*: which Go- uernours (from their beginning) did not dwell in towns or villages, but kept themſelues in their Caſtles, whence they came, twice or thrice yearly, to iudge in caſes of proceſſe, but more eſpecially in criminal cauſes.

In our dayes, there are Towns in Germanie, that receiued such Governours of the Empire, who managed no other matter, but onely causes criminall, & had no other occasions in Townes to attend vpon, but only theſe. And ſo far off was king

Alliance  
made with the  
Emp Raoul  
to preserve  
their liberty.

The first war  
of the Nobil-  
ity against the  
Cantons.

Erection of  
Towers and  
Castles of de-  
fence.

The truest re-  
medy to im-  
peach confu-  
sions of estate

Gouvernors  
placed in the  
Emperors  
name, & not  
in the house  
of Austria.

Chap. 2.

King Raoul a-  
bridged none  
of the Swit-  
zers liberties.

They of Suita  
were termed  
free people.

The Swiss  
liberties left  
entirely to the

Austria and  
Suabia joined  
to the Empe-  
rors other  
riches.

The Emperor  
Albert a great  
enemy to the  
Switzers li-  
berty.

Tyranny is  
cautious in  
his proce-  
dings, to com-  
pass his in-  
tentions.

*Raou,* from diminishing the liberties of the *Suissers*; as rather many of the Cantons stood beholding to him, for not only the confirmation, but likewise the amplification of their privileges. For, without depending on them of *Zurich*, he confirmed and augmented the privileges of the Canton of *Suiss*, in the 18. year of his Empire, as appeareth by his Letters given at *Bada*, in the year 1291. where, in expresse terms, they of *Suiss* are called people of free condition.

True it is, that the King himselfe tooke  
very great pains, to make the house of  
*Habsbourg* great: but he left to the *Swit-*  
*zers* their liberties entire. Either because  
he would not be accounted unthankfull,  
in ruining that that had succoured him,  
and shewne themselves faithfull in his  
right, before he was Emperour, perwa-  
ding himselfe also, that his affaires would  
prosper the better, by hauing the *Swit-*  
*zers* his loyall friends and associates, then  
to make rebels of subiects, who would  
carry but bad affection to the oppressors  
of their liberty: Or else in regard, that ha-  
uing (but a very little before) ioynd the  
Dukedome of *Austria*, as also of *Alle-*  
*maigne* or *Staba*, to his other possessions,  
he might thereby imagine, that it would  
beget him a general hatred, to fasten on  
things of such slender consequence; and  
that all the profite hee could procure, by  
vsurping ouer the *Switizers*, could not va-  
le the ill-will he should gaine thereby.

*Adolph de Nassau*, who was successeur to *Raoul* in the Empire, confirmed to the *Switzers* their privileges. By means whereof, the *Switzers* were highly hated of *Albert*, *Sonne*, to *Raoul*, and enemy to *Adolph*. This *Albert* was the very greatest adversary and persecutor of the liberties of the *Switzers*. He had a great number of children, and to advance and enrich them, he began to stretch forth his wings to farre as possibly he could, & especially he resolved, to provide a new kind of principality in *Switzerland*. He being become Emperour, attributed many things to the house of *Austria*, that appertained to the Empire: which made him offensive and insupportable to his neighbours, in what he fancieless, to get to himselfe whatsoever he desired, either by vniust demands, or else by manifest violence. And because Ecclesiastical per-

fons were very powerfull, he practised by all meanes, cyther to make sale to them of their iurisdictiones, or else to make them acknowledge him and his childre, as their hereditary and perpetuall Tutors & Protectors. In this manner he dealt with the Colleged and Convents of *Strasbourg, Basle, Constance, Coire, S. Gall, the Hermitage, S. Blasie, Disentz, Pfawertz, Kienow, Wettinghen, Muren, Interlach, Trudis, Certis, Seconn, Schenffis, Zurich*, and many other places beside. By the selfe-same cunning, he solicited & oppressed the Earles and Barons of *Switzerland* or *Helvetia*, to putt him selfes into the safeguard, and become vassalls to the heuse of *Austria*. Among others were the Lords of *Vilfow, Rotenburg, Reynpourg, Eichenbach, Altbourg, Wolvise* and *Grenzence*.

In former times, the Colleges and Convents depended vpon the Emprre, & Lords & Gentlemen did neuer acknowledge any other Soueraigne vpon earth, but the Emperour onely: but this *Albert* laboured to fasten all to the house of *Austria*. Wee may easily iudge of his violence towards strangers, by his bad carriage to his owne proper Nephew, to whom he would neuer (although hee was very many times thereto required) render the Hermitage paternall, which he gouerned in quality of a Tutor. But the Abbot of *Saint Gall*, two Colleges of the Towne of *Zurich*, and the Count of *Hombourg*, could neuer be brought to that point, to acknowledge them of *Austria* for their Protectors, neyther to sell them any portion of their iurisdinctions. They continually alledged their ancient priuileiges, and would not permit, that they should be dismembred from the Empire: which much incensed and offended the Emperour, who had practised vpon the rights of many other, especially the Convents *Secowm*, *Murbach*, the Hermitage, *Interlach*, *Difentz*, and *Lucerne*, who had giuen him all that appertained to them, at *Glaris*, *Lucerne*, *Suits*, and *Mernald*. Howbeit, they had formerly promised (by verie authentical letters) to the inhabitants of those places, neuer to alienate them to any other. But all this while, *Albert* cunningly wonne the hearts of simple people, and by goodly promises, made them to ratifie these alienations.

Hauing (by these meanes) gotten footing

Church priuileges intul-  
ted vpon by  
the Emperor  
Albert.

Lords made  
vassals to the  
house of Au-  
stria, by the  
Emperours  
cunning.

The Emperor  
crucity to his  
owne Ne-  
phew.

Tyrants doe  
alwaies meete  
with some  
people that  
will resist a-  
gainst their  
designes.

An evil example is no rule of imitation in others.

The practices  
of the Empe-  
ror Albert, to  
subiect them  
of *Suits* and  
*Vnderwald*.

Faire words  
are of no cost  
to the ene-  
mies of free  
peoples libe-  
ty.

Threatnings  
of a Princes  
dissuade  
omnibus.

Wifedome &  
good counsell  
is neuer wan-  
ing in them  
that maintain  
their liberty  
by lawfull  
meanes.

ting in the round neighbouring Coun-  
tries, & bought some Castles of the Con-  
uents, in the Territories of the forena-  
med Cantons: hee began to looke into  
some meanes, whereby he might become  
Master of *Suits* and *Vnderwald*, which be-  
ing enclosed by the of *Austria* (that do-  
mined ouer the Hermitage, *Glaris Zug*,  
*Lucerne*, & other places thereabout) cau-  
led many to imagine, that except hee  
could preuaile against the too, they wold  
quit their liberty as the other did. Ne-  
uertheless, *Albert* being desirous to reach  
the height of his desire, by such meanes  
as he had propounded to himselfe: sent  
in Embassie to them of *Suits* and *Vnder-  
wald*, the Baron of *Lichtenberg*, Gouvernor  
of *Alsacia*, and the Baron of *Cshensin*,  
two of his intimate Councellers. They  
addressed themselves first to the of *Suits*,  
and perswaded them to yeeld themselves  
into the protection of the house of *Au-  
stria*, who were very beeingne Princes, &  
vnder whose dominion they might liue  
much more peaceably, the formerly they  
had done vnder the Empire, dismembred  
and rent in peeces (as it were) while the  
Princes were in debate about the election  
of Emperors. They further added, that  
they of *Austria* had the reuenues of ma-  
ny Conuents in those very quarters, and  
that if they refused, by displeasing *Albert*,  
they might well conceiue, that their af-  
faires would but badly carry themselves;  
but in doing the contrary, his highnesse  
made them promise, of all honett and a-  
miable entertainmet, that a Prince could  
afford them.

The men of *Suits*, having bene aduer-  
tised before, concerning the intention &  
demand of *Albert*, by *Garnier*, Count of  
*Hombourg*, Lord of a neere neighbouring  
Country, called *La Marche*: a man not  
well affected by *Albert* because he had re-  
fused to yeeld himselfe vassalle to y<sup>e</sup> house  
of *Austria*: And having conferred with  
them of *Vri* and *Vnderwald*, returned  
thus their answer to the Ambassadors.  
That the Kings and Romane Emperours  
had giuen them faire and ample priviled-  
ges, carrying expresse charge, that they  
should neuer bee dismembred from the  
Empire: wherefore they were fully resolu-  
ed, in imitation of their Ancestours ex-  
ample, to continue firmly ioyned to the  
Romane Empire. As for the Monasteries

of *Marbach* and *Beron*, whose rights and  
reuenues (especially about *Suits*) were  
then in the hands of the *Austrian* Princes,  
having formerly promised by authentical  
instruments, neuer to alienate themselves  
to any other authority whatsoever: If they  
had kept their promise, they would haue  
done the like in duty to them. But seeing  
that they had broken their faith; and all  
former contracts were vnaturally can-  
celled: their example was no warrant to  
them for the like. Moreover, they would  
render to *Albert* and his children, Princes  
of *Austria*, such fidelity and obedience as  
they ought to do: entreating *Albert*, see-  
ing he was Emperor; that he would not  
permit them to be diuided from the Em-  
pire. Beside, in regard his Predecessours  
had confirmed their priviledges to them  
of *Suits* (which himselfe as yet had not  
done) they therefore againe did humbly  
entreate him, that he would vouchsafe  
to confirm them. They also desired the Am-  
bassadors, to returne this their answer to  
his imperiall Maestie, and to entreate on  
their behalfe, that he would benignly re-  
ceiue them.

The Ambassadors hauing this answer,  
went to deale with them of *Vri* & *Vnder-  
wald*: who (according to that which had  
bene accorded on among them before)  
made the selfe same answer as they of  
*Suits* had done. In all the forenamed Vil-  
lages, they did nothing else but shew to  
the Ambassadors, the Letters Patents and  
priviledges, granted them by *Fredericke*,  
son of *Habsbourg*, and other Emperors,  
together with the letters and consents of  
the Monasteries: all of them making hum-  
ble entreaty, that they might not be com-  
pelled to see al those things frustrated. But  
the Emperor hauing heard the Ambassa-  
dors, was highly offended at the answer,  
because the *Switzers* not only refused to  
acknowledge them of *Austria* for their  
Lords, & would not willingly be separa-  
ted from the Empires body: but also de-  
clared, that they would yeelde to no di-  
uision from the Monasteries, by which  
meanes, all the precedent attempts of *Al-  
bert*, built vpon great cost and traualle,  
were viterly disappointed.

In some short while after, they of *Suits*,  
*Vri* and *Vnderwald*, hauing againe sent  
their Ambassadors vnto the Empe-  
rour, to obtaine confirmation of their pri-  
ui-

Bad presidents  
do not merit  
to be followed  
when their  
extensioe is  
to generall  
prauidence.

Virtue is re-  
quisite among  
such people, as  
desire to pre-  
serue their li-  
berties.

The Emperer  
greatly is dis-  
satisfied that  
the expectation  
was disap-  
pointed.

Ambassadors  
sent to the  
Emperour by  
the Switzers.

Extraordi-  
nary Governours  
Castles erect-  
ed, and Gar-  
rison placed  
in the Coun-  
try, are the  
beginning of  
nauell ty-  
ranny.

Multitude of  
Governours  
are very dan-  
gerous in any  
Common-  
wealth.

Gouernours  
enter like  
Angels, but  
continue and  
goe out like  
diuils.

priviledges: hee answered them in chol-  
ler, that hee would satisfie their requests,  
according as they had done his demands.  
And that hee had depuced certaine Go-  
uernours, which he purposed to send vnto  
them, and by whom they should more  
amplly vnderstand his minde.

Following this intention, hee sent as  
Gouernours, the Knight *Grissler*, and *Pere-  
grin Landberg*. *Grissler* was appointed for  
*Suits* and *Vri*, and made his abiding in an  
olde Castell about *Suits*, called *Cshisch*,  
and beside, hee builded another Fortresse  
on the Land of *Vri*, *Landberg*, the Gouer-  
nour of *Vnderwald*, had two Castles, to  
wit, *Sarne* about the Forrest, and *Reizberg*,  
beneath, which Forrest diuided the coun-  
try of *Vnderwald* iust in the midst. These  
two Castles did formerly belong to the  
Conuent or Colledge of *Lucerne*, & the  
Majors or Bourgonaillers made their  
dwellings there: but the Emperor *Albert*  
had folded them to the house of *Austria*,  
and there he appointed Garrisons. These  
departments were something nouell and  
strange to them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnder-  
wald*: for till that time, these three seuerall  
places together had but one Gouerneur,  
who (ouer and beside) was many times  
Gouerneur of *Zurich* and other Townes.  
Hee remained in his Seigneuries out of  
the Cantons, and every yeare once or  
twice (being called) hee came thither to  
iudge in law-cases. The rest of the time,  
he had a Lieutenant chosen among the  
Country people, that executed his charge.  
But now there was appointed two per-  
petuall Gouerours, keeping Garrison in  
the very strongest parts of the Country:  
which the people were constrained to  
endure, onely in feare of the Emperour,  
and in regard beside, that those places  
were in the power of the *Austrian* Prin-  
ces.

At the beginning, these Gouerours  
shewed themselves very courteous and  
affable to all men: labouring by blandi-  
shments and faire looks, to winne the peo-  
ples hearts, & to subiect them to the house  
of *Austria*. But perceiving that these car-  
riages did little auail them, they began  
to checke and oppresse the people, by the  
command of *Albert*; who was againe  
greuously enraged, by reason of a new  
league or alliance (made for the space of  
ten yeares) betwene them of *Suits*, and

the Count of *Hombourg*. Tyranny thus  
encreasing day by day, Ambassadors (in  
name of the three Villages) were sent to  
the Emperour, who would neyther see  
nor heare them: so that they were con-  
strained to declare their Commission to  
his Councellers. The fustinne whereof  
was, that being people of the Roman Em-  
pire, they had obtained very ample fran-  
chizes and priviledges of the Emperours:  
whereof they were now in danger to bee  
despoiled, and oppressed by an irksome  
and insupportable tyranny. For the inha-  
bitants of the recited places, were with-  
out cause, or vpon very slender occasion,  
immediately imprisoned, & pressed with  
nouell exactions. Beside all this, every  
man in particular, was compelled at a cer-  
taine time, especially the first day of the  
year, to bring presents to the Gouerours,  
which neuer had bene put in practise be-  
fore. In which respect, they most humbly  
desired the Councellers, to intercede on  
their behalfe to the Emperour: that such  
charges might bee taken from them, and  
that their ancient priviledges might bee  
confirmed and put in full force againe.  
But the Emperours Councellers hauing  
conferred and agreed together, made an-  
swer, that the Villages themselves were  
the cause of this oppression, and that the  
Emperour was thus seuer to them, be-  
cause they would not follow the example  
of *Lucerne*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, in yeelding  
theselues to the house of *Austria*. Which  
doing, and making more account (then  
formerly they had done) of *Albert* and  
his children; they should find him a Prince  
that would vie them very kindly.

The Deputies hauing received this an-  
swer, returned without doing any thing  
else: in the meane while, the tyranny of  
the Gouerours (being fauoured & wink-  
ed at by the Emperour) grew more and  
more to greater strength. In a certaine  
Valley of *Vnderwald*, called *Melchtall*, ther  
dwelled an aged rich man, ieaious of his  
Countries liberty, and one that had bene  
the cheefest in counselling his compatri-  
ots, neuer to subiect themselves vnto the  
house of *Austria*, but carefully to pre-  
serue their ancient liberty, which mā was  
named *Henry of Melchtall*. *Landberg* sent  
a Seruant vnto him, with charge to bring  
away with him a couple of Oxen. Vher-  
to *Henry* answered, that he knew not him-  
selfe.

A cunning  
office in the  
Emperour,  
whereby to  
frustrate and  
auoid the peo-  
ples com-  
plaints.

New exalti-  
ons & gifts to  
the Gouer-  
nours enforced  
on the people

Such as the  
Majors is, such  
commonly  
are his Ser-  
uants.

*Landberg* was  
a most tyrann-  
icall Gouer-  
nour.

The extor-  
tions of *Land-  
berg*, winef-  
fed in the Hi-  
story of *Hen-  
ry de Melch-  
tall*.

selfe to be culpable of any crime, whereby the Gouverneur should exact such an amends of him: and albeit hee had committed some offence, yet hee ought not thus to extend his authority vpon his goods, before he had beene heard & condemned. The seruant being of humour answerable to his Master, arrogantly replied, that instantly he would driue thence the Oxen: and if he stood in need of them to plough his Land, his Countrylubbers should serue to draw in the yoke. Thus speaking, hee tooke the Oxen out of their yokes, and made himselfe ready to driue them away.

Oppression is an evil matter to procure inapacience in a Sonne, seeing his Father is injured.

*Arnoul*, a lusty young man, and Son to *Henry*, moued at this outrage offered to his father, gaue the seruant a found blow with a cudgell, as hee was driuing on the Oxen, and chanced to breake one of his fingers: but fearing the tyranny of his Master, he got immediately to the top of the Mountaines, and withdrew himselfe among them of *Vri*, where hee kept close with one of his kinsred. *Lambert* vnderstanding al that had past, sent out for *Henry Melchall* demanding of him what was become of his Son. *Henry* made answer, that he knew not where he was, as indeed hee was meere ignorant of his flight: whereat the Gouverneur was so furiously enraged, that he caused the old mans eies to be pluckt forth, & trauce away his Oxen, & depoyled him beside, of the most part of his goods. This cruelty brought him into the hatred of all the people: but in regard of *Alberts* power and oppressions, commanding ouer them very stearely, there was no man (as then) that durst stir against him. And because wicked courtes grow to a great head, when ouermuch licence is permitted to them: euen so insolent iniquity in the Gouvernors, did driue them out of one mischiefe into another.

Tyranny may easily be testified the Mother of wrong and iniustice.

Neere to the Abbey of *Engelberg*, and to the Village of *Wolffschiez*, in a place named *Alzellen*, there dwelt a country mā called *Conrad de Bomgarten*, married to a very faire and beautifull woman. It chanced that a Gentleman, named *Wolffschiez*, being Lieutenant to the Gouverneur, returning from *Engelberg*, & passing by *Alzellen*, to goe home to his house at *Rotberg*, found this womā in a meadow, busied about some commendable exer-

cise. He vnderstanding that her husband was absent, commanded the woman to make him ready a Bath, wherein he might wash himselfe, because he was ouer-travelled with heate and labour. The woman not daring to make refusal, did as the tyrant had commanded her. Proceeding on further in his intended villany, he pressed the woman to put off her garments, and come into the Bath to him; wherein shee promised to obey, provided, that two varlets, which attended on him, might withdraw themselves, as accordingly they presently did vpon their masters command.

One lewd intention can draw on another.

The woman vsing some delay, yet feigning preparation of her selfe to come into the Bath; got recovery of a doore behinde in the chamber, and fled away in great feare and anguish. Her husband returning from the Forrest, chanced to meete her, and vnderstanding what had happened; entred his house, and with an Axe or Hatchet, which he then had in his hand, slew the Lieutenant sitting in the Bath, and so he received the chastisement due to his wicked attempt, vpon the honour of a vertuous modest woman. The Gouverneur sought all means to reuenge his death: but he was so hated of all men, as he could not execute any thing. Beside, the villany and indignity of his Lieutenant, withheld him from daring to require any helpe of the Country: in regard also, that he who had done the deed, was fled into the Lands of *Vnderwald*, & kept himselfe hid among them of *Vri*. Some say, and among others, *Eternilius*, & *Stumpfius* in his *Annales of Heluetia*, that this man was the Gouverneur himselfe; who seeking thus to violence an honest woman, became so flaine. But they of *Vnderwald* maintaine, that hee who was killed in the Bath, was called *Wolffschiez*, a seruant to the house of *Austria*, and dwelling at *Rotberg*.

Modesty (seeing much more precious than reputation, and alwaies findeth helpe when the leauieth her foot.

Eternilius & Stumpfius in the Annales of Switzerland.

While these Tragedies were thus acting at *Vnderwald*, *Grisler*, the Gouverneur of *Vri* and *Suits* also, to keepe the people in the more awe and subiection; began to builde (by command from his Master) a Fort or Cittadell neere to *Altorff*, vpon a small hill called *Solturue*. This *Grisler* being a verie vaine-glorious man, made vaunt of abusing the people in such fort, that hee would bow & bend them at his

The tyranny of the Gouverneur: *Grisler*.

A Cittadell called the yoke of extreme slavery to the people.

A Bonnet or Hat to be reuerenced by the people.

Note the subtilty of a Tyrant.

Garnier Stouffacher (Sonne to Raoul Stouffacher first Magistrate of *Suit*).

Tyrants are enemies to them that maintaine the peoples liberty.

his pleasure, whereupon he called his Fort, *A yoke of extreme slavery to the Vrians*. He perceiving, that all men were enraged & badly bent toward him, and doubting, lest some matter might secretly be contriued against him; to compass discovery thereof, he vnderooke this course ensuing. He caused a Hat or Bonnet to be fixed vpon a long Pole, erected in the market place of *Altorff*, where the greater part of the Country people vsed to meete, and gaue command, that all men (taking off their owne Bonnets) should bow their knees, and yeelde as much honour to that Hat, as they vsed to doe to him the Gouverneur, or when they came into his presence. His purpose and opinion was hereby, that such as were maliciously addicted towards him, would neuer humble themselves, in doing so many reuerences to the Hat, especially if they had any comforts, vpon whose help they made any dependance: and that this occasion would serue him as an honest pretence for their discovery to his spies, and so torture might be inflicted on them, to gain knowledge of the whole enterprize. In the meane while, he departed thence, to visite the Country of *Suits*, where he was likewise Commander and Gouverneur.

In *Suits* there was a Gentleman of marke, named *Garnier Stouffacher*, whose Father was called *Raoul*, and had bene the first Magistrate of *Suits*, about thirty years before. This *Garnier* had built a house in more ample and magnificent manner, then was the vsual custome of the Country. It fortuned, that the Gouverneur *Grisler* passed on horsebacke by this house, and demanded to whom it appertained. *Stouffacher* knowing himselfe to bee in the ill opinion of the Gouverneur, because he had alwayes before counselled the people, not to subiect themselves to them of *Austria*: This house (quoth he) is for the King and you, by whose liberality, I am possessor of it. Then the Gouverneur answered; I am Lord of this Country, and henceforward I will not suffer any more, that yee shall sway your selues after your owne appetites, in building houses, as if you were Masters, and that you shall well feeble before it be long.

This answer deliuered with outrageous menaces, greatly displeased *Stouffacher*, who (from that time forward) could

not dissemble his greefe. Which was the cause that his wife, being a wife, modest, and discrete Lady, perceiving her husband sad and pensive, and vnderstanding the reason thereof; exhorted him to hope well, in regard that God, to whom all violence and tyranny was displeasing, would neuer forsake such as inuoked his help & furtherance. Moreover, it would well become him to make search after men of courage, such as were oppressed with the same tyranny: to conferre with them, and ioyne their means together, to recover the liberty of their Country; for shee durst assure him, that God would blesse so holy an enterprize. *Stouffacher*, hauing a long time consulted with himselfe, at length went from *Suits* to *Vri*, where he easily knew and perceived, that *Grisler* was hated of all men in those quarters, by reason of his insupportable pride, euen as much as he was in *Suits*: especially by the Baron of *Attinghuse*, then cheefe in iustice at *Vri*, & a familiar friend to *Stouffacher*. This Baron first began to complaine, as extremely wearied with the insolencies of *Grisler*, in erecting his Hat, as to ranke it with Princes; protesting openly, that he could not permit his Country, any longer to endure so great a tyranny.

But *Stouffacher* fearing (perhaps) that the Baron vsed this kinde of language, only but to found him, and (as we vse to say) to vndermine his secret cogitations; kept his owne intention couert, contenting himselfe, to breake his minde vnto an ancient faithfull friend of his, called *Gautier Furst*, that is to say, the Prince. These two hauing many and sundry times considered on all matters, and taken into their counsel (as a third party) *Arnould Melchall* of *Vnderwald*; bound themselves together by mutual oath, to ioyne all their means, and employ their paines by a common consent, for the extirpation of tyranny, and reducing their country to her ancient liberty. Moreover they concluded, that each of them in his owne quarter, should procure for many men as possibly he could, provided, that they were people of good and discrete carriage: who should all sweare, to employ both their goods & bodies, and to maintaine one another in his right, for recovery of the Countries former freedom: and that in the meane while, each man should acquit himselfe

Councils of small & slender appearance, grow to great effects: especially against Tyrants and tyranny.

Afflicted mindes doe comfort one another by conference.

The three first men that were the first foundation & beginners of the league of Switzers, and their manner of proceeding.



Promise and place of primacy appointed for meeting, to confer on these serious affairs.

Stouffacher, Furst, and Melchall, the three men of the league.

Oppression is a key to open the vnderstanding of most and least.

Adulce taken for beginning the business publicly.

In serious conferences, each side ought to be judicially heard.

of his duty towards the Empire, the Monasteries, as also to all Gentlemen & Yeomen. Promising likewise, to keepe this league & combination secret, untill such time as (by common aduice) all the confederates should bee resolved to publish it. They made choise also of a priuate place, nere to the Lake of *Vri*, called *Grutly*, where these three chiefe heads of the League vsed to meete, accompanied each one with three or foure, to aduise together what was to be done.

Thus you may perceiue, how the ground-works of the League of *Switzers* was then begunne, by *Stouffacher*, *Furst*, and *Melchall*: and being so agreed vpon, each man returned by himselfe home, to make coniunction with his companions. Soone after this, not onely the vulgar people, but likewise the most part of the Nobility in the Villages, rancked themselves with the confederates: For the *Gouernours* did molest the Noblemen, no lesse then they did the common sort, not making any difference betweene the one and other, but called the Gentlemen, peazants, and companions of a facility. In like manner, they of *Austria* had appropriated (by little & little) to themselves, the rights belonging to Noblemen: whereat many being offended, had forsaken (as it were) the part of *Austria*, as we haue formerly obserued by the Baron of *Atinghus*.

The number of the confederates being encreased, it seemed good to many, that it was time to set hand to the worke, namely, to chafe thence the *Gouernours*, & replant the ancient liberty of the country: for feare (leste by ouer-long delay, their enterprize would be discovered (by some meanes) to the *Gouernours*. And therefore, in the year 1207, the 17. day of October, twelue of the principall men among all the confederates, assembled themselves at a certaine place appointed. All insisted to lay hand to the business so soone as possible might be; against which, they of *Vnderwald* onely opposed themselves: because that the Castles or Fortresses, which the *Gouernour* held in their territory, to wit, *Sarne* and *Rotzburg*, were places well munited, and almost impregnable, and if siege should bee planted before them, the King of the *Romaines* would come forthwith, bringing an Ar-

my sufficient to succour them. The other confederates yielded to this motion, and agreed together, that the first day of Ianuary then next following, through all the Cantons, seizure should be made, on all the strongest Castles belonging vnto the *Gouernour*. To whom notwithstanding, not any outrage should be offered, neither to any of their family or *Garrisons*: except only to such as would make head, and withstand them in Armies; but to send the *Gouernours* safely and well away, with their goods. Moreover, that the Castles and strongest holds or Cittadels, should be rased from the top to the bottom: to declare by manifest effect, that they had not undertaken Armes for blowes or pillage, but onely to conferre their Countries liberty. This resolution agreed on, each man retired home to his house, awaiting for the day appointed: in the meane space, according to faithful promise, they kept their determination very secret.

While these affaires were thus in forwarding, there happened a notable accident at *Vri*. One *Guillaume Tell*, a man in the confederacy, diuers times passed by before the *Har* exalted on the Pole, as formerly hath bene related, without performing any reuerence thereto. And being therefore accused to the *Gouernour Grissler*: he entreated, that his incivility might bee excused, because hee reputed such reuerence to bee a matter of no importance. But the *Gouernour*, who held him a man much to be suspected, among *Guillames* children, made choise of a young little boy, whom the Father loued very dearly. And hee commanded *Guillaume* (being known an excellent archer) to set his sonne some good distance off, & with an Arrowe, to cleaue an Apple vpon his head, which if he did not, his owne head should be smitten off. *Guillaume Tell* answered, that his command was too strange and seuerer, and he had rather die, then thorough default of shooting right, to kill his dearest sonne. If thou dost not performe it, saide the *Gouernour*, it shall cost both thy life, and thy sonnes.

Prayers and entreaties not preuailling, *Tell* tooke his Bowe; and, by the prouidence of God (who questionlesse guided and directed the Arrow) cleft the Apple in twaine vpon his sonnes head. Euerie

A resolution to expell the *Gouernours* from the nest of their tyranny.

A notable history of *Guillaume Tell*, now limited by the *Swiss* *Gouernour*.

An hard instruction to the Father by the young, and not easily to be admonished.

one





one of the beholders did not a little reioyce, at such a faire and admirable shoo: but the Gouvernor, not contented with fo perilous a fatisfaction, perceiving another Arrow remaining vnder *Guillaumes* girdle, demanded of him, what vñe he meant to make of that other Arrow? *Guillaume* replied, that it was a custome among Archers, to draw more arrows then one out of their Quivers, for any occasiõ that might happen. But the Gouvernor suspecting something else, pressed him more & more; & finally, promised him to saue his life, if he would confesse the truth: which accordingly *Tell* did, and that he had that other Arrow ready, therewith to kill the Gouvernor, if his first shaft had slaine his Son. Then the Gouvernor declared, that he wold not take away his life, because he had promised the contrary: but he should be kept in perpetuall prison, and live miserably in darknesse, without conuersing with any man living. Thus speaking, he caused him to be fast bound with cordes, & led into a Barque, that hauing past the Lake of *Vri*, he might be conuayed to the Cattle of *Cusnach*. The Gouvernor, with his people & prisoner, being in the midst of the Lake, a greenous tempest suddenly exalted it selfe, which did put the Barque in euident perill. They perceiving themselves in extreme danger of their liues: one of *Grislers* seruants laid to his master, that there was but one only means whereby to saue them, and that was, to vnbinde *Guillaume Tell*, and refer the Barques conduct to him, because he was a most expert Marriner, strong and able to direct them in such a necessity. So extreme vrgent was the case, that euery man allowed the counsell, & vnbound *Tell*; who fastening hold on the Rudder, and guiding it manfully, preferred the Barque among the roughest billowes, turning her prow towards the country of *Suits*.

Hauing attained neere enough vnto the shore, there appeared a mighty stone (like vnto a Rock) about the water, which to this day is called *Telles Stone*. Being hard by it, *Tell* caught hold thereon with his bow, which lay at his feete in the Poupe, and leaping forth quickly vpon that stone, he gaue so strong a thrust with his foot against the Barques side, that it returned back among the steame billowes. This done, he tooke his flight thence, and

hid himselfe among the neighbouring Mountaines. The Barque hauing long floated in this manner, was guided at length by the Gouvernours seruants, to a Port named *Brune des Fontaines*. From thence the Gouvernor set on his way towards *Cusnach*, and must needs passe thorough a hollow craggy straite, where *Tell* (well acquainted with all those parts) by great good hap had ambushed himselfe among thick bushes: there he discharged an Arrow at the Gouvernor, which passed quite through his body, & slew him. Ther remaineth yet (to our time) a Chappell, built on the place where the Gouvernor was slaine: and another vpon the Stone or Rocke, where *Tell* threw himselfe out of the Barque. After this successfull shoo, *Tell* went to *Suits*, where he made all these matters knowne to *Stouffacher*. From thence hee tooke his way ouer the highest Mountaines, and turning by *Morsach*, came back to *Vri*, wher hauing found *Gautier Furst*, he acquainted him with all that had hapned. By this time, they had gotten hearts and hands enow, to expell all the Gouvernors family and followers: but hauing respect to them of *Vnderwald*, and remembering their former resolution for the first day of Ianuary following, they kept themselves quiet, & *Tell* (in the meane time) liued closely among his friends.

The first day of Ianuary being come, they of *Vnderwald* made themselves Masters of two Fortresses, according to a compromise passed between them. In the Fort of *Rotzberg* there dwelt a chambermaid, who was in loue with a goodly young man of *Vnderwald*, and committed folly with him. An especiall night of meeting being appointed by them both, the young man brought twenty other armed Souldiers with him, and caused them to lye closely hidden neere the Castle. He hauing giuen the signall to his wench, who knew nothing at all of the intended deceit, was mounted vp aloft to her by the helpe of a corde. Hauing staid some time of dalliance with her, making her to beleue one thing for another, he left the chamber a while, going to the window wher he had bin drawne vp, & letting downe the cord, drew vp one of his companions, and then returned to his last againe. He that had thus gotten vp, neuer left till he had drawne vp all his other fellows,

The correspondence of Gods iudgement with the iniquity of the Tyrant.

Two chappels erected in speciall places as liuing memorials of the tyrants overthrow, & the good fortune of *Tell*.

The retreat of the tyrants is attempted and wonne by them of *Vnderwald*.

By base and contemptible means, the power of the oppressors was utterly brought to nothing.

When the judgement of heauen intended to strike, the best wisdom in men cannot prevent it.

Successes produced alike in both the places by honest endeavour.

The theft and yoke of Tyranny vñe defaced and ruined.

lowes, (who were vnmatchable for strength and courage) and so got possession of the place: where they kept all the gates strongly defended, and close shut vp, in expectation of good newes from their other consorts, who were to seize the other Fortresses, called *Sarnen*.

That other company consisted of fifty valiant men, thirty of them hauing ambushed themselves in a neere neighboring wood: the rest went directly towards the Castle, leaning vpon staues and crutches, and carrying presents to the Gouvernor, (according to custome of the day) as Lambs, Pigs, Calues, Cheeses, and such like things. The Gouvernor was going to church, answerable to his ordinary wont at such a time, and met them on the way, where perceiving them to haue no other Armes then staues and crutches, which serued (as it seemed) to support their feeble bodies: hee made no doubt of any thing, but passed on, not a little pleased with those presents, and brought him in more liberall and plentifull manner, then they were formerly wont to do. Their staues and crutches were made round, and pierced so hollow within: that they could easily scrow in long sharpe pikes of iron, which each of them carried close hid in his bosome. They came to the Castle, where being permitted entrance with their New-year gifts: they possessed themselves of the Gates, giuing an appointed signall to their fellow-souldiers lying in the wood, who came immediately to succour them, and tooke them all prisoners that were in the Castle. Afterward, hearing that *Rotzberg* was surprized by their other associates, they released all their prisoners, and the Gouvernor also, whom they had laid sure hold on, as hee was about to escape. When the Gouvernor and his followers had solemnly promised vpon oath, neuer more to retorne againe into those quarters; they gaue the leaue to depart, & sent them by safe conduct out of the Country, and then ruined those two strong Forts or Castles flat to the ground. The very same day also, they of *Vri* demolished the new Cittadell, which *Grisler* had named, *The yoke of the Priests*, being not as yet fully finished: and in *Suits*, *Stouffacher* (with his followers) won and ruined the Cittadell of *Louerts*, builded nere vnto the Lake. On the mor-

row, the three villages (by their Deputies) made a publike league of amity and alliance, to continue for ten years, vpon the conditions before mentioned, confirming them all by solemne oath. Behold the end of their tyrannicall government, whom *Albert* had established ouer the Cantons.

When *Albert* had received tydings of this sudden change: he was wonderfully enraged, and resolved to make war vpon the cantons, as thinking by strong hand to bring them in subiection. He sent first of all to his subiects of *Zug*, *Lucerne*, & other neighbours of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, to suffer no viduals to be conuayed to them. But in a short while after, he was slaine by his owne Nephew, the Son of his Brother, and by his complices, in passing ouer the River of *Raff*: so that this war by him intended, remained now to be freshly attempted. His sonnes, being sufficiently hindred from reuenging his death, left the *Switzers* in peace: fearing lest they should ioine with the Gendemen, who had slaine their Father. About this time, they of *Austria* ruined many strong places in *Helucia*, as in the Territory of *Zurich*, *Warte*, *Mulperg*, *Schnabelberg*, *Maschwande* the Towne and Castle, and *Farrwange* in the neighbouring quarter. Some most noble families also were by them subuerted and extermined, to wit, that of *Eschlinbach*, *Wartz*, *Palme*, & many other. For at the taking of the Castle of *Forwange*, in one day, 63. Gentlemen, with their seruants, had their heads smitten off: And in other parts of *Switzerland*, they of *Austria* caused to be slaine, or banished out of the country, about a 1000. persons, the most part whereof were Noble. There are some ill-willers, that do falsely accuse the *Switzers*, to haue defoliated many places, & expelled many Noble families: when all this while, those horrid actions (for the most part) were committed by them of the house of *Austria*.

*Henry of Luzelbourg*, 7. Emperor of that name, succeeded after *Albert*. He confirmed the priuiledges & ancient liberty of the 3. cantons, & established a Prouost or Advocate of the Empire, to be Iudge in law cases in the Towne of *Zurich*, the round neighbouring places, and in the three Cantons, in name of the Emperor. This Prouost was named *Raoul of Habsbourg*, Lord of *Lauffenberg*. Some to

The only means to frustrate them, felues against tyranny.

*Albert* a fatal enemy to the *Switzers*, slaine by his own nephew.

Spoile and waste made by the Austrians in Switzerland, on Noble & Gentlemen.

False imputations laid on the *Switzers*.

*Henry* the 7. confirmed the priuiledges of the 3. cantons wherein may be seene the goodness of god to shine clearly, by sending mild comfort after to looqop-pretition.

Godfrey, who was Nephew to *Raoul*, ynkle to the Emperor *Raoul* of *Habspourg*. But the Emperor *Henry* being gon into *Italy*, (in which journey an hundred Souldiers of *Zurich*, and as many of the other Cantons, were at his pay) the Prouest was falsly accused (as some say) before the Emperor, by the means of *Duke Leopold*, who hated him, and said that he had abused his authority. So that he was deposed, and *Edward de Burgle*, dwelling at *Turge*, substituted in his place. Afterward, *Raoul* being brought to answer his cause at the Court of France, dyed at *Montpellier*. His seruants brought backe his body, and caused it to bee buried in the Abbey of *Wettingen*.

The Sonnes of *Albert*, having slaine all them that were present at the murder of their Father, and expelled all their other complices; became rich and powerful, for they had seized on the goods of all the that had hand in the death of *Albert*. The three cantons were highly in their malice and disgrace, yet they durst not begin war vpon them, fearing (perhaps) the Emperor, who had taken the *Switzers* into his protection: but neuertheless, they tholested the Cantons by diuers in-roades, for they could easily offend them of *Vnderwald*, by Boates descending on the lake of *Lucerne*; yet the Cantons kept themselves carefully within compasse of their guards, & mutually assisted one another.

In the year one thousand three hundred and ten, a Ship well munited & furnished with men, set forth from *Lucern*, to make assault on the of *Vnderwald*, that were com: (by great chance) with a Shippe of warre to assist them; did both bondge & strike the Vessell of *Lucerne*, very neere to the Port, killing a great number of the Souldiers, and taking the rest prisoners. This losse thus received, they of *Lucerne* (and their neighbours) tooke truce with the Cantons. In the same year, they of *Suits*, being desirous to pacifie all matters among them: bought of *Enyard*, Count of *Habspourg*, *Arte* and *Cusnach*, Villages of their Cantons, and subiects to the house of *Habspourg*, encreasing & enlarging the limitation of their bounds very much that way. But on the other side they had warre against the Monkes of the Hermitage, & for the space of about four

hundred years; each being at push of the Pike against the other, and for those reasons which I will breely relate.

The Emperor *Otho*, surnamed the great, about the year 950. hadde established certaine bounds to them of *Suits*, and to the Monkes of the Hermitage. In these limitations, some Mountaines (fertile for pasturage) were left to the Monkes, which till that time had bene possessed by them of *Suits*. It came to passe, that they would not keepe themselves to the Emperours appointment; but held their ancient limits. The Abbots of the Hermitage, who were not able enough to debout the out of their possession; gaue not ouer to obtaine of the Emperours successors, confirmation of the ordinance set downe by *Otho*. About the year one thousand, forty foure, the Abbot *Geron* accused them of *Suits* to *Henry* the third, Emperor. *Raoul* and *Arnoul*, Earles of *Lentzbourg*, & Gouernors of *Zug*, being ioyned with them of *Suits*, made their complaint likewise, that their limits were much abridged. But the Emperour *Henry* re-confirmed the grant of *Otho*, & condemned the Counts of *Lentzbourg* to a certaine fine of mony; all which notwithstanding, they of *Suits* kept themselves in their ancient posselsion still, in despite of all y the Abbot could do. Once more then, about the year of our Lord, 1144. the Abbot *Raoul* accused them before *Conrad* the second, Emperour, who confirmed also the sentence of *Otho*. Neuertheless, they of *Suits* maintained themselves (perforce) in posselsion still, and the Abbot (on the contrary side) defending the limits giuen him by the Emperour, and making vie of them accordingly; raised warre vpon them, inuading continually one another, and taking prisoners on cyther side. Their enmities endured a long time, and at last, *Raoul*, Count of *Rapperswill*, brought them to an agreement, in the year 1217. This accord was imbraced & kept for about the space of fifty years, at the end of which time, there came an Abbot, named *Anseline*, ynder whom nouell differences began: because that both sides expounded the tract of pacification, in a contrary sense and meaning.

The war being againe renewed, continued foure and forty years: but soone after, they of *Zurich* laboured to ratifie

The ground and original of so many years warre betweene the men of *Suits* and the Monks of the Hermitage.

The ground of Othons Great, established by the Emperour, the third, in the thirteenth.

The Count of Rapperswill counts a good reason in that, between long discontinued enemies.

Peace broken off againe by villanous behaviour in the Monks of the Hermitage to holy Pilgrims.

The Abbot entered in the night time by the house of *Suits*, to reuenge their wrong vpon the Monks.

A reconciled enemy is very ready to be created.

Election of *Lewes* of *Bawaria*, fourth of that name, Emperour, and a difference falling among the Princes Electors.

a firme peace, in the time of *Henry* the seventh. While they were treating on this peace, some men of *Suits*, being gon in pilgrimage to this Abbey of the Hermitage: were villanously and publicly outraged by certaine Monks, which wholly brake off the negotiation. Moreover, the Princes of *Austria*, who had appropriated to themselves the protection of the Abbey: incensed the Abbot and Monks against them of *Suits*, promising them continuall succour. The warre hauing lasted long, wherein they of *Suits* were greatly endamaged: at length, in the year, 1313. the 23. day of February, they went forth secretly into the fields in the night time, & hauing decieued the guardes; entered by strong hand into the Abbey, taking and leading thence the Monks that had done the outrage, together with the Curate of the place, named *John*, and the Master of the Schoole, named *Raoul*. There were then Monkes of noble birth in the Abbey, namely, *Raoul*, and *Henry* of *Wunsberg*, *John Kegenberg*, and *Burckhard Fleming*. This was the cause, that the Counts of *Habspourg* and of *Togge*, and the Baron of *Kegenberg*, who were their neere allies and kinsmen, as also *John* of *Schwanden*, Abbot of the Hermitage, greatly employed their pains with them of *Suits*, for these Monkes. When the Monks had solemnly promised vpon oath, neuer more to deale with them of *Suits* in any such enterprize, nor to attempt any matter of reuenge vpon them: they were released, hauing first payed nine hundred pounds *Tournois*. But this enlargement came so farre short of appeasing them: that it wrought a quite contrary effect in them, continually fixing their thraldome before their eyes; so that thence forward, they fought all meanes whereby to inure them of *Suits*.

Hereupon happened a new occasion of troubles. After the death of the Emperour *Henry*, in the year 1314. the States of the Empire being assembled to create a new Emperour; the Electors found themselves to be diuided in opinion. Foure of them elected *Lewes* of *Bawaria*, fourth of that name; but the other three gaue their voices to *Frederick* of *Austria*, the Sonne to *Albert*. He to make his part equal in voices to *Lewes* his number, named *Henry*, Duke of *Carinthia*, as King of *Bohemia*,

maintaining that this kingdome belonged to him, by right of the Countrey. *Frederick* counted this Duke among them that should giue their voyces; altho it that *John*, sonne to *Henry* the 7. was king of *Bohemia*, hauing married the daughter to the late deceated king. This dismembring of the Empire, caused those greuous troubles in *Germany* and *Scluetia*. The three Cantons, enemies to the house of *Austria*, ioyning themselves with *Lewes* of *Bawaria*: all their neighbors being before in their protection of *Austria*, or else at the time of these elections, approoued that of *Frederick*. Now in regard that the three Cantons onely, made head against *Frederick*; he reuailed so far, that (by his action) the Bishoppe of *Constance* excommunicated them, & they were banished by the Court Imperial, which was at *Rotuile*. They were charged, that they had violated the abbey of the Hermitage, & (in that tumult) had cast downe and spoiled the holy sacrifice: which they of *Suits* timely and stoutly denied, promising contrariwise, severely to punish the offenders in such a delict; prouided, y they might be discouered to them. And although they could not produce any one; yet notwithstanding, they remained banished & excommunicated. In regard whereof, they humbly entreated the Emperour *Lewes* to vndertake the knowledge of this cause: which he did, and procured afterward, that they were reintegrated into the communion of the Church.

In this time, the Gentlemen that were forth of the lands of the 3. Cantons, with the Gouernors; solicited *Leopold* of *Austria*, Son to *Albert*, to make war vpon the Cantons. The Abbot of the Hermitage, and the Count of *Monfort* rouled on this wheele with their belt helpe. The occasion was very honest, as it seemed, to wit; that the Prince purposed to reuenge the outrage done to the Chappell of the *Virgin Mary*. The young Prince, being young, powerful, and a true heire to his Fathers hatreds; suffered himself to be thus counselled, and intended prosecution of this war. His forces were about him, by whose meanes he had spoiled the places and castles of his fathers murderers: Soldiers were people aptly disposed for war, and made rich by the booties they had taken in those castles. Moreover, he leuied a

The cause of the dismall troubles in *Germany* and *Switzerland*.

The three Cantons excommunicated and banished, though cause they would not yett themselves to let unide.

Warre prepared by Prince *Leopold* of *Austria*, against the 3. Cantons, and the cause thereof.

The reuenge of the Emperour *Albert* Sonnes on the murderers of their Father.

A difference betweene them of *Lucerne* & the men of *Vnderwald*.

*Lucerne* shd take truce with the Cantons.

War by them of *Suits* against the Monkes of the Hermitage.

The division of the Forces belonging to Prince Leopold, and who conducted them.

Army, collected from *Suisse, Suaba*, and *Alsatia*, dividing all these powers into two parts. One of them, which (as is credibly affirmed) consisted of about twenty thousand men; was conducted by himselfe against them of *Suits*. He gaue the rest to the Count of *Strasberg*, Go-uernor of the vale of *Hazell*, that they might defend the Mountaine of *Brang*, and assaile that side belonging to them of *Vnderwald*.

The Cantons hearing newes of this preparation, mustered vp their forces, & because nothing might remaine as forgotten: they sent to craue peace of the Prince, by the Count of *Togge*, promising to accept the Prince as their Iudge, & to make answer in his presence, to the Abbot of the Hermitage, and to the expelled Nobility. But the Prince would allow no audience to the Count, and refused all negotiation of peace. The whole hope and expectation of quietnes being thus cut off, a Fast was published & commanded throughout the Cantons, and prayers devoutly made to God. All such as could carry Armes, were sent to the Garrisons in all those parts, where any entrance might be made into the countries.

The assembly of the forces of the three Cantons, and their number.

But because the Prince was at *Zug*, with the greater part of his power: the allies assembled themselves at *Suits*, which is the very neerest Canton to *Zug*, and there were mustered foure hundred Souldiers of *Vri*, three hundred of *Vnderwald*, and sixe hundred of *Suits*. These made vp 1300. men in all, and thus they resolved to attend the enemy, valiantly exposing their liues, for conservation of their countries, liberties, wiues, and children: declaring themselves (in this case) no lesse worthy of commendation, then the Lacedaemonians, who fighting for the freedom of *Greece*, dyed all with their weapons in their hands, at the passage of the *Thermopylae*. It is said, that the Lord of *Hunenberg*, a worthy Gentleman, dwelling in the territory of *Zug*, and being then in the Army of Prince *Leopold*, taking compassion on the death of so many innocents, at whose throates flicyng knives lay ouer-ready (for it was concluded by the Nobility, to put the three Cantons to fire & sword) did secretly aduertise the confederates, by a Letter which he shor vnto the fastened at an Arrow, that the day of *S.*

The great mercy and providence of God, preparing safety for oppressed people.

*Omer* (which was the 15. of Nouember) they should be assailed at a place called *Morgarten*, and therefore it stood them on to looke to their businesse. The allies hearing this, fortified strongly that place, appointing men to all the wayes whereby the enemy should passe, and encamped themselves aloft on the Mountaine.

Fifty men had then ranked themselves together, which had bene banished from *Suits*, and they humbly desired, that their banishment might be reuoked, offering to employ their paines courageously, for the safety of their Country. But a sad answer was returned them, to wit, that many among them were guilty of very greuous crimes: therefore they would not accept such people for companions, as fearing lesse those faulty persons, might be the occasion of harme to the whole Army. These poore banished men (for al this) would not giue ouer their good affection, which they had intirely addicted to their Countries succour: but got possession of a little high Hill on the Frontiers, which hung ouer the way, whereby (if necessary) the enemy must passe.

The sixteenth day of Nouember being come, in the yeare, 1315. *Leopold* caused his troopes to issue forth of *Zug*, about the breake of day; the infantry marching foremost, with all the Nobility and horsemen: for the Gentlemen had resolved to chastise the poore Country people with their owne hands, whom they tearmed the Seditious. As they were entered on the confines of *Suits*, hauing the Lake of *Egeria* on the one side, the high Mountaines on the other, and their Army betwene both. The banished men began to roule downe from the Mountaines top, great huge stones, and mighty Logs of Timber, vpon the Princes Army. Afterward, without the least intermission, hauing laid together great heaps of incredible big sharpe-pointed Flints: then showed them downe (as it were) vpon the horsemen, euen like to a violent tempest of haile.

This accident neuer expected, did put the Army into very great trouble; for men were not able to gouerne their horses, frighted with the continuall falling of sharpe stones from aloft, and very greuous wounds they received by the. This being noted by them of *Suits*, who were ranged

War ought not to be carried on by such means, or by such necessity.

The battell of Morgarten, where a thousand, three hundred and fifty men on foot were met by thousand.

Displeased and refused assistance the best way to an honorable success.

ranged vpon a very high place: they marched on to meete the enemy in the face; and (from a farre off) threw huge stones, and shot sharpe pointed arrows at them. Afterward, they came to handy grappling, and charges with Halberds to rariousslie, that both horse and foote were put to flight; among whom, the Abbot of the Hermitage, and the Count of *Mountfort* were the foremost, as is credibly reported.ouer and beside the footmen, 1500. horsemen were slaine in this battell, beside many drowned in the Lake, & a great number (by reason of the narrowe passage, which hindred the sauing of themselves) were murdred by their own fellowes, and trodden to death with horses. Two and fifty Citizens of *Zurich*, being all habited alike in garments of one colour, and well knowne by the Cantons, to be the most valiant men in all the enemies army, being sent by the Senate to succour the Duke of *Austria*, were slaine in the field.

The selfsame day as the battaile was fought at *Morgarten*, the Count of *Strasberg* (hauing chased the Garrison of *Brumig* from the Mountain) entered into the Country with three thousand men, and began to forrage euery where. He incamped at *Alpenach*, which is a Village in the Canton of *Vnderwald*, threatening the next morning to invade the other part of the country beyond the Forrest, if they on the hither side did not willingly yeeld themselves. But in the meane while, they of *Vnderwald* beyond the Forrest, assembled them of the Mountaines round about, & called to their assistance them on the hither side the Forrest, whom the enemy had not found as yet, and by the same meanes gaue knowledge to their partakers which were at *Suits*. The Messenger arrived at *Brunen* the morrow after the battaile, but others say, that it was the very same day. These newes being thus come, they of *Vnderwald* put themselves vpon the Lake, and made such diligence in getting to their houses, as in two hours space (by painfull labour and speed of the Ferry men) they crossed ouer the Lake, which indeede was very broad. An hundred men of *Suits* did accompanie them, with whome they arrived at the Port of *Buchs*, which is a village appertaining to them; then going on from thence to *Burgenslad*, ioyned their people with the others troops.

The overthrow of the Count of Strasberg at Vnderwald, & in what manner iwas persecuted.

Diligence and haste in most expedient & available when urgent necessity is a spur thereto.

Soone after, they came to assaile the enemy, who was come thither by the Lake of *Lucerne*, and ranged on through the country: but they compelled them to flight, and made them glad speedily to recover their Boats. Having thus chased them thence, they went towards *Alpenach*, to seeke the Count of *Strasberg*: & although it was late, they concluded (nevertheless) to assaile the enemy, because his powers were disperfed amongst the Villages, where they piled and ranged. Moreover, night could be no hinderance to them, that were well acquainted with all the straites and passages of the Country: which was an excellent resolution, and wonderfull contrary to the enemy. For very hardly could the Count of *Strasberg* endure their first shocke or encounter, because the disperfion of his soldiers amazed him: and when hee saw two Ensignes belonging to them of *Vnderwald*, like a good and discreet warrior, he perswaded himself, that they of *Austria* were ouerthrowne at *Morgarten*.

Hereupon, he speedily retired (throw the Mountaines) home to his owne house, and the rest fled amaine and confusedly: but yet not all, for three hundred of them were left slaine in the field, and the whole booty taken from the enemies hand. They of *Suits* and *Vri*, hauing provided for their affaires, came to succour their confederates of *Vnderwald*, and in the night arrived at *Buchs*, where they did heare tidings of the victory. Wherefore hauing first giuen thanks to God, & gratified their friends with so fortunate a successe, they returned home vnto their owne houses.

This victorie, settled and assured the foundation of the Switzers confederacie or alliance, and from thence forward, they of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, changed their league of ten yeares, into a perpetual alliance, and so passed it by authenticall Letters. The Switzers tooke their name of *Eydgnossen* (which signifieth partakers in swearing, or conioyned together by one and the same oath) by this alliance. At this time, among strangers, they are called Lords of Leagues, and Switzers, by reason of the Village of Canton of *Suits*. It may be, because they fought in that quarter, for the maintenance of their libertie: or in regard of their long warre

Their marching towards Alpenach to dole with the Count of Strasberg and his forces.

The foile and flight of the Count of Strasberg, and all his troops, etc.

A League of perpetual Alliance betweene the 3 Cantons.

Eydgnossen.

warre with the Monks of the Hermitage, and they were the first (among the three Cantons) assailed by them of *Austria*, and being the most potent of the three, the other Cantons were comprized vnder their name, which (consequently) extendeth it selfe to the other Cantons and confederates. I haue hereto annexed the tenure of the alliance, to the end, that euerie one may see, therein is nothing, either insolent or vniust, as some (to their great shame, haue falsely accused vs.

### The Tenure of League and Alliance, confirmed betwene the three Cantons.



**I**N the Name of God. Amen. Forasmuch as humane sense is infirme and fraile, which is the cause that things intended to be durable and perpetuall (as they

ought to be) are too soone and very easily lost or forgotten: It is therefore profitable and necessary, that such things as are established for peace, tranquillity, profite, and honour of men, should be couched and published by writings, and authentick instruments. So then We of *Vri*, *Suites*, & *Vnderwald*, give all men to knowe, who shall either see or heare these present Letters, that foreseeing & providing for difficult and queasie times, and for our more commodious enioying peace and rest, which are the best meanes, whereby to conserue our bodies and goodes: Wee haue promised and sworne each to other, in good Faith, and by Christian Oath, that Wee will mutually consult, counsell, and ayd one another, to warrant our liues, and defend our goods at our owne expences, at all times, against all and euerie one, that would or shall offer outrage either to our bodies or goods, to vs or Ours, in any manner whatsoever.

Notwithstanding, if wrong be done to any one of vs, either in his body or goodes, We are all bound to succour him to our power: to the end, that (by friendship or iustice) the wrong may be amended or repaired. Moreover, We binde our selues by the same Oath, that none of the three Cantons, shall receiue any man as Lord and Commander, without

the aduice and liking of the other. Each one of vs, as well males as females, shall stand bound to obey their natural Lords and Masters, and liue vnder their lawfull power, in all seruices iust and legitimate: except the said Lords offer violence (in any manner whatsoever) to any of the Cantons, for vnto such Masters they shall do no seruice, vntill such time as they be concorded with the Cantons. We haue couenanted also, that not any of the Cantons or Confederates, shall minister an Oath, or binde himselfe to any stranger, without the aduice of the other Cantons and Confederates. Not any person of the Confederates, shall communicate with a stranger (without aduice and permission of other Confederates) so long as the Cantons (shalt) with out a Lord. And if any one of our Cantons, violate and infringe any thing, or point of that which is contained in these presents: he shall be esteemed as a disloyal and perjured person, and his body and goodes consigne to the Cantons.

MOREOVER, WE haue agreed and condiscended, not to accept or entertaine any iudge or Magistrate, that shall buy his office with money, or any bribe else, although he be of our owne Countrey. If difference or warre happen to be moued among the Confederates: then such as are knowne to bee of most honesty and wisdom, shall meet together, to pacifie & confound the war or difference, either by lowing composition, or censure of right. If one side do reiect this proposition, the Confederates shall assist the other side, to the end, that the debate may bee ended, either by amity or iudicall sentence, and at the charges of them that would not stand to the award.

If any suite or warre shall arise betwene two of the Cantons, and any one of them will not yeeld to a friendly composition, or according to right: the third Canton shall maintaine the cause of that side, that submitted most to reason, and powerfully assist it, either to end the contention by a lowing composition or by iudicall sentence. If any one of the Confederates shall kill one of his owne followers, he must dye also: except hee can make it appeare, and the Judges likewise auouch it by their sentence, that he did it upon urgent necessity, and in defence of his owne bodie. If he flye for the fact, whoeuer of our Countries shall receiue him into his house, there to lodge or maintaine him: he is to be banished perpetuall, except by common consent of the Confederates

Concerning an Oath or bond to any stranger, or communication with him.

A worthy example for all Christian-welshes to imitate.

Of himselfe, to the Cantons, what the third is to do to appeare the constitution: And also if one man kill another.

For such a shall line eyther his or goods in the Cantons.

For such as shall line eyther his or goods in the Cantons.

The liberties and alliances of the Switzers, confirmed by the Emp. Lewis.

The power & authority of the Governour limited, or his entrance into this rule or into the Cantons.

federates or can win grace.

If any of the Confederates either priuily, manifestly or impudently, shall breake any oasse or goe to some other of the Confederates: he shall bee expulsed (for euer) out of our Countreies, and whoeuer loyeth or maintaineth him, shall stand bound to satisfie the others losses. No person shall exact a payne or fee, except it be of his debter, or one unable to answer him otherwise: and it is not to be done neither, without consent of the Judge. That every man shall be obedient vnto his iudge, and make publike declaration, which iudge (of our Countreies) hee will accept, to undergoe iudgement before him. Whoeuer refuseth to obey the sentence giuen, shall pay the interests to him of the Confederates, for whose profit & benefit the sentence was delivered.

And to the end, that these conditions aboue written, may remaine firme, inuolable and perpetuall: We be surnamed Citizens & Allies of *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderwald*, haue put our Seales to these presents, at *Brünen*, in the year of our Saviour *Iesus Christ*, 1315, being the morrow after the day of *S. Nicholas*.

These Cantons hauing conquered their enemies, and confirmed their Alliance, sent men to the Emperor *Lewis*, to aduertise him of all. He at the beginning of the year, held a day imperiall at *Nuremberg*, where the Princes of *Austria* were condemned of high treason, the goods which they had in *Suisse*, confiscated to the Emperor and Empire, and the liberty of the Cantons fully confirmed. The Letters containing this ordination, were giuen in the campe at *Merride*, the 23. day of March, in the year 1316. & the second yeere of the Emperor *Lewis*. The same Emperor, about the year 1323. established as Governour in these three Cantons, *John*, Count of *Arberg*, vnto whom (as Lieutenant of the Emperour *Lewis*) the Cantons gaue their Oath.

The Governour promised them also by Letters Patents, that hee would not diminish or preiudice (in any manner whatsoever) their liberties and alliances, nor suffer them to be alienated from the Empire, neither to be reduced vnder the power of them of *Austria*, or of the Noblemen excluded from the Countreies of the

Cantons. Beside, that no man amongst them should be drawne in iustice out of these countreies, and that their iuges should not be taken from any place else; but meere from among themselves. And because the Governours should not infringe the liberties of the Cantons, their power was limited by the Emperour, and prohibited (vnder greuous penalties) from diminishing in any manner whatsoever, the liberties granted to the Cantons. The Letters Patents which contained these articles, were giuen at *Pavia* in the ycare 1329. and on the day of *S. John Baptist*. The Emperours that succeeded *Lewis*, confirmed these things, and permitted (moreouer) to the Cantons, to elect Governours (for their countreies) among themselves. But in the Emperours name, and to haue highest iustice in causes both ciuill and criminall.

They of *Austria* hauing bin so shrewdly gauld, as hitherto hath bene declared, grew to truce, not because their forces were wholly weakened: but in regard that they were impeached in war against the Emperor *Lewis*, so that they could not deale with so many matters all at a time. In the meane while (neuertheless) some incursions and losses were made in *Suisse* on either side. It came to passe, that they of *Wise* and their neighbours, which liued below the gouernment of *Glaris*, and in diuers kinds molested them of *Suites*: who came and met them with a main army, and compelled them to craue peace. On the other side, the Abbot of the Hermitage, had caused the three Cantons to be excommunicated, especially them of *Suits*: first by the byshop of *Constance*, & afterward by the Pope. *Fredericke* of *Austria*, who termed himselfe to bee Emperour, likewise banished them but the Emperor *Lewis* tooke away the curse, and by his commandement, *Peter*, Archbyshop of *Mayence*, remitted them into the communion of Christians. Also, the Abbot of the Hermitage, wrote to them of *Suits* that hee had renounced the Popes Bull, and would not suffer it to bee serued against them.

During this time, that the truce continued on either part, they of *Austria* drew into league with them, *Hermann* & *Ewald*, Counts of *Kybourg*, and Lordes of *Dun*: this happened in the year, 1317. By the means

Gouernours chosen among themselves.

It is the Nature of tyrants themselves being disquieted, to persecute the people not to loose in peace.

The Emperor contradicted the curle of the Bishop & Pope.

Taken forth of the true Originall copy.

A careful and Christian consideration in any Common wealth.

A lowing League, wher a particular injury extendeth it selfe in general.

The cunning  
proceeding  
of them of  
Austria a-  
gainst the  
Cantons.

meanes of these Earles, they procured such an hindrance, that the men of *Interlach* could send no victuals to *Vnderwald*. In the yeere one thousand three hundred twenty three, they drew to them *Iohn of Habsbourg*, Lord of *Rapswill*, and heyere to the Count of *Hombourg*. Afterward, they combined themselves with him, against the Cantons, because his Landes neighboured to the *Canton of Suites*, and lay aptly to cut off all releefe, and rayse warre. The yeare following, *Raoul* and *Herman*, Counts of *Vierdenberg*, and Lords of *Sargans*, made alliance also with *Leopold of Austria*: but their brother *Henry* tooke part with the Emperour *Lewes*, who (at that time) was excommunicated and deprived of the Empire by the Pope. By these meanes, great divisions fell in the empire, some depending on the Popes decree; others mocking it, and cleaving to *Lewes*, as their lawfull Emperour.

In these troubles, the Cantons maintained themselves carefully, and in amitie with the partakers of *Lewes*; whereunto also, many Townes of *Suisse* conformed themselves. For, although (at the beginning) they of *Zurich*, and some others followed the part of *Frederick of Austria*: yet notwithstanding, he being prisoner, and having renounced the empire, albeit his brethren continued warre agaynst *Lewes*, they of *Zurich* ioyned with *Lewes*: as with him that then was their onely true Emperour. In the yeare 1327. the Cantons made alliance with the Imperiall cities and townes, that stood fast for *Lewes*, to wit, *Meyence*, *Wormes*, *Spire*, *Strasbourg*, *Basle*, *Fribourg*, *Constance*, *Linaw* and *Vberlingen*: with this League they of *Zurich* and *Berne* combined themselves. But five hundred yeares after, *Lucerna* made perpetuall alliance with the three Cantons. In few words, I will tell you the occasion, after I have first declared somewhat, concerning the beginning and estate of the said City, before it became allied with the Cantons.

The Cantons  
ioyn with the  
Citie that  
held for Le-  
wes the true  
Emperour.

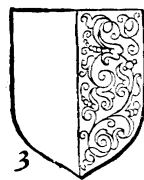
Lucerne ioyn-  
ed to the 3.  
Cantons.

## CHAP. III.

Of the Originall estate of *Lucerna*, before it  
lesqued it selfe with the Cantons.



The city of *Lucerna* is seated on the river *Russe*, which issueth forth of a great Lake, whereby wee may passe to the three Cantons. Also, at the foote of an high Mountaine, commonly called *Pilates Mount*. The situation is commodious, because this is the way, to traueell by the mountain of *Saint Godard* in *Italy*. From *Fribourg*, the Merchants are transported ouer the Mountaines, and from thence into *Italy*, with beasts of carriage: and (reciprocally) the Merchants of *Italy* descend by the Lake and River of *Russe*, to the *Rhein*, & thence into the Ocean sea.



It is not certainly knowne, neither at what time, nor by whom the Citie was builded: but one faith well, that on each side of the River there is a castle (which are houses now inhabited by Citizens) and builded by the *Allemaings* or *Germaines*. Concerning the opinion of *Etterlinus*, who wrote some small history of *Suisse* or *Swetia*, referring these matters to the house of *Austria*, and thinketh that those castles serued as a retreat for robbers and theues: he abuseth his own iudgement greatly therein. For, in the time of *Raoul of Habsbourg* (and no sooner) they of *Austria* began to command in these quarters here, when the Dutchie of *Austria* fell to the house of *Habsbourg*. And it is no way credible, that a Prince would euer endure; that theues should make vse of a passage so commodious, for traueilling from *Suisse* into *Italy*.

It seemeth, that *Lucerna* was so named, in regard of a Lanterne, which duly euery night is there advanced, and bright lights clearly shining therein, for benefite

A description  
concerning  
the situation  
of the City of  
*Lucerna*.

The time whē  
and by whom  
*Lucerna* was  
builded, is not  
certaine.

At what time  
they of *Au-  
stria* began  
their rule over  
the Cantons.

How *Lucerna*  
became at last  
to be annexed.

of passengers vpon the Lake. And it is very likely, that the high ancient Tower, which (at this day) standeth aloofe on the bridge (as in like manner there is another at *Zurich*, called *Wellemburg*) serued for that purpose. Our graue ancientes & forefathers, termed euery such kind of Tower *Pharos*. A Charter granted to *Guichard* the Priest, auoucheth, that *Lucerna* deriued her name from Antiquity. For, the *Annales of Lucerna* do declare, that the *Lucernians* (hauing serued *Charlemagne* in a warre against the Sarazins) obtained of him diuers priuiledges, and especially, the vse of Cornets, wherewith they did both summon the battailes and retreats, even as they doe nowe at this present time.

Be it howsoeuer, anciently, the Cantons of the colledge of *Lucerna*, helde great authoritie, as also in many Townes of Germany. This colledge was founded by *Guichard* the Priest, brother vnto *Kasper*, Leader of the horsemen to king *Lewes*, who was sonne to King *Theoderick*, who died in the yeare seven hundred, & founded also the colledge of *Canons at Zurich*. The colledge of *Lucerna* fell to the Abbot of *Murbach*, by the donation of King *pepin*. The same Abbot was Lord of *Lucerna*, vntill the time of the Emperour *Albert of Austria*: who hauing resolved to establish a new kinde of principality in *Swetia*, as already wee haue told you, bought *Lucerna* of the Abbot of *Murbach*, by giuing him foure villages in *Alsatia*, and a certaine summe of money, amounting to the valew of two thousand Markes of money, as it is affirmed.

This City enioyed (formerly) the enfranchisement of many things, & sundry goodly priuiledges beside, so long as the Abbots were Lords thereof: and yet they held no foucaigne iurisdiction: for, the citizens were the grantees of the city, builded the wals and rampiers, and fortified it (by their owne discretion) in those times. The Prince of *Austria* also promised for his part, to conferre their priuiledges inuolubly, and made shew of being a verie gentle Lord, as he was neuer sparing of goodly promises. But soon after, the dominion of the *Austrians* proved to gripe and oppresse the *Lucernians*, who were constrained (to their great

disaduantage) to make warre vpon their neighbours. For they were the first that exposed themselves to make incurfions on the Cantons, and maintained a garrison in their cities at their great charge. The Tower of *Sbourg*, which standeth yet to this day cōfirmeth what hath bin said for there it was, where the *Lucernians* planted a *Corps de guard*, against the incurfions which their enemies made vpon the Lake. When they had no open war, nor any assurance of peace, the *Austrians* did not much care to maintain them. In the meane while, Trafficke ceased, the fields were forraged, and many times the *Lucernians* fell into the hands of their enemies. Moreouer, being gone to warre with them of *Glaris*, vnder the conduct of *Otho*, Captaine of *Colmar*, to encounter with the Emperour *Lewes*, the wages promised them, was made void and frustrate. They themselves had paid many in other warres, and lent good summes of money on sedules, to Captaines of the *Austrian* Princes; but now, in place of payment, they were handled in such sort, as they thought both their good seruice and mony utterly lost.

Being thus tyred and harried so many feuerall waies, they supplicated and desired (oftentimes) them of *Austria*, to be at peace with the Cantons. But perceiving they trauielled all this while in vaine, themselves (in the end) accorded with the Cantons, leauing (neuerthelesse) the rights of the house of *Austria* to them intirely. This peace exasperated not onely them of *Austria*, but also many citizens, seruants, and pensioners to Gentlemen, by whom they benefited & enriched themselves. Both the one & other feared, that the City would ally it selfe with the three Cantons, and that in so doing, they would estrange themselves from the *Austrians*. And therefore they conspired together, to oppresse them that had counceiled the people to make this peace, and that they should exhort them to be allied with some other. For this effect, in secret they contracted a league; the substance whereof was this, That at a certaine house of the night, they of the city should open the gates, and at the same instant, they of *Austria*, (with so many horsemen well appointed) should make seizure of the Citie. Afterwardes, hauing ioyned their

The Tower  
of *Sbourg*.

Otho, captaine  
of *Colmar*,  
leader to the  
of *Lucerna*.

The men of  
*Lucerna*, at  
the refusal  
of their Lord,  
made peace  
with their e-  
nemies.

The first con-  
iuration a-  
gainst the use  
of *Lucerna*.

The Charter  
of *Guichard*  
the priest, out  
of the *Annals*  
of *Lucerna*.

The colledge  
of *Lucerna*,  
founded by  
*Guichard* the  
Priest, & what  
Donations  
were thereto  
annexed.

The priuiledges  
of *Lucerna*,  
while Abbots  
ruled.

Faire promi-  
ses cost no-  
thing to op-  
pressors of the  
people.

The plot and intention of the Conspiracie.

their forces together, and reduced the City into their owne power: they would punish the friends of the Cantons, break the peace, and plant a Garrison in the city, to the end, that afterward no such matter might be againe attempted.

The care and providence of the Citizens in a time of urgent necessity.

But the Citizens being advertised, of the traines and ambushes prepared for them, vpon the appointed night did put themselves into armes, & placed good guards at the gates, & provided so fully for their safety, that such as tooke part with the house of *Austria*, durst not bee seene any way to stirre. Then the Governour of *Rotembourg* (with many Gentlemen) being come to the gates, they of the City to whom he termed himselfe a friend, gaue him entrance, and some small number with him, suffered the rest to stand without. Perceiving that this cunning tricke tooke no such successe as he expected, and not daring to doe any thing by open force, because he was the weaker; he returned the next morning to *Rotembourg* with his traine, and some Citizens of *Lucerna*, partakers with the *Austrians*, fearing to be punished by the City, went away with him.

The league & Alliance made betwene them of *Lucerna*, & the 3. Cantons

This combination was the cause of hastening the league betwene the *Lucernians* and the three Cantons, for perceiving the injuries and ambushes of the Nobility, and the dangers where-with they threatened them: they thought it fit not to reject the succour of their neighbours, which they accepted, as sent from heaven. So they became vnitd together, on the Saturday before Saint *Martins* day, in the year one thousand, three hundred, thirty two.

Extremity vttered against the Lucernians by them of *Austria*.

When the *Austrians* had intelligence hereof, they appointed Garrisons in diuers places about *Lucerna*, as namely, at *Sempach*, *Rotembourg*, and *Meyenberg*: by means whereof, they did cut off all victuals from the *Lucernians*: and if any adventured farre from the City, they were either slain, or taken prisoners, so that they were constrained to goe seeke for food with a maine army. The year ensuing, and the fourteenth day of March, the *Lucernians* going with their troopes towards *Buchnass* (which is a Castle, now called *Hertenstein*, vpon the Lake of *Zug*) the Lord of *Ramswag*, Governour of *Rotembourg*, for the house of *Austria*, layde

an ambuscado for them on the way, and slew about some fourescore of them. The rest that were scattered in the fieldes, and looking after pillage, assembled themselves together, neere to *Buchnass*, and charged the enemy to courageously, that they enforced them to flight, hauing first lost an hundred foote, and eightene horse.

The Governour of *Austria* well perceiving, that ouert power stood not for his aduantage, neither did any way benefite him in his businesse: vnderooke the first traine of ambuscadoes, and priuate practices. There were then at *Lucerna*, many persons that had bene pensioners to the house of *Austria*. This war was verie troublesome to them, for they had lost their pensions, and besides, enjoyed not the reuenues of their owne inheritances; which (for the most part) lay on the lands of the *Austrians*. The Governour conferred with them, and because they were of the very worst houses in the City, and the cheefe of them: he aduised them to perfwade the Citizens to renounce their alliance with the three Cantons, and render themselves againe to the house of *Austria*. He shewed them, that they might bee much more endamaged by one Prince, being a potent enemy, & so neere a neighbour, then by the three Cantons, who (in the pasted Warres) could doe them little, or no harme at all.

And forasmuch as it had happened at this very time, that the lower Towne and the fieldes about it, were greatly injured by impetuous and extraordinary raines: the Governour made vse of this accident, to his own aduantage; telling them that God punished them by such a means, because they rebelled against their lawfull Prince. But because these coniurations could not preuaile, nor hee moue the people with all his goodly perfwasions; he would compass his intention by another stratageme, and complotted with close confederates, to massacre the Authors and confederators of this Alliance with the Cantons, taking their faith vnder oath, and Letters signed and sealed. And, because they might be knowne one to another, each of the Conspirators did weare red sleeves, which onely was their noted mark. Whereupon grew the Prob-

The battell given at *Buchnass* and what successe ensued thereon.

The second coniuration against the house of *Lucerna*.

When the first is speaking, let the Gentleman beware.

A massacre plotted against the *Lucernians*.

uerbe (afterward) among them of *Lucerna*: Beware the hand of Red sleeves, and it was held for a matter extremely ignominious, to tell any man, that he was one of the red sleeves band.

The feast day of S. Peter & S. Paul, appointed to be the massacre day, and in what manner it was to be done.

The number of the conspirators increased, and then they assigned the day for the massacre, which was the last day of Iune, being the Feast day of S. Peter & S. Paul, Apostles. They were to meete vnder the great Arch or Gate, neere to the publike house of the Taylors fraternity: for then the watch for night should cease to walke the round in that quarter: Also, the Lieutenant to the Duke of *Austria*, must haue an army ready to bee let into the City by the conspirators, who (purposely) should open the gates. But God (by his gracious providence) discovered these bloody consultations, the very same night as the massacre was to be executed. For, as the conspirers met in Armes at the place appointed, a yong man, passing accidentally by, without dreaming or thinking on any such matter, discovered the businesse, and vnderstood their deliberation. The night was very darke, by means whereof, he softly slippt away, hying speedily to the butcher or Shambles, where perceiving by the lighted candles and noise he heard, that diuers were there vp out of bedde, drinking and playing: hee went in amongst them, and tolde them the things hee had heard.

The conspirators taken and imprisoned.

Forthwith they ran to the Governour, and acquainted him with the compact, & the Citizens quickly had warning to arm themselves, and good Guards also sent to the gates: moreover, they rushed in suddenly vpon the conspirators, and tooke them prisoners, before they could giue entrance to such supply as they expected from without. And to impeach the Lieutenant to the Duke of *Austria*, from attempting any thing by manifest force, or violence against the City, it being in this dangerous agitation: the same night they sent (in post) for succour vnto the three Cantons, who also sent them three hundred men early in the morning. After this happy supply was thus come to the, they consulted then together, concerning punishment to bee inflicted on the conspirators. Their Letters were laid before them, and such other guilty persons, who

had escaped out of the tumult, by fauour of the nights extreame darkenesse, were likewise apprehended and imprisoned, as was most conuenient.

Now, in regard that the number of the conspirators was great; and, many among the of the principall houses, who had store of kindred and friends in the city. At request of the three Cantons, their liues were saued, and they punished by the purse, after they had solemnly sworn neuer to attempt any thing more against the state of the city, nor contrary to their alliance with the three Cantons. Hereupon, they of *Lucerna* made a law, whereby it was prohibited to the Citizens, not to make any assemblies or clandestine meetings in any place, nor to bind themselves one to another by Oath: except vpon any bargain they made for monies, they should leave twice as much in the hands of the Seignoury.

At this time, they of *Austria* were reconciled to the Emperor *Leues*, to whom also, a great accusation was made of the three Cantons & the *Lucernians*. Who (contrarywise) well excused themselves, and shewed, that they were allied vpon plenty of good reasons, and without doing wrong vnto any man. Whereupon, the Emperor gaue charge to them of *Zurich*, *herne*, and *Basile*, who were then allied to the house of *Austria*, and friends also to the Cantons (for three yeares before, the men of *Zurich* had assisted them in a Warre against the *Grisons*) to pacifie the difference, and make an agreement of the Cantons with the *Austrians*.

Vwherefore, in the yeare, one thousand three hundred thirty foure, by entermise of their Ambassadors, truce was taken for two yeares and an half, on these conditions following. That during this time, they of *Lucerna* should not be constrained to pay the monyes borrowed of them, nor the wages due to the *Lucernians* by the Captaines. That they might make vse and seruice of the Money of the Dukes of *Zofinge*, forged in their Citie: rendering obedience and honor done to the Dukes.

The alliance with the three Cantons, to remaine in absolute integrity, and the Cantons not to hinder the D. of *Austria* from inioying the goods and reuenues which they helde in the countries of the

Grace and fauour done vnderhand to the offenders

A law against countercities and close meetings.

Complaint made to the Emperor against the three Cantons and *Lucernians*.

Conditions of truce betwene the *Austrians* and the Cantons agreed vpon.



Cantons. The Emperour was to depu-  
te the Commissaries, for hearing the  
differences of the Dukes with the Can-  
tons, at any time whatsoever.

Afterward, the truce was further pro-  
longed, and although the peace was  
scarcely well assured, but was sometimes  
broken: yet they of *Austria* made no  
more open warre vpon the confederates.  
Vntill after such time as they of Zurich  
wring themselves into the alliance, in the  
yeare, 1311. Then *Glaris* and *Zug* came in  
the yeare following, and *Berne* the yeare  
after that: Concerning the estate and al-  
liance of these Cantons, we come to dis-  
coursse more at large.

### CHAP. III.

*Of the Originall condition, and estate of Zu-  
rich, before it leagued in with the amity of  
the Cantons.*



It is not to bee doubted,  
but that Zurich is one of  
the most ancient Cities  
of *Swetia*. The Annals  
of the country doe declare,  
that it was builded sixe-  
teene yeares after the citie of *Treues* or  
*Treueris*. *Marianus Scotus* saith in his  
Chronicles, that *Trebetus*, son to *Ninus*,  
builded the city of *Treues*, in the time of  
the Patriarch *Abraham*. The *Romane* hi-  
stories make honourable mention of the



1

*Tigurines*, who are they of Zurich, be-  
cause they were present in the war of the  
*Cimbrians* against the *Romans*, and over-  
threw the Consul *Cassius*. Afterwards,  
when *Iulius Caesar* came to the conquest  
of the *Gaules*, they were vanquished and  
ruined by him. After that time, to the in-  
iunction which the *Allemains* or *Germanes*

made: Zurich was subiect to the *Romane*  
Empire, then fell into the hands of the  
Kings of *France*; and lastly, came to the  
*Germane* Empire, which beareth y name  
and shadow of the *Romane* empire.

There are in Zurich two Colledgiall  
churches; one of men, the other of Wo-  
men founded by the Kings of *France*. In  
ancient times, these colledges were (well-  
neere) Lords & commanders of the citie.  
There was also (heretofore) a castle, build-  
ed vpon a little hill, nere to the River of  
*Limagus*, where the *Gouernours* (establi-  
shed by the Kings of *France*) kepte their  
abiding, who were Prouosts of the city, &  
of those colledges. Afterward, vnder the  
*Germane* Emperors, those Prouosts still  
continued, but they dwelt not in the cas-  
tle: because the gouernment was will-  
ingly giuen to the Princes. Neuertheles,  
since those times, there grew in the city a  
councell of fixe and thirty men, twelue  
whereof gouerned for the space of foure  
moneths. The commonwealth was so or-  
dered in the yeare, 1100. and continued  
in that estate till the yeare, 1336. and then  
it fell to changing, in manner as hereaf-  
ter we shall declare.

From such time as the city beganne to  
throw off the yoke of the Colledgiall  
churches, it began also to consider on hir  
owne freedom, and how it might best  
receiue increasement. For, amongst the  
differences of the Emperors and Popes, the  
men of Zurich adhered to the Emperors,  
and followed *Fredericke Barbarossa*, *Fre-  
dericke* the second, and *Lewes* of *Banaria*,  
who augmented theyr liberties and fran-  
chises, especially *Fredericke* the second.  
For, after the death of *Berthoull*, the last  
Duke of *Zerungen*, Prouost of the Col-  
ledges, and also of the Citie of Zurich:  
he receiued the citizens into protection  
of the Empire, about the yeare, 1218.  
Then afterward, he tooke many priuiled-  
ges from the Colledgiall churches. A-  
mongst other, the right of electing the  
councell, and graunted it to the citizens,  
ordaining, that it should neuer bee law-  
full to alienate Zurich from the Empire.  
Also, in the time of *Fredericke*, the Citi-  
zens made the ditches and walles about  
the City.

It came to passe, that they requested  
the Priests to be citizens of the Citie,  
to furnish their part of charge towards

these

Two Colled-  
giall Churches  
in Zurich, and  
a castle on the  
river of Lim-  
agus.

A Councell  
of 30 men, to  
gouern by in-  
teruall times.

The begin-  
ning of the ci-  
ty of Zurich,  
and in what  
manner it pro-  
ceeded.

Zurich next  
to be aler-  
ted from the  
Empire.

these fortifications, and commaded them  
moreouer, to rid their houses of some  
women ill reported of: which offended  
them in such sort, as they with-drewe  
themselves from the Citizens. But this  
difference was appeased by the byshop  
of *Constance*. Some few yeares after, the  
Pope excommunicated them of Zurich,  
because they tooke part with the Empe-  
ror *Frederick*. At the same time, they ru-  
inated (by permission of the Emperour) the  
old Castle, fearing least some (enemies to  
their liberties) should get possession ther-  
of. At this day it is a very pleasant place,  
beautified with Linden and other fayre  
trees planted there. And because the Ci-  
ty stood excommunicated, and (by con-  
sequence) exposed to the violence of any  
man: many Gentlemen round about,  
much molested the Citizens, so that the  
trafficke of silkes, being very great before  
in that place, was from thence transpor-  
ted to *Come*.

In the yeare, 1351. they of Zurich did  
take their first alliance with the Cantons  
of *Vri* and *Suits*, the tenour whereof you  
haue already seene. Some few yeares af-  
ter the death of *Frederick*, his Nephew  
*Conradine* laboured to subiect them of  
Zurich, to the Dukes of *Suaba*: vnder  
the pretence and colour, that they had  
long time bin Prouosts and Gouernors  
thereof. The Citizens maintained theyr  
liberty very firme and strongly, which  
caused *Conradine* to worke so with the  
Emperour *Conrad*, that Zurich stood pro-  
scribed from the Empire. But *Richard* of  
England, king of the *Romanes*, tooke a-  
way the proscription, and by Imperiall  
Letters, confirmed the priuiledges of  
the Citizens. In those Letters, amongst  
other matters, these words following are  
contained.

A true Coppy of the fauor  
done by Richard of England, K.  
of the *Romanes*, to them of  
Zurich.



By faithfull report, which is  
come to our serenity, we haue  
vnderstood, that *Conradine*,  
Sonne to the late King *Con-  
rad*, who named himselfe D.  
of *Suaba*, not contented with this fault, in

vainely vsurping the honor appertaining to  
another, without hauing any right or power  
so to do: hath published a sentence of banish-  
ment, against our Citizens of Zurich (as if  
they were subiects to that Dutchy) planted in  
the spectall booke of vs and our Empire. &  
not appertaining any way to that Dutchy, but  
immediately to the Empire, according as first  
antiquite hath bene established, and is now  
approved in our time, &c. Given at Hagne-  
naw, the xx. day of November, in the yeare  
one thousand two hundred sixty two. And  
of our reigne the sixt.

These Letters do render an ample tes-  
timony, of the liberty belonging vnto  
them of Zurich: notwithstanding, they  
tooke no great effect then, because such  
as succeeded in the Empire after *Frede-  
ricke* the second, to *Raoul* of *Habspourge*,  
held no great credit, so that (by manie)  
they are not numbered among the Empe-  
rors, but all this interuall or respite of  
time, is referred vnto an *Inter-regnum*,  
wherein the most part of all the variances  
were decided by the sword, rather then  
by iustice and law, and the stronger tram-  
pled the weaker vnder their feet. Aboue  
all, the Gentlemen that had anie means,  
did nothing else but machinate against  
the liberties of those Citties that were  
their neighbors. All the wayes were co-  
uered with theues, & (in briefe) this Li-  
cense wrought a meere confusion among  
the most wicked and desperate, mouing  
them to attempt and execute euen what  
foeuer themselves pleased.

Heereupon, they of Zurich, desi-  
ring to conserue their liberty, and main-  
taine themselves in peace: sent an hono-  
rable Ambassage to the Lord of *Regen-  
spourge*, entreating him to be their Gouer-  
nour and Capitaine, vntill the election  
of a newe Emperour, and (for that effect)  
offered him honest and sufficient gages;  
The Gentleman was a neighbour to Zu-  
rich, a rich and powerfull Lorde in those  
times. Hee proudly reiected the honour  
which the men of Zurich did him, and  
made them answer in this manner. If  
the Citizens would obey al his coman-  
dements, and subiect the Citie to him:  
hee was readie to take them into his pro-  
tection, and would be their benign Lord.  
But if they refused his offer, they should

V 2

shortly

How and at  
what time the  
people of Zu-  
rich lost theyr  
liberty.

The truce fur-  
ther prolong-  
ed betweene  
them.

Concerning  
the antiquite  
of Zurich, and  
when it was  
builded.

The Tigurins  
are the people  
of Zurich, and  
were conquere-  
d by Iulius  
Caesar.

The strong  
places of the  
Lord of Re-  
gen-pourg,  
neere to Zu-  
rich, and his  
potent Con-  
federates.

shortly bee compelled to accept it, euen in meere despite of them: because their City was ingirt and inuoluped with his castles, as Fifth within a Veele, or water Leape.

This vauntery of the Lord of *Regen-pourg* was not wholly vain, for he had many strong places neere vnto the citie: as *Wripia* on the Lake of *Zurich*, a mile and a halie from the citie; *Glanzenbourg*, a Towne and castle of like distance, and on the river of *Limagus*. He had (moreouer) much neerer to the citie, vpon a high Mountaine towards the Sunne-setting, two castles, to wit, *Vliberg* and *Balderie*, impregnable (as was imagined) by reason of their situation. Beside, the Towne and castle of *Regen-pourg*, not a bouehue miles at the most from *Zurich*. And, beyond all these, manie Countes or Barles were Leagued with him; among other, the Count of *Kybourg*, dwelling at *Burgdorff*, the Count of *Ruperswill*, of *Togge*, of *Nidow*, of *Arberg*, and the Barons of *Eichenbach*, of *Riggenberg*, of *Kilchberg*, of *Balme*, of *Hombourg*, of *Warts*, and many other. They of *Zurich*, hauing bene so ignominiously refused: addrested themselves to *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, mortall enemy to this *Regen-pourg*; made alliance with him, & within two yeares following, tooke the castles of *Penzberg*, *Wripia*, *Vliberg*, *Balderie*, and the Towne of *Glanzenbourg*, mollesting *Regen-pourg* in such sort, as at length hee desired peace, and came to make his abiding at *Zurich*. These things hapned in the yeare, one thousand, two hundred, sixtie sixte, and the yeares following.

Raoul of Habspourg King of the Romans, and a friend to them of Zurich.

In the yeare one thousand, two hundred, seventy three, *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, was created King of the Romans, by common consent of the seauen Electours of the Empire. Afterward, being chosen Emperour, the Citizens of *Zurich*, serued him in many Warres, hee finding them still faithfull, and valiant souldiers. In the warre of *Bohemis*, he had two hundred, which he placed betweene the Ensignes in the first ranke: exhorting the others souldiours to imitate the magnanimity of them of *Zurich*, whom (he said) he had well knowne and made prooue of before. Also, the most part of them dyed in the field, of battaile then giuen, and

the Ensignes of the other were borne (for their honour) into the Temple of the Cordeliers or gray Friars. *Raoul* hauing receyued so many seruices by the men of *Zurich*, gaue them diuers priuiledges: and to honour them the more, beautified their Ensignes of Armes, with a Diadem and Bend of Purple.

Many haue imagined among the vulgar fort, because in the battaile at *Winterberg*, that the Bend was afterward annexed therto, as a note or mark of their ignominy. But there are many things yielding contrary reasons to this opinion. For, in the first place, the notes of ignominy are not red, but meerly black. And afterward, when *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*, tooke away all the marks of the ensignes belonging to the Switzers, in the warre against the Duke of *Bourgonne*; they of *Zurich* would neuer permit, that the Bend should bee taken out of their Standard. And in the yeare, one thousand, siue hundred and twelue, when Pope *Innius* gaue new Standards vnto the Switzers, the Councell of *Zurich* would not alter any thing whatsoever in their Ensigne, no, nor so much as the bend or Diadem, which they neuer would haue done, if they had bene any notes of infamy.

Moreouer, *John* of *Winterduer*, who liued at that time when they of *Zurich* were conquered by ambuscadoes at *Winterduer*, spake to King *Raoul* these Words: He crowned the Standard of *Zurich* with great action of graces. The same Authour also declareth, that in the warre at *Reigen-pourg*, *Jaques Malmier*, a citizen of *Zurich*, couered (with his owne body) *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, who was cast from his horse: and hauing remounted him vpon his own, brought him forth of the preasse safe and sound. For which great fauour, *Raoul* did much honour to the man, and loued him singularly; yea, hee was also a deare friend to them of *Zurich*. This they auous, because *Curion*, and such as were of his minde, did highly wrong the citie of *Zurich*, accusing it of sedition & rebellion against King *Raoul*, who therefore foiled them, and brought them vnder his obedience by armes.

After the death of *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, they of *Zurich* maintayned the part of *Adolph*, and so did the Abbot of *S. Gall*, and

The standard of Zurich was used away by the enemy, at the battaile of Winterberg.

The confederacy of the Switzers, for their ensignes of Armes.

Jaques Valmer, a citizen of Zurich, who covered Raoul of Habspourg, and his horse, with his body.

The death of Zurich, after the death of Raoul of Habspourg.

The Lord of Werdenberg, his cunning stratagems, against them of Zurich.

Apulenic Stragen pertained by them of Zurich, against Albert Duke of Austria.

Peace concluded betweene Du Albert & the men of Zurich.

and the byshop of *Constance*. Now to the end that they of *Zurich* might ioyne themselves with the other: they assailed the Towne of *Winterduer*, and tooke it in the assault, vnder conduct of the Count of *Togge*, and there (in Garrison) was the Lord of *Werdenberg*, with great troopes, in name of *Albert* of *Austria*. The first day they were Victors, but on the morrow, by treachery in the Lorde of *Werdenberg*, who caused the Ensigne belonging to the Byshop of *Constance*, to be carried before him: by this cunning stratageme, the men of *Zurich* were overthrowne and cut in peeces. They attempted againe another warre in the name of *Adolph*, against them of *Groningen*, the which is in the territory of *Zurich*. But *Albert* Duke of *Austria*, sonne to *Raoul*, was offended at their enterprize, being informed by his people, that the greater part of them of *Zurich*, were slaine at *Winterduer*; which caused him to come and besiedge *Zurich*, which hee imagined to bee quite emptic of any defenseiue men.

The Citizens made a muster of their men (apt for armes) in the City, and on a place very high, where sometimes the Callic stood; and that the Duke of *Austria* Army might easily discerne them. And, because their number might appeare to bee much more greater then it was, they caused all their strongest and stoutest women to be armed, and theyr children of biggest stature: which made the enemy to imagine, that there were great flore of warlike people within the City. Afterward, they sent Ambassadors vnto *Albert*, to remember him, that his Father alwayes loued and maintained that citie; that the citizens had serued him in all his warres, and wherein they (euermore) carried themselves faithfully and valiantly. Wherefore, they intreated him to follow his Fathers steps, and to accept them of *Zurich* rather as loyall and seruiceable friendes, then to beleue false rumors spied abroad by their ill-willers, considering withall, that they were ready to giue him satisfaction.

*Albert* answered the Ambassadors verily kindly, & willed them to come to him at *Winterduer*; where the peace was confirmed betweene him and them of *Zurich*: vpon condition, that they should

acknowledge and honour *Albert* as lawfull Emperour. This peace was continued after the death of *Albert*, and in the warre which his sons made against them that had slaine him: the citizens of *Zurich* kept themselves still faithfully on the behalfe of *Austria*, and fought for them against the three Cantons. After that, in the battell of *Morgarten*, fiftie men of *Zurich* were slaine in the field, as hath already bene declared. Moreouer, when the Emperour was in some troubles, because some had elected *Lewes*, Prince of *Banaria*; and others *Fredericke*, the Sonne to *Albert*, the men of *Zurich* helde a long time for the part of *Fredericke*.

In the yeare, 1330. peace was made betweene *Lewes* of *Banaria*, and *Fredericke* of *Austria*, whereto, *Fredericke* renounced his Imperiall Election, and *Lewes* (to recompence him) promised to pay him a great summe of money. And because hee could not presently furnish him therewith, in regard of the Warres hee lately had, to his mightie expences; gaue vnto him foure Townes as a pawn, and security of payment, Namely, *Zurich*, *Schaffouse*, *Rhinfeld*, and *Neubourg* on the *Rhene*. But they of *Zurich*, immediately sent Ambassadors to the Emperour, to shew him, that they were so incorporated with the Empire, as they could (by no means) be separated from it. Their Letters were shewn to the same effect, read and perused by the Emperour; and then, although hee loued them but a little, because they had taken part with *Fredericke*; yet notwithstanding hee left them to their owne liberties, and in sted of *Zurich*, *Brissacke* was giuen in gage to them of *Austria*.

The Ambassadors had also brought with them, the Deputies of the three Cantons, whom *Lewes* greatly affected, because they had alwayes bene faithfull vnto him. These Deputies declared, that the City of *Zurich* was a louing & friendly neighbor to the Cantons, & had highly serued them many times. Beside, they of *Zurich* promised, that (hereafter) they would be no lesse faithfull & obedient to *Lewes* of *Banaria*, who was then their onely lawfull Emperour, then they had formerly bene to *Fredericke* of *Austria*. This did much offend the *Austrians*; for,

Woorthy seruices done by the of Zurich.

The men of Zurich would not be separated from the Empire, making it known by their Ambassadors.

Zurich, a loving friend & neighbour to the Cantons.

The Citie of Zurich excommunicated by the Pope, for the space of 18 yeares.

A Castle taken and spoiled on the Rheine, by them of Zurich, &c.

The Government of the Common-wealth of Zurich altered, procuring much trouble and molestation.

Accusations against the second order of 15 men.

albeit *Fredericke* had renounced the empire: yet notwithstanding, *Leopold, Albert, and Otto* his brethren, would not ratifie the agreement, but continued warre against *Lewes of Bavaria*. By which means *Zurich* fell off againe from friendship with them of *Austria*, and was excommunicated by the Pope, in such manner, as for the space of eightene years, there was no exercise of ceremonies (according to the *Romane Church*) vied in *Zurich*. The Priests departed from the citizens, some by their owne meere motion, others were expelled by the Bourgesis, because they refused to administer the Sacraments. There were none but the Cordeliers or gray Friars, who went forth at one gate, and entered immediately at another.

The Citie standing thus excommunicated, and hated by the house of *Austria*: many Gentlemen, servants vnto that house, much molested the Citizens. Wherefore, in the yeare 1335. they of *Zurich*, with the men of *Strasbourg, Basile, and Berne*, besiedged and took a castle on the *Rheine*, named *Schunaw*, belonging to the Lords of *Gersoltsegh*, and ruined it, because it was one of the retreats for theeves. The yeare following, the men of *Zurich* ruined many castles, to wit, *Fronstein*, on the river of *Tofe*, and another nere vnto it, called *Touff the high*. Also *Schenenwert*, about three miles from *Zurich* and *Schlatt*, nere to *Eggen*, because the Gentlemen to whom these castles appertained, did greatly trouble the city of *Zurich*.

The next yeare ensuing, the Government of the Common-wealth of *Zurich* was changed, which prouoked to be the cause of great garboiles, and the principal occasion, of allying the citizens with the Cantons of *Suetia*. We haue already told you, that the commonwealth was gouerned by 36 men, and in such sort, as twelue commanded during the space of foure months. Some difference hapned between them and the people, in regard whereof, the people began to demand an account of their administration, especially, of the twelue that were in the second order. Some were accused among them, of robbing and dissipating (in a small time) the publike treasure, and besides, that they had bound the Citie in

no meane store of great debtes. Eight of those men, finding themselves to bee hardly clear in this case, retired from the city: the other foure, voluntarily resigned vp their charge. Thus the authoritie of twelue ceasing, they grew to a forme of electing Magistrates, being chosen out of euery band of the tradesmen, and by seuerall nomination.

The Emperour *Lewes* confirmed this kinde of Commonwealth by his Letters Patents, and the succeeding Emperours also approued the same. They that had withdrawn themselves from the Citie, yeelding after to the peoples iudgement, were condemned in seuerall fines: and they that sped the best were banished for three yeares, hauing first faithfully promised neuer to make any conspiracie against the citizens. Heere to also was annexed a note of infamy, to wit, that neither they, nor any of their children, should euer be admitted into Councell. The ancient men and counsellors, being afraid of a iudgement so seuer, beganne to distrust their owne causes; so that nine among them forsooke the Citie. This departure of theirs was conuerted vnto banishment, and their goodes confiscated. As for the rest, nine of them were condemned in great fines, and then banished for two yeares: with this brand also set vpon them, that they nor their children should euer be admitted vnto councell. Others, that stood to their tryall, iustified themselves before the people, and were elected to be of the new councell.

The banished men made their retreat to a Towne, situated on the Lake, two miles (or thereabout) from *Zurich*, named *Rasperwill*, which at that time belonged to Count *John*, of the House of *Habsbourg*. Three yeares before, he had made request to them of *Zurich*, to accept him as a Citizen: willingly they would, and did (at last) receiue him, although he was Leagued with them of *Austria*, and diuers of them also were of his parentage. Heereupon, hee listened the sooner vnto the banished men, and made a confederacie with them, vnder certaine conditions; for securitie whereof, hee gaue them the Castle of the Towne in keeping. These banished men being thus com-  
modiously lodged & fortified, began to

ac-

Fiction of Magistrates among the people confirmed by the Emperour Lewes, &c.

Old Councillors doubtful at their own household.

How, and in what place the banished men withdrew themselves.

The banished men conspire against them of Zurich, and are banished for euer.

Warre raised by them of Zurich against the banished men.

The banished prouoked through their shame of Zurich, in warre raised against them.

The success of the men of Zurich, gainst the Count of Habsbourg at Buchberg.

accuse them of *Zurich*, pretending to haue suffered great outrages by them; they defamed the Consull and new councell, and to make attempts against the Citie, vnto (to this effect) the helpe of some of their friends, that remained still in *Zurich*. Some of them being discovered by the councell, were punished: others fled away secretly, and ioyned with the banished men. And because these banished men had falsified their solemne promises: they were banished perpetually by the Senate, especially they that stood relegated but for a certaine time enioyned them.

Now, because the citizens of *Zurich* stood in slender security, either for themselves or their goods, since those banished men were excluded the city: diuers times they admonished the Count of his duty, that he being a Bourges, ought not to continue his fauour to the banished men, but rather to withdraw all helpe and comfort from them. Perceiuing the Count made no reckning of their complaints, they leuiued another Army, and went and besiedged *Rasperwill*, the retire and refuge of the banished men. In vaine was this attempt of theirs, because the banished men had great plenty of victuals, and defended themselves valiantly, which made the other to raise their sieg. Gladly therefore they quitted the place, & so much the rather, because the Count of *Habsbourg*, protector of the banished, and whom most especially they sought for, was not at *Rasperwill*, but in a Castle called *Grimow*, which is at the head of *Zurich* Lake. They disamped thence, & marched with their Army vnto that very place, being conducted by *Diethelme*, Count of *Togge*, who was at controuersie with the other, concerning the cattle of *Grimow*.

The Count of *Habsbourg* (with his Army well appointed) was encamped at *Buchberg*, whence he came mainly running vpon them of *Zurich*, who landed suddenly from their Boates; and they granting them no leysure to bee ranged in order of battaile, put all in rout and disorder that were on Land, compelling them to enter their Boates againe, in which confusion they lost not many me, except the Count of *Togge*, who was taken prisoner. But after that all their troops

were ioyned together againe in the middle of the Lake, being moued with anger, and desirous to wipe off the shame formerly receiued: by aduice of their Leaders, they went on shore againe, brauely bidding them the battaile, which they wonne. And such was their successe, that the Count of *Habsbourg*, and many Gentlemen with him, were slaine in the field: moreover, they carried away in their Boates a mighty booty, & fixe ensignes of the enemies. The citizens of *Rasperwill*, hearing of this ouerthrow, to reuenge the death of their Lord, they cut in peeces the Count of *Togge*, who was conuained on Land, so soone as he had beene taken prisoner in the first encounter.

This things hapned in the yeare 1337. And the same yeare, the Emperour *Lewes*, and *Albert of Austria*, second of that name, furnished the Cripple, made peace betwene *John of Habsbourg*, Sonne to the deceased Count; the banished men of *Zurich*, and the Consull and Citizens of the City, vpon these conditions following. That the banished men should pay to the citizens (as a fine or amercement) the summe of fixe hundred markes of money: remaining still out of *Zurich* five yeares, during which time, they should not come neare the city, by the space of two miles; which being expired, they should againe be receiued, & their goods remaine entirely to them. The Emperour conceiued, that this new government in the state, would highly strengthen it in these five yeares: for there was appearance of great danger, that if the ancient Councillors were re-established, alterations would ensue in many matters, & nothing else please them, but the old form of rule, as many of their friends and partakers earnestly desired.

This peace lasted not long, for the banished men (fauoured by a great number of the Nobility) made no regard at all of their promises: but molested the citizens, and conspired daily something or other against the city. In regard whereof, by permission of the Emperour, the houses, and all the goods which the banished had in the city, were confiscated. Notwithstanding, the yeare following, by the intermise of *Agnes* Queene of *Hungary*, (who was daughter to *Albert*, first of that name, and after the death of her Father, remai-

The Count of Togge hewed in peeces.

Peace newly confirmed betwene the men of Zurich, & them that were banished, vpon diuers conditions.

The peace broken againe betwene the banished men and they of Zurich, yet afterward renewed.

Peace once more renewed, & broken againe the second time.

remained in *Smets* the most part of her time; of *Fredericke of Austria*, and some other of the Cities: peace was renewed betweene the banished, and the citizens of *Zurich*; yet this was no firmer, or dur'd any longer then the former. For although the banished promised faithfully, that they would stand to the counsell of *Zurichs* sentence, and pay the fines wherein they were condemned; yet would they not make any satisfaction at all.

Many of the house of *Habsbourg*, (among others, the Sonne and kindred to Count *John*, whom they of *Zurich* slew in the battaile at *Grimon*) assembled a great number of Gentlemen, offended with the liberty of *Zurich*, hating that Democraticall government, as being too popular in their opinion: favoured the banished, and provoked them still on against them of *Zurich*. And they on the other side, for their better maintenance, first of all burned two Castles: one neere to the *Tofe*, appertaining to the Lords of *Lansberg*; Gentlemen of marke: and the other to the Lords of *Schwenberg*, on an high hill above *Elgor*, because these places did much injure them. And to fortifie themselves yet stronger, they combined amity with the cities of *Constance* and *S. Gall*. Also, because some differences remained to be appeased with them of *Schaffhouse*, and war might be moved from thence: they yeelded willingly (by intermission of Ambassadors to some other cities) & in short time after, comprehended them of *Schaffhouse* in alliance with the cities of *Constance* and *S. Gall*. At the same time, they allied themselves also with the Bishop and city of *Basile*. Afterward they receiv'd into the number of their Bourgeses, many houses of the Rhodes, or of *S. John* of *Ierusalem*: to be supplied and maintained with Gentlemen, and men of warre, as continually (and from time to time) were in that worthy Order of Knights of *S. John*.

These puissant cities and people round about, being leagu'd with them of *Zurich* by new alliances, or reconfirmation of their ancient amity: the estate of the city remained more peaceable, and it seemed, that the banished had lost all hope of ever enjoying the city by power. But in this sleeping time, they conspired very secretly, to make themselves Masters

thereof by treason. Count *John* of *Habsbourg*, Son to him that was slaine on the day at *Grimon*, as already we have shewn, was ioynd with them; upon condition, that he should re-establish the banished men, in possession of their goods in the country, and that they should disengage the lands of the Count, mortgage for debts to his creditors. With them ioynd the Count of *Toggenbourg*, *Peregrin Lansberg* (who some yeares before, had bene at great debate with them of *Zurich*, though all seemed to be laide asleepe by an agreement made betweene them) the Baron of *Murzing*, and many Gentlemen, partly pensioners and vassalls to the Count of *Habsbourg*, who they gladly endeavored to gratifie, & partly as friends to the banished, who had many ancient friends and partakers in the city, some whereof were well acquainted with all the conspiracy, and others also that would ioyne with them, if the first attempt succeeded well. A further hope also was conceived, that no meane number more would come to their part, if they did but see the ancient counsellors, namely, such as were greatly indebted, and could subsist by no other means. Such likewise, as in this alteration of the state, were not honoured nor recompenced according to their expectation, and who were unworthy to be seene of others, advanced and preferred before them. Then againe, some others, who were weary of the estate in her present condition, desiring nothing more then novelty: as in all commonwealths are daily to be found, too many such kinde of people. The resolution of the conspirators was, to make vie of the night time, and to plant armed men in all the streetes of *Zurich*, and to force the houses of *Raoul le Brun*, Consull also of all the new Counsellors, and the rest of their enemies, to massacre them, seize the city, make themselves Lords therof, and take away the liberties of the citizens.

In this manner, the 24. of February, in the year 1350, *Peregrin Lansberg*, Count of *Habsbourg*, many Gentlemen, and some of the banished with them, came unto *Zurich*. The same ranne through the City, that they came to present a request to the Counsell, in behalfe of the banished. At the same time, divers armed

House of goods and greedy desire of recompence are the only Counsellors of this conspiracy.

Others resolve making buyes more partakers in the treason.

Treachery is water, as well as by land.

The admirable providence of God in the confederation of Zurich.

In what manner the treason was discovered by a servant of the house where the conspirators meet together.

The care and diligence of the Consull *Raoul le Brun* in such an urgent time of necessity.

armed men had secretly slipped into the city, and hid themselves in the houses of their complices. The Counts and Gentlemen had a very great troope of armed Groomes and Pages waiting on them, ready to execute whatsoever their Masters should command them. Moreover, there were sundry companies readily prepared (both of horse and foote) who in the night should come neere the city, and there to be suddenly let in, after the watch-word was giuen. Others should come by Boates, and on that side where the Lake makes a separation of the city: to rush on by insipuous troopes, & hinder the country-men round about (who were very honest and faithfull to the city) that they should not come that way to helpe or releue it.

All things being thus ordered and appointed, upon the very same night determined for the massacre, the conspiracy was discovered: more by the providence of God, then any counsell or industry of men. For God (undoubtedly) preferred this city, to be (very soone after) the first, for conferring the *Switzers* liberties, as also, for the reuocate of his church.

The chiefe men of this conspiracy, were in the house of a citizen, where they conferred on their affaires, and closely expected the hour of night, when the watch-word was to be giuen abroad. A servant of the house, who neuer had knowledge of this enterprize, being layd upon a Bench to sleepe, happened to wake by their close whispering, and lending some attention to their talke, observed their words very carefully, yet snored as if hee had bene in a sound sleepe. So soone as he could conveniently do it, softly he got away, and went directly to the lodging of *Raoul le Brun*, who was Consull then, reuealing to him at full, what danger hung over the head of him, the whole counsell, and all the honest minded people of the city. He also acquainted him with the watch-word, whereby the enemies should be knowne one to another, in the darke obscurity of the night.

The Consull having heard the seruants words, armed himselfe immediately, and went towards the Towne-house: the enemies were going and coming already through the streetes, yet he escaped well among them, because hee deliuered the

watch-word readily to them, and so got on to the Towne-house. A servant of his, attired in the garments of his Master, hauing not vnderstood the watch-word, by reason of the great feare and haste the Consull made, was slaine by the enemies before the Towne-house: not so much because he could not giue the word, as for that they tooke him to bee the Consull.

In the meane while, the Consull commanded one of the Officers of the Seignury, to run to the church, and to ring out the watch-bell, after the wonted manner, to signifie the coming of enemies. The Officer seeing the gate before the clock-house to be round engirt with enemies: by a secret doore belonging to the church, got into the clock-house, & rung out the terror to all the city. On the other side, the Consull (himselfe) cryed out aloud on the top of the Town-house, *Arme, Arme, the City is full of enemies*. Now the Ruer named *Limagus*, or *Limatus*, diuides the city in twaine, & those two parts met and ioynd together, by the means of two Bridges made of wood. Immediately, euery one ran to these bridges: but because the planks and boords of the one were not made fast nor nailed, they threw them all downe into the water. By this means, all the fury and tempest of trouble, kindled it selfe at the other Bridge, which ioynd neere to the Towne-house.

There is a place of indifferent greatness, at the entrance to the said bridge and house: the enemies got possession of that place, and of another neighboring to it. Heere the conflict grew very sharp, for, from forth the highest roomes of the houses, they of the city hurled downe Tyles and great Stones vpon their enemies, who were also to fight with other citizens, gotten together in great number, and came to ioyne with their best helpe. The Butchers were the foremost men in the fight; for they were then vp in the Butchery (it being builded neere to the Ruer) killing Oxen and other cattell. Hauing heard the noise and out-cries of the Consull, they ran out vpon the enemies, with their Axes in their hands. In memory whereof, and as a testimony of their hardnesse, the common-wealth gaue them a Lyon of Copper or Brasse,

The watch-bell reports the enemies being in the City, & summoneth the Citizens together.

Honest care makes vie of any thing: least necessity of helpe.

Citizens fight for liberty against an unjust invasion of deadly enemies.

Meanes desired and vnderaken, to resist enemies and maintain their liberties.

Schaffhouse, Constance, & S. Gall allied with Zurich.

A new confederation of the banished men against them of Zurich & the City.

which(as yet)they beare yeerely in pomp and triumph through all the city. They were moued to vndertake Arms, by these meanes following.

Traitors doe commonly proue voluntarie and forward cowards

The Count of *Toggenbourg*, being with-drawne into a house of one of the conspirators, and perceiving the danger, fearing also his owne skin-coate; after he had a while consulted with his Host: determined to free himselfe from blowes, resolving thus; that if matters fell out well for his companions, he could easily come in againe among the troopes, and speake to them, as if he had bin alwayes in the crowd. But if it happened otherwise, he would be fure to saue himselfe, & learne to meddle with better businesse. According to this conclusion, himselfe, his Host, and his seruant, well laden with money, got into a small Boate, belonging to a fisherman, named *Bax*, who should conduct them along the River out of the city. But fearing lest this *Bax* should discover their flight, the Count commanded his seruant, that so soone as they were out of the city, he should presently kill the fisherman. He being neerer to them then they imagined (by reason of the nights darknesse) vnderstood their purpose and resolution concerning himselfe: wherein he wisely prevented them, by suffering the boate to tilt suddenly on the one side, and so they all three together fell into the River.

Mischieuous and wicked counsell, returns many times to the ruine of the author & deuil.

Making haste afterward home to his owne house, and waking all the neighbours dwelling about him; hee desired them to take Arms secretly, because the city was in eminent perill, and enemies were hidden in many parts thereof, but he knew neyther how, nor what was their intent. Heereupon, they armed themselves presently, and hearing the Confull still crying, Arme, Arme: waked other friends and neighbours, by whose helpe they got the Bridge, and there raunged themselves orderly in fight against the enemy. It is further said, that the Priests of the great church, being then singing Mattins, and hearing this tumult in the night: armed themselves from the houses round about, and entred in among the thickest throngs, fighting valiantly for the freedom & safety of their country. It might so come to passe, that this year the Popes excommunication was first raised, and

The safety & liberty of our Country, ought to be deare & precious to every man.

that after eightene yeares were expired, the Priests entred into the city againe.

Thus the citizens (by little and little) gathered their strength together, for from euery part they came in full troopes, and declaring their valour in so great a need, the enemies that were in the city (constrainedly) gaue way. Fifteene among them were slaine, and more then thirty seven taken prisoners, among whom was the Count of *Habspourg*; others saued themselves by fauour of the night. The Baron of *Matzingen*, and *Peregrin Landberg* were among the dead. The Count that fell into the water, was there drowned. The bodies of the slaine lay three whole daies on the pavement, exposed to the mockery of all men, and to be trampled on with the feete of euery passenger.

On the morrow, seuateene, the principall men in the conuention, were broken, and their bodies laide on wheeles: eightene were beheaded. The Count of *Habspourg*, *Huldreich*, Baron of *Bonstetter*, and some other, remained prisoners. The Army of the Count of *Habspourg*, as well that which came on the lake, as the other by land, hearing this tumult in the city, and seeing no man came that should open the gates to them: retired backe in great feare, so that in the morning, the people gathered vp their armes and weapons for warre, which the run-awaies had gladly left behinde them, for their easer escaping.

Matters being thus appeased at *Zurich*, to preuent any more new troubles in the city: the Confull brought an Army into the field, on the second day of March, & being seconded with supplies sent them by the men of *Schaffhouse*; they went and besiedged *Rapperswill*, the Fortresse & retreat of the conspirators. The inhabitants of the Towne knowing that their Count was taken, the banished mangled in peeces, or made fugitives and vagabonds, and hauing no likelihood at all of succour: on the third day of the siege yielded, and bound themselves sollemnly to the common-wealth of *Zurich*, promising (for euer after) to acknowledge them as their chiefe, and render them all such duty, as formerly they had done to their Count. The Towne taken, they of *Zurich* thought they had gotten two ad-

Diuers of the conspirators ouer-came slaine.

An ignominious, yet detested hanging of such criminals.

A shameful kinde of death inflicted on some of them.

The Countes army gladsly run away.

He that thinks to despise a gain of his liberty, may meet (as the old Ioshiah his case)

Two advantages for the city of Zurich in their owne opinion for their best benefit.

Enemies to the liberty of the troopes, gaine nothing by the refusal of peace.

Another Army made out by them of Zurich, upon denying the peace offered against the two Rapperswills.

Another war against the men of Zurich, by the Wadners of Sultz, &c.

uantages. One was, that from thence forward, no pilling or rauge was more to be made of their country, as oftentimes before had bene, and that the city would now safely be preferred from ambushes and treasons. The other, that the kindred and friends to the imprisoned Count, began to treat on peace: fearing to lose all the country about *Rapperswill*, because the Towne and the Count were taken.

Heereupon, the Queene of *Hungary* procured, that truce should be accorded for certaine moneths: but *Raoul & Godfrey of Habspourg*, being summoned by them of *Zurich* to make peace, declared no affection thereto. Considering withall, that diuers Gentlemen, neighbours, but enemies to the men of *Zurich*, incited them rather to make warre. So all hope of peace being quite cut off, the first day of September (the same year) they of *Zurich* conducted their Army towards the country of the *Marche*, situated at the beginning of the Lake of *Zurich*, towards the Sun-setting, then being in obedience to the Count of *Habspourg*. The cities of *Constance* and *Saint Gall*, sent succour to the men of *Zurich*, and hauing spoyle & burnt all the country, they besiedged a Castle, called *Rapperswill* the olde, and followed it so closely; that the besiedged, hauing no more meanes of resistance, yielded, & went away with their liues saued. The Castle was ruined downe to the ground, and they of the *Marche* promised fidelity and subiection to the common-wealth of *Zurich*. This done, the Army went to a Towne, called *Rapperswill* the new. They brake downe the Bridge that ioyned to the Lake, beate downe the Castle, and most part of the walles of the Towne, and hauing heard (for certaine) that *Albert of Austria* meant to come aid them of *Habspourg* with great forces: they set the Towne on fire, and burnt it wholly, not leaving any iote thereof remaining.

At the same time, certaine Gentlemen, named the *Wadners of Sultz*, dwelling in *Alsatia*, declared warre against them of *Zurich*, taking their Merchants, pilling & outraging them by all manner of ways. They of *Rasle* and *Strasbourg* withdrew, & gaue suppurtance to these wars there. Upon these indignities, they of *Zurich* were moued, to seize on about eight score and ten persons of *Basle* and *Strasbourg*,

that were come on pilgrimage to the Chappell of the Hermitage. As essaying by this meanes, whether they of *Strasbourg* and *Basle*, compassionating the imprisonment of their citizens: would expell from their countries those Gentlemen that were the cause of this disturbance. This fell out to proue but a very vaine hope, for these cities and their Bishops, offended with this vnjust detention of their pilgrims; ioyned themselves with *Fredericke of Austria*, *Fribourg*, *Brissgow*, *Selesstad*, *Brissac* and *Colmar*. Hauing vniited their forces together, they resolved to make warre on *Zurich*, and demand their prisoners by Armes. The men of *Zurich*, finding themselves not strong enough, in regard of their precedent warres, seditions and lesse of men, which had greatly impaired them in power: deliuered backe the prisoners, and so turned aside this dangerous tempest.

Now because they had suffered great outrages, and saw no likelihood of any better successe to ensue: they sent Ambassadors to *Charles IV.* to whom they made their business knowne. They told him, that hauing taken (in a iust warre, & within their city) the Count of *Habspourg*, their enemy, for maintaining their cause against him, they were molested and assaulted by Gentlemen neighbours. But that which most of all greued them, was, to see those Gentlemen assisted by *Fredericke of Austria*, and other potent cities of the Empire. And because *Zurich* was an Imperiall City also; they made their recourse to him, as being the sole head of the Empire. They humbly desired him, to lend them both aide and counsell, and to take order by his power and authority, that (in succeeding times) the Princes of *Austria*, the cities and Towns of the Empire, nor any other Gentlemen might make warre against them, contrary to all right and reason. But rather to permit, that their city might enioy her wonted liberty, in peace and quietnesse: considering, that they were ready (as they ought to be) to answer before the Emperor, to all whatsoever any man could object against them.

The Emperor hauing heard the complaint of them of *Zurich*, answered the Ambassadors most humanely: that hee coucted nothing more, then to haue their liber-

To avoid and put by a great danger, it is good to passe one of lesse power.

The men of Zurich demand succour of the Emperor, by sending their Ambassadors to him.

The milde & honourable answer of the Emperor to the Ambassadors.

The negotiation of the men of Zurich, with Albert of Austria.

liberty continue in full perfection, and would do his endeavour, to accord them with *Fredericke of Austria*, and his associates. But he could give them no succor, nor attempt any thing by force, against the house of *Austria*, the Nobility of *Germany*, or the Cities of the Empire: because (at that instant time) they were far stronger then he. Wherefore, they of *Zurich* should devise to pacifie their differences with such enemies: by some reasonable agreement, wherein he would assist them to his power.

The Ambassadors departed away very sadly with this answer, and came home againe to *zurich*. And because (at that time) *Albert of Austria*, Sonne to *Albert*, was in *Swetia*: they of *zurich* sent presents to him by Ambassadors, to whom he gaue kinde entertainment, and tolde them, that he would come meete them with an ample power, for he desired to be a friend to them of *zurich*, and had some matters to acquaint them withall. Afterward, when the Ambassadors came vnto him againe at *Bruges* in *Swetia*, he was become an enemy to *zurich*, by accusations and reports of the Noblemen, and spake sharply to the Ambassadors, saying: That they of *zurich* had done him great wrong in ruining both the old and new *Raspeurwills*, and spoiling the *Marche* likewise, because they were in his Seigneury. He therefore demanded, that they should restore what they held from him, rebuilde those places which they had ruined, and repay their pillages with ready money, & in so doing, hee would pardon them all those wrongs.

How the lands of John of Habsbourg belonged to Albert of Austria, in manner of a right by title.

As concerning his maintaining the lands of *John of Habsbourg*; they belonged to him, in manner following. *Garner* Count of *Hombourg*, Lord of *Raspeurwill* the elder, and of three castles, seated vpon one Mountaine, named *Wartenberg*, nere to *Basile*, dying without children; the succession fell vnto that *John of Habsbourg*, who was slaine at *Grimow*. But *Ctto* and *Albert*, Princes of *Austria*, laid claime to them, being the stronger (I know not whether they had any other title) and all the other goods of *Garner*, including both *Raspeurwill* the elder, & all the *Marche*. Neuertheless, they rendred all vnto *John of Habsbourg*, and he to hold it of them as in Knights fee, and so became their vassal

and pensioner. Thus you see, why *Albert of Austria* said, they had done him wrong, and wherefore he demanded satisfaction.

The Ambassadors of *zurich* made answer, that (from those places) ambuscadoes had beene made against their city, their citizens spoiled and slaine, and in those callies their banished men were harboured. Therefore, seeing they had ruined *Raspeurwill*, which no longer was an abiding for Noblemen, but a retreat for thees & banished men, they thought it no way meete, that any should be compelled to build it againe, or in the selfe same place. They entreated the Prince to consider seriously on euery thing; they being alwaies ready, to debate their cause before the Princes and cities of the Empire, and in any such place as hee would appoint. The Prince answered them in choller, that this was nota difference which stood in need of any Iudges, to beate downe his castles, and waste the places of his Seigneury. But if all were not reduced againe to the first condition, and full satisfaction made: he would employ all his forces, and constrain them of *zurich* to do it. In briefe, he would haue no other debating of this cause, but by the point of the Sword.

The Ambassadors hauing made their answer to the councell of *zurich*, & they perceiuing also euidently, that the citie would very shortly be besieged, because all the Noblemen were already in armes: the men of *zurich* well knowing, that in expecting aide from the Emperor or the Empire, was meely to abuse themselves; refused to combine alliance with the Cantons, for the better preferuacion of their common liberties. Till then, they maintained themselves in amity one with another, and although in the day at *Morgarten*, they of *zurich* gaue succour to the Duke of *Austria*; yet notwithstanding, the Cantons were not offended therewith, but rather tooke pleasure, to approue the hardinesse and valour of the men of *zurich* in fight.

Hauing then so maine an enemy (in common) against them all, to wit, the Duke of *Austria*; both the one and the other then might easily iudge, that their forces being thus combined together, they had thereby the better means for re-

Innocence hath evermore an arme of peace wherewith to defend it selfe.

The alliance of Zurich with the Cantons, to maintain all their liberties together.

Valley of hands and hands, making any people to be come inaidible.

refistance. Moreover, the Cantons were not ignorant that this their alliance with them of *zurich*, did highly accommodate them for prouision of victuals; because there was a very excellent market at *zurich*, and the Lake was apt to transport both food and Merchandizes. Wherefore, after that the men of *zurich* had sent their Ambassadors to the Cantons, to require their alliance in loue, and freely had acquainted them with their present dangers: the Cantons embraced their motion very thankfully, and (soone after) sent their Ambassadors to *zurich*, with plaine power to confirme this alliance, which was fully resolved on in the Moneth of April, in the year one thousand, three hundred, fifty one, and engrossed in writing at the beginning of May following. Now albeit *zurich* is the first, coming thus into alliance with the *Switzers*; yet notwithstanding, because it is a citie much renowned and mighty; the first place was giuen to it, and *zurich* named to be the first Canton. The men of *zurich* (yet to this day) do hold that name and ranke, among all the thirteene Cantons, as well in dayes occasions of the *Switzers* accounts, as in all Ambassages, and other publicke actions whatsoever.

This vnty of them of *zurich*, caused warre (so much the sooner) to come vpon them: for the Prince of *Austria* was already very angry with them of *Saues*, *Pri*, and *Underwald*, which first of all were leagued together: neuertheless, hee assured himselfe (one day) to bring them vnder his yoke. For, because the country was barren, and not conueniently grounded for warre; there grew some apparance, that (at length) it might bee subdued, albeit they were good Souldiers, and well resolved for fight. But when *Lucerna*, which was vnder the dominion of *Austria*, ioyned with them, and then (soone after) *zurich*, a free citie, and cheefest of all other in the country: the Prince became much more moued and troubled: for he was not ignorant, how greatly this alliance had strengthened and authorized them of *zurich*. And therefore he concluded, to lay hold on this occasion, to make warre on the men of *zurich*, and besiege their citie; to essay if thereby he could vnknit this knot of combination, before any other (following examp.e of

the former) should make any more new leagues. See heere the true cause of the warre, and I dare maintaine, that no cause (concerning the ruine of *Raspeurwill*) incited it; because (at all times) when peace was treated on after the warre began: they of *Austria* neuer viged that article, concerning the building againe of *Raspeurwill*; but rather that they of *zurich*, should renounce their alliance with the cantons.

Thus then, in the Moneth of September, the year 1351. *Albert of Austria* besieged *zurich*. He had encamped with him, *Lewes*, Count of *Brandenberg*, *Fredericke*, Duke of *Teck*, the Duke of *Yfflinge*, and the Burgegrau of *Nuremberg*. The Bishops of *Wircebourg*, *Bumberg*, *Frisingen*, *Coire*, and *Basile* lent him succour. He had five and twenty Counts or Earles in his Army, namely; *Enrad*, Count of *Wirtemberg*, conductor of the Army; *Lewes*, count of *Ottigen*; *Frederick*, count of *Orenenberg*: the two counts of *Selmanleech*: the two counts of *Tetnanges*: the two counts of *Furtemberg*: the three of *Tierstein*: they of *Habsbourg* and *Kybourg*; *Raoul* and *Herman* of *Werdemburg*; *Albert* and *Henry* of *Nelembourg*; *Guillaume* of *Kilchberg*; *Inmer* of *Strasbourg*, of *New-chistle*, of *Nidow*, of *Arberg*, of *Fribourg*, of *Zolerin*, and of *Melbourg*. Likewise the cities of *Strafbourg*, *Basile*, *Fribourg* in *Brigaye*, *Soleurre*, and some others sent aide to the Duke. It is said, that he had in his Army two thousand horse, and five thousand foote. On the other side, the foure Cantons sent a good Garrison to them of *zurich*. The Souldiers and the citizens fortified the city, and made diligent prouision of all things requisite to withstand the siege, and to defend it: so that (on both sides) there were some sallies and skirmishes.

But few daies after the siege, peace was made, by the intermise of *Frederick*, count of *Togge*, and of *Fierberg* *Reichberg*, commander of *Rhodes*, abiding at *Vateul*, with them of *Basile* and of *Berne* on condition, that the *Switzers* should refer themselves vnto the definitive iudgement of *Agnes*, Queene of *Hungary*, to whom, eyther side should send their Ambassadors, and that which was concluded by them, with plurality of voyces, eyther party should ratifie. For this effect, they of *zurich* were to giue in 16. Hostages, of the cheefest

The principal intention of the Duke of Austria.

The first besieging of the City of Zurich.

There neuer wants store of helpe to be found, when any people are to be oppressed.

Peace made, and on what condition.



A traine is made, to entrap them by a sheete of paper, that could not be executed by force.

of the City, and *Albert* promised by his Letters, that no wrong should be done unto them. The foure Cantons would not accept of this peace, alledging, that no trust ought to be given to the Queen of *Hungary*, who would not faile to giue sentence in fauour of *Albert*, he being her brother. Neuerthelesse, the men of *Zurich*, who had a good opinion of the woman, did so presse the other Cantons, that they subsigned together the conditions: adding this exception (in common) that their alliance should continue in full force.

The Duke of *Austria* chose for Iudges, *Immer*, Count of *Strasberg*, and *Peter* of *Stoiffelen*, commander of *Tannenfels*. They gaue sentence in behalte of their Master, whereby it was appointed, that they of *Zurich* were bound, to renew (according to their former condition) the olde and new *Rapperswiles*, and giue satisfaction to *Albert*: tending backe *Lucerna* vnder his gouernment, and surrender also great store of possessions and rights, in the territory of *Vnderwald*. They tooke away likewise from them of *Suits*, their right of fishing in the Lake, and their ancient possession and vse of many Forrests. Finally, they condemned all the five Cantons, in great fines of money: neuer hauing any regard, what wrongs the city of *Zurich* had endured, by them of *Rapperswile*, nor other reasons and defences proposed by the Cantons, and by *Philip Kyen*, Knight, and *Peter de la Baume*, Consull of *berne*, their Iudges deputed.

Queene *Agnes* approved the sentence of *Alberts* Iudges. She was a witty woman, that had an outward appearance of great sanctity, as we vse to say, from the teeth forward. At all times when she saw her brethren forward to make warre, but greatly vnfurnished; then would she be sure to procure truce or peace betweene the *Switzers* and them. Onely to this end, that they might assemble their troopes together in the meane time, and bee the better provided for a sudden assailing the at vnwares. Yet all that while, she would still protest, that she did all this for the enioying of peace, and in meere compassion which she had of the *Switzers*.

Now albeit this sentence was most vniust, yet notwithstanding, the *Switzers* promised to ratifie it. But the Duke being

not contented with all this, commanded them of *Zurich*, to set at liberty (without eyther fine or ranfome) Count *John* of *Habsbourg*, their prisoner taken in faire warre, and of whom the Iudges made not any mention. Hereupon, they of *Zurich* would not yeeld to any thing, by which occasion, the Duke imprisoned their hostages, contrary to his faithfull promise, planted a Garrison on the Frontiers, and prepared himselfe for a new warre.

More insurrection of the Duke of Austria.

## CHAP. V.

*How Glaris, being conquered by the Cantons, came afterward to be accepted into their louing alliance.*



HE *Switzers* seeing that all hope of peace was vtterly frustrated, & that they must needs re-enter into war: determined among themselves, to invade the country of *Glaris*, for seare lesse (in that quarter) the enemy would make courtes on the lands of the confederates, and especially on them of *Suits*. Wherefore, the very same yeare, and in the Moneth of November, the men of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, ioyned together, and led their troopes towards *Glaris*. Without any blow imitted, they made themselves Masters of the whole country, taking oath of them of *Glaris*; and in regard of their faithfulness, as also their approued valour in war, which they had well tried oftentimes before; they received them into their alliance.

The determination of the *Switzers*, who made war, and war must needs be undertaken.



*Glaris* is a strait Valley and long, containing a league and an halfe of the German measure, neere to the River of *Limagus* or *Limmatus*: it took name from the principall Towne of all the Country, being enight on three sides with very high Alpes: hauing the *Grisons* on the South side, & towards the East, *Vri*, & *Suits* to the West, and on the North, the field called the *Grisons*.

A breuie description of Glaris.

The Abbey of Secon given to S. Fridolin, by two brothers.

fons country, by which, the River of *Limagus* runneth along the Valley, and enters into the Lake of *Zurich*. *Glaris* had bin subiect a long time, and for the space of many yeares, to the Abbey of *Secon*, & was giuen to S. *Fridolin*, by two brothers, named *Ours* and *Landolphe*. They of *Glaris* paid tythes to this Abbey, and certaine constituted rents, beside taxations of some inheritances. They were not charged with any imposts, or subsidies whatsoeuer: they held their owne lawes, & a councill among their citizens. True it is, that the election belonged vnto the Abbess; but the Prouostship or gouernment (both of the Abbey and country) was the Emperors onely, & in his power.

Afterward, *Frederick Barbarossa* gaue it to *Otho*, Palatine of *Bourgogne*, from whose successors, it came to them of the house of *Habsbourg*. Vnder pretence of this authority, *Albert* of *Austria*, Sonne to the Emperour *Raoul*, made himselfe Lord of *Glaris*, in despite of the whole country: who had promised to the forenamed Abbey, neuer to be separated or alienated from it. This vlturpation was the cause, that many Noble families forsooke the country, and withdrew themselves thence, some to *Vri*, and others to *Zurich*. They of *Austria* being well fortified, expelled out of his house the Baron of *Suanda*, a rich Gentleman, and well beloved in those parts, appropriating all his goods to themselves. They vsurped also the rights of the Maiordome of *Glaris*, & brought in a nouelty neuer before practised: sending Gouernors into that country, to haue a seuerer eye ouer the people, and to iudge them by proceesse in law.

What means the oppression of any people do vnto, inbereasing their liberty, & at length to dispoof all at their owne pleasure.

Glaris yielded willingly to the *Switzers*.

Those Gouernors were very rude and insolent, so that the people (in despite of the *Austrians*) yielded themselves voluntarily to the *Switzers*, when they came to warre vpon them, and made perpetuall alliance with them. *Gautier de Stad*, Gouernour for them of *Austria*, departed from *Glaris*, after the inhabitants had sworn fidelity to the *Switzers*, withdrawing himselfe not far off, namely to *Wesen*. But they of *Glaris* chose among themselves (according to their ancient custome) a *Maior* or *Amman*, and their vsuall number of counsellors. And because they expected nothing more, but that the *Austrians* would soone come againe to molest

them: they strengthened their walles, and trenched their Valley, neere to a Village named *Naiffel*, where was the easiest entrance into the country: that needed no fortification, but only there, all the rest being engirt with Mountains round about.

During these alterations at *Glaris*, in the Moneth of December, they of *Zurich* marched with their Army towards *Bada*, where was a great Garrison of the *Austrians*, that by their often out-roades made much waste on the Lands of *Zurich*.

To requite them with money of the same stamp, they of *Zurich* forraged the country about *Bada*, and burnt the Subburbs of the Towne, getting vpon the Mountains, to come neerer to them. But towards *Teiuille*, on the Mountain, a Capitaine of the *Austrian* horsemen, named *Ellerbach*, made firme the passage with foure thousand men. They of *Zurich* were no more then 1300. (some say they were much lesse) notwithstanding, they set vpon the enemy, and wonne a very remarkable victory, leauing there 700. enemies slaine, among whom (as is credibly aouched) there were 65. Gentlemen.

The yeare following, *Gautier de Stad*, not long before Gouernor of *Glaris*, hauing leuiued an Army, prepared himselfe, to subiect the country againe to the house of *Austria*. Hee tooke occasion to do this, because he had receiued intelligence that two hundred men of *Glaris* were in Garrison at *Zurich*. But the other inhabitants ouercame him in a ranged batel, where he was slaine, and a great number of the Nobility, the 2. day of February.

The selfe same day, the *Austrians* that were at *Zug*, being gone by Boates to *Arte*; did set vpon the lands of *Suits*, but met with the like welcome as *Stad* had at *Glaris*. In like manner, all the confederates sent an Army to forrage *Berne*, and other neighbouring places, from whence the *Austrians* issued forth oftentimes, to set vpon the *Lucernians*: As (on the other side) the *Austrians* put to fire and blood *Cusnach*, and some other places, yet not without their owne great losse. About the holidays of *Pentecoste*, the *Lucernians*, assisted by the three Cantons, tooke (by assault) a Castle, called *Habsbourg*, seated on the Lake of *Lucerna*; cut in peeces all them that were therein in Garrison, & ruined it quite fro the top to the bottom.

Of the day at Teiuille, where the men of Zurich had a worthy victory against their enemies the Austrians.

The overthrow of Gautier de Stad, late Gouernor of Glaris.

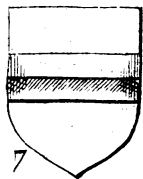
Another overthrow opening the same day.

Couffer and out-roades made onely for peace.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of Zug, and at what time it came to be comprehended, in league and confederacy with the other Cantons of the Switzers.*

IN those times, Zug hapned to be thus comprized in alliance with the *Switzers*. It is a Towne betweene *Zurich* and *Suits*, seated at the foot of a Mountain, rich in pasturages, and vines planted on the sides joyning to the Lake, which aboundeth with plenty of Fish, common to them both of *Zug* and *Suits*. It is reputed to be the capitall Towne of certaine people, which accompaied the of *Zurich*, in the warre of the *Cambrians* against the *Romanes*. Sometimes (hee acknowledged diuers *Gé-*



temen as her Lords: but afterward, fell into the hands of them of *Austria*, who, during the warre against the *Switzers*, maintained there an ordinary Garrison, which did many harmes to them of *Suits* and *Zurich*. And this was the cause, that in the year 1352. and the Moneth of Iune, the men of *Zurich*, with the foure other Cantons, prepared an Army to go against *Zug*. The Soldiers finding their strength far too weake, would not attend the *Switzers* coming: but withdrew to *Bremgarten*, and other places thereabout. But the Townesmen, who would be faithful to the Duke of *Austria*, maintained the siege for fifteene daies space: neuertheless, hauing received a very violent assault: they yielded themselves, & took an oath to the *Switzers*, on this condition. That if within a certaine time appointed, the Duke of *Austria* brought an Army, to cause the siege to be remoued: they would returne againe vnder his obedience, and stand acquitted of their oath giuen to the *Switzers*. To effect this business, they sent their Ambassadors, to require succour from the Duke of *Austria*: he being then in the Abbey of *Champ Royal*, about fifteene leagues from *Zug*,

& there the Ambassadors let him vnderstand their charge and message.

It chanced at that instant time, that the Duke was walking in a Gallery, demanding of his Faulconer, whether hee had (that day) sed his Hawkes or no? The cheefeest of the Ambassadors, named *Herman*, taking him at that word, said. Alasse my Lord, haue you not more care of your Subiects, the of *Hawks*? Especially now, when the enemy hath so strictly engirt vs, as if you send not present supply, constrainedly we must surrender our selues? The Prince returned this answer. It is well, yeeld your selues; before it be long time, we will recouer againe whatsoever wee haue lost. And because they of *Zug* well saw, that it was in vaine to looke for any comfort thence: they ioyned themselves in vniy and alliance with the *Switzers*.

Hardly were the Letters of this alliance written, for combining thus the Cantons by oath: but *Albert*, Duke of *Austria*, now the second time besiedged the city of *Zurich*, about the midst of Iune. But at the end of the Moneth, by intermede of the Marquesse of *Brandebourg*, peace was made, on these conditions following. They of *Zurich* should set at liberty *John of Habspourg*, their three yeares prisoner, without cyther fine or ranfome. Also, that the Duke of *Austria* should acquit (frank and freely) the hostages of *Zurich*, whom he had likewise imprisoned. They of *Zug* and *Glaris*, abshined of their oath taken to the *Switzers*, should (as before) yeeld obedience to the house of *Austria*. In the meane while, nothing should hinder, but that the alliance of the *Switzers* must stand firme.

In the time of this treaty, *John of Habspourg* came forth of prison, without paying any ranfome; but the hostages of *Zurich* were not released, according to (worn promise: for before they could get forth, they were compelled to pay sixteen hundred crownes for a ranfome, & yet could not enjoy cyther peace or safety. For so soone as the Count of *Habspourg* was released, hee gaue *Rapperswill*, and the places neighbouring about it, to *Albert of Austria*, who immediately fortified *Rapperswill*, and planted a Garrison there, whereby a new warre was engendered. For the Soldiers of that Garrison ranne in on the Lands of *Zurich*, and slew fifty men at

*Meile*,

By tyranny & oppression, people are (commonly) held vnder, and extorted alien House.

A seconde besieging the City of *Zurich*.

Condition of the peace concluded.

The crafty designs of such men, as hold neither piety nor honour in due respect and estimation.

Concerning the situation & first estate of Zug.

The Cantons made an Army forth against Zug.

Zug being assaulted by the Cantons, yeelds it selfe vpon condition.

*Meile*, which was a Village belonging to one of the Chanons of *Zurich*.

Hereby we may plainly perceiue, that the Duke of *Austria* did but seeke occasion, whereby to begin the warre againe. The year following, as the Ambassadors of *Suits* were gone (in name of the five Cantons) to require of them of *Zug*, the obligatory oath of their alliance, according to the Articles of pacification: they of *Austria* expelled them away with outrages. In regard whereof, they mustred their forces together againe, and made themselves Masters of *Zug* the second time, and then commanded the citizens, to giue their oath to the *Switzers*. In the same year, 1352. the sixteenth day of Maich, *Berne* ioyned it selfe in alliance with the *Switzers*. But we are to speake somewhat in this place, concerning this city, which is the most powerfull among all them in *Swetia*.

At what time Berne allied it selfe with the *Switzers*.

By whom Berne was builded.

Berne made an Imperiall City.

Zug is assailed by the enemies to libertie.

## CHAP. VII.

*Of the building of Berne, the situation and condition thereof, and how it was yeelded to the Empire.*

**B**erthoul, first of that name, & the last Duke of *zingen*, builded the city of *Berne*, and being offended with the noblemen, who had caused his male children to bee poysoned in their youth: he submitted it to the Empire, & affranchised it. The Emperor *Fredericke* the eleuenth, ratified the Dukes will, and after the death of him, in the year, 1218. a Governour was sent to *Berne*, named *Otho of Rauenpourg*, in name of the Empire. But some yeares after, for good seruices done by them of *Berne* to the Emperor: hee gaue them much greater priuiledges and franchises, exempting them also from hauing any more Governour.

In the troubles and confusions which happened in the Empire, the Count of *Kybourg*, Lord of Burgdorff, strove to abolish the cities liberty, leaguimg himselfe (for that purpose) with Gentlemen his neighbours, and the Towne of *Fri-*

bourg, which *Berthoul* the fourth had builded. And his Son had giuen in charge to both these Townes, to continue friends for euer. As concerning the occasion of this war, it grew thus. The men of *Berne* had bought certaine Lands beyond the River of *Ar*, & began to prepare a bridge, which the Count would not suffer, hee being Lord beyond the River. Whereupon they of *Berne* (desirous to make themselves as strong as their enemies) did put themselves into the protection of the Count of *Sauoye*, who repelled the attempts of the Count of *Kybourg*, and hauing obtained peace, enlarged the compassse and roundure of the city. Then after warre was moued, betweene the Count of *Sauoye*, and the Duke of *Bourgogne*, the Count promised the men of *Berne*, that if they carried themselves valiantly, and he prospered in his attempt; he would grant them whatsoever they would demand of him. They performed their duty so well, that the enemy was discomfited: and then (as in recompence) they desired nothing else of the Count of *Sauoye*, but their ancient liberty, and he granted their request, and kept his promise most faithfully with them. After that time, they of *Berne* were alwayes friends, and allied to the house of *Sauoye*.



The City being reintegrated into her wonted liberty, before they entred into league with the *Switzers*, had many and very difficult warres, as well for conservation of their liberty, as enlarging their limits. They gaue a battaile to *Godfrey of Habspourg*, in the year, 1241. but that was to their owne disadvantage, because the enemy was far greater in number. Moreover, *Raoul of Habspourg*, accompanied with them of *la Tour* and *de Gruyere*, besiedged (two severall times) the City of *Berne*; vnder colour of accusing them of *Berne*, that they had violated the publicke faith of the Empire, in taking prisoners, and euill entreating certaine Iewes. *Albert of Austria*, Sonne to the Emperor *Raoul*, did twice bid them battaile before the city, and many citizens were there slain.

X 3

The men of Berne had diuers wars before they came to be in number of the Cantons.

A great league and combination made against the City of Berne.

slaine. In the yeare 1291. the Counts of *Sauoye*, *Neuberg*, and *Grugere*, the Bishop of *Lausanna*, the Lord of *Tour*, beside some Townes and Gentlemen, made a league against *Berne*: but by the aide of the Counts of *Kybourg* and *Arberg*, as also the city of *Solleurre*, the men of *Berne* wonne a mighty battaile, at a place called, *The hill of Thunder*. *Aldrich Erlach* was cheefe of the *Bernisb* Army in that warre. During the yeares following, many of the Castles, neighbouring to the city, were taken in war, and demolished by them of *Berne*. They also had victories in the warres moued in the vale of *Simnia*, and in many other places, against the Noblemen that much molested them, whereby they greatly enlarged their limits. Also the inhabitants of the vale of *Hafell*, who were at freeliberty, ioyned with them of *Berne*. This happinesse of theirs, so enflamed the malice and enuy of the Noblemen against *Berne*, as thereon ensued the memorable battaile giuen at *Loupen*.

The famous and memorable battaile giuen by Count and Gentlemen, against the men of Berne at Loupen.

Many Counts and Gentlemen, hauing leuiued a well prepared Army, of sixteen thousand foote, and three thousand, five hundred horse, at the least, went and besiedged *Loupen*, which is a small Towne appertaining to them of *Berne*, who were about five thousand, assisted with three hundred men of *Vri*, as many of *Suits*, as many of *nderwald*, and as many of the Vale of *Hafell*, *Rasul Erlach* being chiefe of these troopes. This small number ouercame the enemy in a ranged battaile, nere to *Loupen*, where dyed in the fiedle, the Count of *Sauoye*, who was sent to the Campe by his Father, onely to treat on peace: but the other constrained him to make one in the battaile. There were slaine also, the Counts of *Nidow*, of *Arberg* and *Valentis*, fifteen hundred horsemen, among whom were fourescore Gentlemen of marke, and about three thousand foote. This battaile was fought the 21. day of Iune, in the yeare 1339.

A fortunate and successful pursuit of victory against them of Fribourg and many towns more.

After this successfull day, they of *Berne* made warre (to their aduantage) against them of *Fribourg*, who were vassalls to the house of *Austria*, and also to the Gentlemen about *Fribourg*. For at *Schoenenberg*, they of *Fribourg* were ouerthrowne, and lost many of their men, their country forraged, and the Subburbs of their

Towne burnt. *Signow*, *Langnow*, *Burgdorf*, *Longuall*, *Pyneitic*, *Arberg*, *Erlach*, *Nidow*, *Tuun*, and other Townes and great Villages, were either spoiled, or taken by them of *Berne*. Finally, *Agnes* Queene of Hungary, made an end of this warre, by means of a peace which they compounded. In all these warres, the men of *Berne* euer felt, that Gentlemen, no better then vassalls to the house of *Austria*, most laboured to oppresse them: whereas (contrariwise) the amity of the *Switzers* did highly aduantage them. But in the meane while, and contrary to their hope and expectation, they were drawne into a new warre; wherein they of *nderwald* ioyned themselves with their enemies. The Lord of *Engenberg*, and the Prouost of the Abbey situated betwene the two Mountaines, were Bourgeois of *Berne*. They were *Gouernors* or *Bayliffs* also of that country, which lies nere to the Mountaine of *Brunic*, and the Lake of *Brientz*.

It came to passe, that they of the country, accounting the gouernment of these two Lords to be rude and harsh: began to mutiny against them, and after they had called to their aide the men of *nderwald*, who were nere neighbors; they tooke the Castle of *Engenberg*, in absence of the Lord, set it on fire, and denied the Prouost such duties and trythes, as they were accustomed to pay. They of *Berne* sent Ambassadors, to exhort them of *nderwald*, not to succour such seditious persons against all right and reason. But they of *nderwald* made no reckoning of this aduertisement, but went and encamped with the seditious at *Brientz*. On the other side, the men of *Berne*, hauing required their allies of *Solleurre*, *Tuun*, *Sienne*, and *Morat* to send them succour, and it being sent them; marched with all their troopes to *Brientz*, gaue battaile to the seditious and them of *nderwald*, compelling them to flight, and retire into the neighbouring Mountaines. They of *nderwald* (storming at this disgrace) called their confederates of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris* to helpe them: but they of *Berne* sent their Ambassadors to those Cantons, offering the iustice & equity of their cause, and to haue it tried before them.

Heereupon, a day was held at *Lucerna*, where

An unexpected warre of the men of Berne, against the men of nderwald.

The reason of the warre beginning and proceeding.

Amity or alliance being vnuall is the ruine and overthrow of their confederates.

Alliance and league perpetually made by them of Bern with the Cantons.

where the Deputies of the *Switzers*, hauing heard the reasons alledged on either side, commanded them of *nderwald*, to renounce their alliance with them of *Brientz*. On the same day, the men of *Berne* made a perpetual alliance with the three Cantons, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *nderwald*. Now, although this alliance is made but with three, yet *Zurich* and *Lucerna* are comprized therein. For the three first Cantons bound themselves to succour them of *Zurich* & *Lucerna* whensoever they called them, and to bring with them the men of *Berne*, who by the same alliance are tyed thereto, if *Zurich* and *Lucerna* do desire it. In reciprocall manner they of *Zurich* and *Lucerna*, promised solemnly, to go alisf (with all their power) the men of *Berne*, if the three Cantons call them thereto.

The third time of fledge laid to the City of Zurich.

Immediately after this alliance made, the city of *Zurich* was besiedged agayne the third time. For, *Albert of Austria*, accused the Cantons before the Emperour *Charles* the fourth; who hauing heard the answer of the Cantons, made a truce, vntill his returre from a voyage, which hee was constrained to vndertake, about some affaires of the Empire. Being returned, he came to *Zurich*, where he heard either parties, and directing himselfe vnto the *Switzers*, especially to them of *Zurich*, he aduised them to renounce this alliance: adding withall, that the city was Imperiall, and could make no alliance without consent of the Emperour. But the confederates rendered a sufficient reason for what they had done, exhibiting their priuiledges, and making it manifest, that the alliance contracted between them, could not any way preiudice the rightes of the Empire. Seeing he could not driue the *Switzers* out of this league, then he made his re-courte to *Albert*, desiring him to sell *Lucerna*, *Glaris*, and *Zug* vnto the Empire, because the difference did concerne those three places especially. But *Albert* audaciously answered him; That he would rather buy some Townes, if the Emperour would sell him any, then let him haue any of his for money.

A proud answer of Albert of Austria to the Emperour.

Once againe the Emperour pressed the *Switzers*, to suffer him to end the difference, and promise to tye themselves to such orders as he should set downe, assuring them that *Albert* would do the like.

But the *Switzers* would not consent thereto, without plaine exception of their priuiledges; and the Emperour vrged his authority, without any reuerferu: by the which means, all this long imparlance serued to no purpose, but only that a truce was taken for some time. Which being expired, the Emperour being incessantly importuned, ioyned with *Albert of Austria*, and besiedged *Zurich*. The besiedged (by diuers ambassages) intreated the Emperour, not to presse thus into the house of *Austrias* fau. ur) their city, which was Imperiall: for they desired nothing but conservation of their priuiledges, and would not reced any composition whatsoever, if it were reasonable.

Then the Emperour began to summon *Albert* to listen to a pacification; which hee would not doe: in which respect, the Emperour raised the fledge, and returned home. That which also moued him hereto, was, because his Camp stood composed of soldiers, who were (almost all) prest forth of Imperiall Townes and Citties; & (in his opinion) bare more affection to the *Switzers*, then to the house of *Austria*, albeit those souldiers during the fledge) would obey none other then the Emperour. After the Emperours departure the duke of *Austria* also speedily got him gon: hauing heard, that the other Cantons had set forth supply vnto them of *Zurich*. Neuertheless, hee lodged his troopes in Townes, Villages, and Castles round about, enioyning them, not to suffer the Cantons to haue any rest, but continually to make incursions on their Lands.

At length, in the fift year of this war, by authority and intermise of the emperour *Charles* the fourth, peace was concluded betwene the Prince of *Austria*, and them of *Zurich*. Now because it would seeme a troublesome matter, to insert heere the whole Tenure at large; we will be satisfied with a breefe Summary of the Articles, which are these following.

The Emperour ioyned with Albert of Austria.

The fledge raised from Zurich by Gods most singular providence.

Peace made between them of Zurich, and the Duke of Austria.

Articles of Peace concluded on betwene the Duke of Austria and Zurich.

1. *Whosoever hath bene taken on either side in this Warre shall be restored againe.*

2. *They of Zurich shall not receive into the*

the number of their Bourgeois such as remaine under the domination of the Duke of Austria: but if any will retire themselves to Zurich, they may be receyved. Provided, that they bee of the number of them, which the Citie might receive, before this peace was made.

3 Such as hold any other way then in service, shall be under the iustice of the lords of those Fees. And they which make use of another mans possessions, shall surrender them, or shall stand bound to answer the same in Law: except it be for the goods of the banished.

4 From hence forward, they of Zurich shall not ally themselves with the servants of the Duke of Austria: or contrariwise, they shall helpe to recover his rights.

5 If any difference happen to be moved, betwene the Duke and the Cantons: It is ordained before hand, that some Judges shall consider on the cause.

6 Those alliances which the Switzers haue made together, shall remaine in their full power and integrity.

There are diuers other Articles in this pacification; but I am onely contented with these, as beeing the principall and chiefeest.

It fell out, that diuers interpretations were made vpon this agreement, which likewise began new contentions: yet they were still qualified, before they came to hand-blows, for either sides purfe being emptied of money, and their forces sayling, made them vnwilling to heare of any more warre. *Albert Buchseimer*, Lieutenant to the duke of Austria, pressed them of Zug, to giue their oath of fidelity vnto his Prince, which they would not do, but with exception of their alliance made with the Cantons, or else to stand acquitted by the sayde Cantons, to whom they had giuen their faith. This difference was referred to the Emperor Charles the fourth, who finally gaue iudgement, that they of Zug should stand exempted from alliance with the Cantons: because (quoth he) the Articles of pacification doe declare, that the Switzers shall not possesse any of the Dukes Townes, neyther hinder any way his government in them.

Now, although this sentence was greatly greuous to the Switzers; considering, that in one of the Articles, the

alliances made, were (by name) excepted, and onely ordained, that no new Alliances should be made with the vassalls to the house of Austria: yet notwithstanding, they were so ouer glured with war, as they werypon the point to leaue Zug to the Duke of Austria; if they of Switz (who had not (as yet) signed the peace) had not opposed themselves against it. They then sodainly gathered their troops together, and went to Zug, demanding againe the faith of the Citizens, who (for their part) had sent their Deputy to Switz to require confirmation of the faith first giuen. This done, after some long debating and consulting, it was at length concluded; by meanes of the Lorde of Torberg, that truce should be confirmed for the space of eleuen yeares, which was still after the decease of Albert. During this truce, they of Zug and Glaris continued allyed with the Switzers, and al that while were thereunto subiect, acqutting themselves of all duties due to the house of Austria. The Duke receiued from Switz a man, from foure yeares to foure yeares, whom hee confirmed *Amman* or Maior at Zug: And he gaue as Gouvernour vnto them of Glaris, *Godfrey Mulser* of Zurich. Afterward, the truce being expired, it was againe confirmed for a longer time.

The sonne of Albert, named *Leopold*, greatly hated the Switzers; but he durst not meddle with them, least hee should gaine as little thereby, as his Father had done. And therefore he would worke his will by others, setting the Switzers at variance with the Englishmen, who hauing spoiled the country about the *heime*, entred into Swetia, where they did as much harme to the Austrians, as to the Cantons. But hauing bin beaten in some encounters, after they had forraged in Swetia, and all the countrey about *Montbeliard*, *Basile*, *Strasbourg*, and run into diuers other places, they retired home to their own houses, & hapned Anno 1376.

Six yeares after, war was moued against the Count of Kybourg. Hee was enforced to take (by treason) the Towne of *Solluerre*, allyed with the men of Berne, and at the very same time, they of Austria would haue surprized *Dun* and *Arberg*, Townes appertaining to the Canton of Bern. Consequently the Count of Kybourg made

The Switzers being weary of war, would yeeld to their owne peace, rather then to heare of any more trouble.

A truce concluded on for 11 yeares, lasting till after the death of Albert.

War made by the Englishmen against the Switzers.

War made against the Count of Kybourg.

made open war vpon them of *Solluerre*, to whom they of Berne and the other Cantons sent supply. The Duke of Austria, who (so lately before) had made alliance with the Switzers, fortified (vnder hand) the Count of Kybourg, and (contrary to his faith) furnished him with vi-uals, and other necessities for warre. Neuertheless, the Count was not able to endure the burthen of amity agreed on betwene them of *Solluerre* and Bern, but sold them *Burgdorff*, for the summe of forty thousand Crownes.

The Duke of Austria had a difference, in what manner I know not, with the Imperiall Cities and Townes. They made a league, wherein Zurich, Berne, *Solluerre*, and Zug were comprehended: but the Duke brake all in sunder by his cunning deuices, pacifying himselfe amiable with the Townes of *Suaba* and *Franconia*. And as for the Townes on this side the *Rheine* in *Halatia*, hee conquered them in one battell. This victory did aduance his hopes, as he began to consult with himselfe, how to bring the Townes of Swetia vnder his obedience, and the occasion of the warre grew thus. *Peter of Torberg*, Gouvernour of *Wolhouse*, and in the Vale of *Entlibuch*; and *Herman Grunenberg*, gouernour of *Rottenbourg* for the Duke of Austria, who had engaged these places vnto them, tyrannized on the people, and did many outrages to the neighbours of the Lucernians. The people being tyrannically dealt with all, sent men to Lucerna, to desire acceptation into their Bourguership. But the two Gouvernours hauing discovered it, caused the Deputies to be hanged, and all them that had anie hand in the matter, recompensing them with death, that had faithfully employed their paines, to giue life againe to their languishing country. Moreover, they imposed new passage Tolles at *Rottembourg* on the Switzers, or else they might haue no passage there.

The Lucernians, too much prouoked by so many injuries, being ayded by the men of Switz, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*: made themselves masters of *Rottembourg*: the 29 day of December, in the yeare, 1381. spoyleing the Castle, which *Grunenberg* had forsaken. They did likewise beate downe the walles of the Towne, and filled vpp the Ditches: for feare least the

Austrians should lodge any Garrison there, wherewith to molest the Lucernians againe. Some short while after, they of *Sempach* were receiued into Fellowship with the Lucernians; & two hundred men were put in Garrison by the Lucernians, into the Towne of *Kichenfee*: but the Lieutenants to the Duke of Austria, hauing sodainly sent an Armie, tooke the Towne by assault, cut the throats of the whole Garrison, put most part of the inhabitants to the sword, burned all the rest along in the same fire wherewith the Towne was embraced; shewing no pity to aged, sick, women, or children. On the other side, al the Cantons except Bern, took a place in those parts, named *Meysenberg*; & there planted a garrison but the Austrians (fearing a flight) drew the Switzers soldiers forth into the open field, where they slew fourescore and one of them, and compelled the rest to retire speedily into the Towne. The Cantons aduertised hereof, called their people together, set fire on the Towne and Castle, leauing not a stone of them vnrained.

These beginnings and entrances into warre, seemed to threaten the Switzers with a farre greater confusion: & therefore, they of Austria made their preparations carefully, yet with great pomp, and every day (by Letters and Heraulds) denounced warre against the Switzers, at the beginning of the ensuing yeare. The Switzers considered likewise on their owne affaires, and provided to set vpon all those enemies, which had enclosed the round about. The men of Berne, who had not boudge as yet, being solicited by many messages from their confederates: ruined two Castles, to wit, *Torberg*, and *Kopping*, belonging to *Peter of Torberg*. They of Lucerna, *Vri*, Switz, and *Vnderwald*, spoyleing the Castle and Towne of *Woolhouse*, as also *Liele*, *Rinach* and *Baldge*. The men of Zurich ioyned their forces with the Cantons, and after they had made some courses & waste in the countries neereest to their limes: in retiring backe, they tooke (by assault) the Castle of *Rumelange*, and set it on fire. And because the Duke of Austria made the mustering of his people, especially at *Brug* & *Hada*, neere to Zurich: it was imagined, that he would go and besiege that Citie also. And this was the reason, why the

Richenfee taken by assault burnt, and all in it flame or burned, by them of Austria.

The Confederates ioyne their powers together.

A new variance concerning the Canton of Zug, & referred to the opinion of the Emperor.

To ruin the people they must be divided.

Warre begun by Leopold of Austria, against the Switzers.

Tyrants neuer want excusable and monstrous cruelties.

The Lucernians manhood at Rottembourg.

four Cantons sent sixteen hundred men to succour them of Zurich.

Duke Leopold understanding that such a Garrison was at Zurich, marched so dainly with his army towards the Cantons, which seemed then naked of the most part of their troopes. But this enterprize was discovered by their spies, & therefore left the city of Zurich, in the citizens guard, and returned back those sixteen hundred men which marched vnder their Ensignes day and night; and so diligently, that they arrived at *Sempach*, even at the same instant as the duke came to lodge his troops there. That day was the ninth of July, and battell was given the very same day, wherein Leopold sonne to *Albert* the wife, and Nephew or youngest child to the Emperor *Albert*, was slaine in open field, with six hundred seventy six Gentlemen, whereof there were three hundred and fifty more remarkable then the rest by reason of their Helmes and Burganets, beautified with Coronets and goodly plumes. After to faire a victory, the Cantons began to extend their strength thoroughout all *Switzerland*, and chastised such as hadde forraged their country, pilld the Citizens, & moved Warre vpon no occasion: many castles were ruined, and many Towns taken.

The battell at Sempach, in which, the Duke of Austria, and 676 gentlemen were slaine in the plaine field.

In the year, one thousand, three hundred, fourescore, and seauen, the second day of the month of February, truce was agreed on for a year, by the entermise of some Townes. The times of truce being expired, the citizens of *Wesen*, on the *Lake de Rine*, deliuered vp their Cittie to them of *Austria*, who flew the Switzers that were there in Garrison. Afterward, the enemy (with great forces) to the number of eight thousand at the least, set vp on the Landes of *Glaris* the ninth day of April. Some say, that they were about sixteen thousand men, conducted by *Donatus* Count of *Togge*, *Peter* of *Torberg*, *John* of *Klingenberg*, *John* Counte of *Werdenberg*, Lord of *Sargans*. This last man made choise of two thousand men, which he brought by *Beglinge*, to enclose the Switzers, and make them turne their backs with shame.

A bargain made, but without any certainty.

The other marched boldly on towards the *Walles*, which they of *Glaris* had fortified and made fromg their coun-

tries entrance the year before, gaying thereby such assurance of the wall, as the victory was almost intirely in their hand; yet they beganne to pillage, and burne all that was about them. Meane while they of *Glaris* met together in a neere neighbouring Mountaine, to the number of three hundred and fifty, and thirty beside, which they of *Suits* had sent from the neere valley. This ouer-little Troope, by greatnesse of courage and resolution, met with the enemy in a verie narrow passage, where they saluted them with such impetuous stormes of great stones, & wherco the place afforded no scarcity, drawing them into a place more open, they pressed and pursued on them with such extreme boldnesse, that the great army was forced to flight, after they had renewed the charge cleauen severall times, as the *Annales* of *Glaris* do testify, so often did the enemy labour still to set vp on them.

The Count of *Werdenberg*, looking from the height of a Mountaine (which hee had betaken himselfe vnto) and perceiving the overthrow of his associates, saued his owne stake, as wisely as he possibly could. There were two thousand enemies slaine in this battaille, and about five hundred were drowned in the *Lake*: because the multitude of Runne-aways, brake downe the Bridge in their halte, whereby they should passe from *Glaris* to *Wesen*.

After this battell, the Cantons showed themselves still in many other skirmishes against the Austrians, taking townes and Castles, either by force or composition: but they fought no more battels. For by entremise of the Cities of *Constance*, *Vberlingen*, *Ranenbourg*, & *Rottulie*, truce was taken for seven yeares: and afterwards it was prolonged, even so farre as for the space of twentie yeares; and finally, peace was made for the terme of fiftie yeares.

Peace being established for such length of time, brought some more ease & quietnesse to the Cantons. But in the year one thousand, four hundred and one, the war of *Appenzel* began, & continued seven whole yeares. *Appenzel* is a Region of *Switzerland*, seated neere vnto the *Alpes*, towards the East, and on the Head of the *Lake of Constance*. At this day, it

A notable victory obtained by 380 Switzers against 8000 enemies to their liberty.

Townes and Castles taken by skirmishes but no more battels given or fought.

The beginning of the warre of Appenzel, and how long it continued.

is one of the thirteene Cantons; but as then it was no way allyed with the Switzers: it is only acknowledged (as a Lord) the Abbot of *S. Gall*, who was then called, *Cundo de Stroufen*. Some difference happened between the Abbot and them of *Appenzel*, and after it had long time bene debated in *Lawe* before Iudges; they fell at length to pleade their cause at the sword's point. The Townes neere to the *Lake of Constance*, did take part with the Abbot, who had fundered them from the men of *Appenzel*, with whom they were allyed and combined. The Abbot having leuied an army of the inhabitants of those townes, gaue battell to the men of *Appenzel*, who ouer-came them, droue them in disorder, with great losse of their men.

Townes divided from Appenzel to take part with the Abbot, yet forced in fight.

After this foile, they of *S. Gall*, of *Appenzel*, and of *Suits*, associated themselves together. The Duke of *Austria* ioynd with the Abbot; but they of *Appenzel* proued still victorious in all other encounters. And after they had conquered a great part of the country about them, ruined many Castles, and taken diuers Townes: at length they compeld the Abbot to craue peace, & leaue them in their wonted liberty.

A new warre happening between the Cantons, and Frederick of Austria.

Seven yeares after these troubles were ended, a new warre kindled it selfe, betweene *Frederick* of *Austria* and the Cantons. The occasion was, because *Frederick* had carried away (from forth the Council of *Constance*) Pope *John* the 22. He was put to banishment from the Empire, and excommunicated by the council. By this decree of the Emperour, and of the Council, the peace for 50. yeares was broken, the Cantons absolved of their Oath, and commandement given them to take armes against the Emperour: which they did, and to ke in that warre *Habsburg*, *Badi*, and other places belonging to them of *Austria*.

A war of the Switzers, for the recovery of Bellizona, from the duke of Milaine.

In the year, 1422. the Switzers ledde their army by the *Alpes*, and by the *Grisons*, to besiege *Bellizona*; it being a Towne which the Count of *Monfax* had sold to them of *Suits*, *Fris*, & *Vnderwald*. The Duke of *Milaine* seemed to say, that this place appertained to him; and thereupon tooke it by intelligence. To recover it againe, the Switzers conducted their army thither this year, then in *An*.

no 1425. and the year following 1430. But they could not take the Towne notwithstanding, they made haucke, and forraged the *Valleyes* round about neighbouring, and belonging vnto the Duke of *Milaine*.

But in the year, 1436. they of *Austria*, by cunning trickes and subtle deuices, raised a great ciuill warre among the Switzers. First, betweene the Canton of Zurich and the men of *Suits*, to whom (soon after) the other confederats ioynd themselves. The Duke of *Austria* (first of all) ranked himselfe with them of *Suits*: and then (soone after) made alliance with the men of Zurich, and gaue them assistance. There were some encounters, and the Switzers besieged Zurich: but there was no battaille more memorable, then that which (not long after) was given at *Bafile*, the year, 1444. and the 26. day of August.

Cunning deuices prepared onely to ouerthrow the peop.

The Dolphine of France, who was afterward King, named *Lewes* the 11. had brought a puissant army betweene *Montbelliard* and *Bafile*: provided partly by the praefices of Pope *Eugenius*, to breake the Council of *Bafile*, and partly by the emperour *Frederick*, as wishing well to the Switzers. Sixteene hundred Switzers entered into battell against that great armie, and made a terrible slaughter of them. True it is, that all the sixteene hundred men were slaine likewise, as being overborne with the meere multitude of their enemies: but they brake the whole armie in such sort, as they forooke all *Germanie* immediately, to get themselves into France againe. This memorable day, might well be compared with the battell of the *Lacedemonians*, at their passage of the *Thermopylae*, considering the magnanimity of so small a number: who, for the safety of their country (even all *Germany*) opposed themselves valiantly, against an infinite of enemies. In these ciuill Warres were made many Truces, which was the cause, why such as haue written thereof, do not agree together in the computation of the yeares. The common opinion is, that this war lasted seven yeares: but it began in the year, 1436. & firme peace was made and ratified in *Anno*, 1450.

The battell of the Switzers against the Armignacs before Bafile.

A verie long mountaine, which passeth from Leucadia, thorough the middle of Greece, to the Egean sea.

A year after this peace, the Abbot of *S. Gall* made alliance with foure Cantons

Diuers alliances of the Switzers with their friends & confederats.

of the Switzers. And the year following, they of Appenzel allyed themselves with seauen Cantons. And again, a year after, the City of Saint Gall, with fixe Cantons. Consequently, and in the year one thousand, foure hundred, fifty foure, the men of *Schaffhouse* allyed themselves with the fixe Cantons. But I shall make better mention of these alliances heereafter, and in apert manner.

These alliances were no sooner made but a new warre beganne to shew it selfe, against *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria*. Pope *Pius* had excommunicated him, I know not vpon what occasion, and so incited the Switzers to warre. On the other side, the Lords of *Grandier*, brethren of *Gratz* a Towne in *Styria*, having bene dispoiled of their goods by *Sigismund*, desired ayde of them of *Zurich*, who had receyved them into the number of their Burgesses. Then the Switzers went and assaulted *Winterthur*, tooke *Rapperswil*, *Diesfnow*, *Frauenfeld*, and *Turgaw*. In the end, peace was made, Anno 1460. by the means of *Lepes Duke* of *Bavaria*. Afterward, in the yeare, 1466, certain Articles of peace & mutuall amity, were set downe in *Wittenberg*. Ten years after, war was renewed against the Duke of *Austria*, so that the Switzers led their troopes towards the Towne of *Mulhouse*, on the Frontiers of *La Franche Comté*. This Town had made alliance with the Cantons some moneths before: and in the same yeare, a Towne vpon the *Rheine*, neere to *Basile*, named *Walzburg*, was besiedged by the Switzers.

In the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, seauenty foure, began the Switzers warre against *Charles* Duke of *Burgogne*. It grew hot, and wonderfull sharp, in the yeare seauenty fixe, for two battailes were fought, in both which the duke was vanquished; but it tooke ending at the beginning of seauenty seauen, by reason of the Dukes death, who was slaine in *Lorraine*. The Princes of *Austria* were the sparkes to kindle this war. For *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria*, having ill performed his businesse in warre, which he maintained so long a time against the Switzers, was constrained to agree with them, although much against his minde. In the meane while, to torment them by some other meanes, he engaged those Landes

which hee helde in *La Franche Comté* (as *Montbeliard* and *Basile*, neighbors to the Switzers) to *Charles* Duke of *Burgogne*, the most potent Prince of his time, aduenturous, and of an high hand. *Sigismund* periwaded himselfe, that (as manie times it falls out among neighbours) some difference would shortly grow betweene Duke *Charles* and the Switzers: for they had sent Ambassadors to the Duke, to pray him renew the ancient amity of the house of *Bourgogne* with the Switzers, and confirme the Articles of peace, not long before concluded with *Sigismund*, in so much as concerned the engaged countries. But the ambassadors could neuer gaine access to the Prince, in regard of their hinderance by *Hagenbach*, chiefe Minion to the Duke of *Bourgogne*, and established Governor by him ouer those countries. This *Hagenbach* was the principall fire-brand wherby to kindle this war; for he gaue many outrageous words vnto the Switzers, & daily kept company with theire enemies, as *Heudorff*, *Eptinger*, and some other Gentlemen, who had threatened the Switzers with war.

Hee tyrannized also cruelly in those pawned countries, so that the poore subiects who were able to performe no more, intreated most earnestly Duke *Sigismund*, their ancient Lord, to disengage them, & receiue them againe vnder his gouernement. This request was quickly granted them by *Sigismund*, a Prince verie benigne, and (for his facility) fir-named the Simple.

But the Duke of *Bourgogne* desired not to pursue the money againe. And on the other side, the tyranny of *Hagenbach* still increased, so that hee grew inupportable to the people, & neighboring lords. There were foure other thornes between the Switzers and the D. of *Bourgogne*: because *Cousin Ramont* being seruant vnto him, had sent away diuers chariots from them, laden with Hides. In the meane while, King *Lepes* the eleuenth, who desired not greatly the Dukes life, and had proueed (neere to *Basile*) the valour of the Switzers horsemen, made alliance with them. And although himselfe would not meddle with the warre, yet he could vbet on the Switzers, and (by vnderhand trickes) furnish them with money, to the end that necessity should not inforce any

pacifi-

*Sigismund* engaged *Charles* Duke of *Basile* to the D. of *Burgogne*.

*Hagenbach* had the wages due vnto his villany and oppression: & for many all other speades, that abuse their Princes.

Millions and millions of Princes, are often times bre-branded to kindle warre.

D. *Sigismund*, fir-named the Simple.

The Switzers were not voyde of application.

That Duke fir-named the Terrible, felt at length the truth of this sentence; Shame & deffusion doe alwayes follow after pride & cleaerthe heeles.

Harred & c-mny of great persons do last a long time.

pacification. He accorded *Sigismund* likewise with the Switzers, and made an Alliance betweene them. Soone after, *René* Duke of *Lorraine*, *Strasbourg*, and *Basile*, with theire Byshopps, *Colmar*, *Slestad*, *Montbeliard*, and some other cities, ioyned themselves likewise into this confederacy.

During this time, *Hagenbach* was taken in a place, named *Brissac*, and the D. of *Austria* having consigned the money at *Basile*, for which hee had engaged his countries, re-entred vpon possession of them, and (by sentence) caused *Hagenbach* to be condemned, and his head publickly fennit off. Contrarywise, Duke *Charles* made warre vpon the byshop of *Cologne*, pretending, that the Prouosts Office, or protection of the Byshopprick appertained to him, and therefore planted his sledge before *Nuss*, aboue *Cologne*. The Emperor *Fredericke*, accompanied with the Empires forces, encamped nere vnto him, to fight with him. And, according to right and maiesty of the Empire, sent vnto the Switzers and their confederates, to assault (on their side) the Duke of *Bourgogne*, that his forces might be broken and scattered. But immediately after, hee shewed himselfe to bee of the house of *Austria*, and (consequently) an enemy to the Cantons. For so soone as the Switzers were entered into *Bourgogne*, and had won a battel, and taken some Townes, hee made peace with the Duke of *Bourgogne*, wherein the Princes of the Empire were comprized, and the Townes which had succored the Emperour in this warre. But the confederates were excluded, to wit, Duke *Sigismund*, Duke *René*, the Cantons, and the forenamed Townes.

Duke *Charles*, beeing deliuered from the warre which hee had against the Emperour and the Germaines: turned all his forces vpon the Switzers, and theire Allies. There were some encounters on either side: but the very greatest efforts and valour, shewed themselves in three battailes, whereat the Duke himselfe was present in person. The first was fought at *Granson*, neere to the Lake of *Yuerdun*, which (at this day) is called the Lake of *Newcastle*. This Towne had bene taken by the Switzers, and retaken againe by them vpon composition: neuerthelesse,

the Duke of *Bourgogne* (contrarie to his promise) hanged and drowned the Souldiers of his Garrison, but (soone after) hee receiued wages answerable vnto his owne perfidie and cruelty, the Switzers overcoming him in a field of battaile. True it is, that then hee lost not many of his men, for the *Cavalerie* battalied, and meere ly covered the Infanterie being broken and disordered, and the Switzers had not their Horsemen there, because they came not at a convenient time: yet notwithstanding, the Duke of *Bourgogne* lost his baggage, wherein hee had great store of Riches and Treasure.

Then afterwarde, there was another battaile fought at *Morat*, neere to *Berne*: the Switzers (after a great overthrow of their enemies) wonne the day, and it is sayde, that eightene thousand *Bourguignons* lay slaine in the field; and to this day, there is still to be seene huge heapes of dead mens bones, as a credible Testimony of that victory.

The third battaile, was fought before *Nancy* in *Lorraine*, besiedged by the duke of *Bourgogne*: but the Switzers set in succour vnto the Duke & *René* of *Lorraine*, (who had fixe hundred men at hand) well nere all Frenchmen well provided with eight thousand foot, and the other confederates three thousand more. With all these forces Duke *René* gaue battell to *Charles*, who had many more to attend him: neuerthelesse, he was overcome, & (in flight) slaine by the Switzers, and so (with him) dyed all this warre. A yeare after, the Switzers passed the \* *Leopontine* Alps, which mountaine is now called *S. Godard*, & went to giue battell to the D. of *Millain*, in a place named *Jornico*. The occasion of the war, was, because the inhabitants of the valley towards *Jornico*, subiects to the Canton of *Vri*, complained of diuers outrages doone them by their neighbours, who molested and troubled them in the vale and possession of certaine Forrests. The Switzers Ambassadors, being unable to reconcile this difference, the men of *Vri*, craued succour of their confederates, and ledde their Armie to *Bellinzona*. But because they could not besiedge it in regard of the winter: they lefte fixe hundred men in Garrison at *Jornico*, which is not farre from thence.

Y These

The battell that was fought at *Granson*.

The battell fought at *Morat*.

The battell fought at *Nancy*, where Duke *Charles* of *Burgundie* was slaine.

\* *Leopontii*, people of the Alps, next to the *Salassi*.

War vnderaken by the Switzers, against the D. of *Millaine*.

Warre by the Switzers, against *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria*.

Articles of peace et downe in writing, yet war ensued thereon againe.

Warre of the Switzers against the D. of *Burgundie*.



These two places are vpon the *Tessin*, a River passing thwart the Lake *Maior*, and so goes to *Pania*.

They of Mil-  
laine goes a-  
gainst the  
Switzers, and  
a battaile is  
fought.

The *Milaine*s came in great troops, to set vpon the Garrison of the *Switzers*, which being shut vp in the ftraites of the Mountains; the more speedily and easily slew foureene hundred of them, and chased the rest quite out of the Valley. This battaile was fought about the third day of November, 1478. And in the Month of December following, by the intermise of the King of *France*, peace was made between the Duke of *Milaine*, & the *Switzers*. In the same year, Pope *Sixtus* made alliance with the *Switzers*, and before other priuiledges, he gaue the also strong pardons. Two years after, the *Switzers* sent fuen thousand men, to aide King *Lemes* the eleuenth, according to the tenour of the alliance before contracted. But they hauing passed so farre as *Chalou*, the King (who had obtained the height of his enterprife) hauing then no occasion elsewhere to employ them; sent them backe againe with very good recompences: where-with many of them were so earnestly allured, that they stroue among themselves, who should first take pensions or wages of the French.

The feedes of  
waite among  
the Switzers,  
quite mother-  
red by me, is  
of a Hermit.

The year after, they of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, made a particular alliance, because they conceived, that their associates had carried themselves inhumanely on their behaile, in the war against the Duke of *Bourgonne*. For the forenamed cities and townes had bin at great charges, as well for conduct of their victuals, as also the carriage of the Artillery: moreover, they furnished more people, then the other cantons did. Neuerthelesse, when they shold diuide the spoile and booty, which was very great and rich; the cantons that had defraied nothing, neither brought any such number of men, tooke their part of the booty by quall portion. In regard of which iniury (as they pretended it) and some other light offences; these cities and townes, desiring to provide particularly for their owne affaires; allied themselves onely together. But the other cantons were hereat greatly offended, especially, they of *Vri*, *Suities*, and *Vnderwald*: maintaining, that it was not law-

A particular  
combination  
of some Can-  
tons by them-  
selves from  
the rest.

full for the *Lucernians*, to make any new alliance without their knowledge and consent.

This matter was debated diuers daies together, in a Councell holden at *Stantz* in *Vnderwald*; and finally by the meanes of an Hermit, named *Nicholas* of *Vnderwald* (who was then in verie great authority among the *Switzers*, by their reposed opinion of him, that hee was a holie man) the parties were accorded to conditions, to witte: That the fore-named Townes should depart from that nouell alliance, and altogether (by a common consent) should agree on causes then debated; as that *Fribourg* and *Solleurre*, should bee receiued into the number of the Cantones of *Suetia*, so that there should bee tenne Cantons: And because the former eight (which were and are called the olde Cantons, because they allied themselves together before the other) had made a bodie of a Commonwealth together of the *Switzers*, for the space of fixe score and nine yeares, or thereabout; I will heere fit downe a Summarie of the a ties of the alliances which those olde Cantons made, and of that which was subscribed vnto at *Stantz* by a common consent among the Cantons.

Conditions  
concluded on  
by the Hermit  
and Cantons,  
for a general  
consentment.

*A briefe Summary, of the Alliances and Confederations, made betwene the 8. ancient Cantons of Suetia.*



He principall & first Chapter or Article of the leagues and alliances, doth concern the aide and succour which one ought to giue another, against such as wrongfully shall assaile them: wherein all things are verie well ordered, governed by equity, and according to reason. For, to the end that no warre may be lightly mooued, and vpon small or slender occasions; It is first of all ordained, that the Cantons which are offended, shall make knowne the merite of the cause to the Councell in generall for that Canton established. And then, if it do appeare, that offence and outrage is done, it may demand succour and af-

The first Article of the leagues, concerneth mutual succours, and publike affairs.

Concerning  
the alliance of  
Glaris.

Every Can-  
ton is not al-  
lied with all the  
rest.

Vri, Suities, and  
Vnderwald.

The *Lucernians*  
are in their  
necessity.

All the Can-  
tons haue not  
their rights  
alike.

sisfance.

In some other alliances, namely, that of *Glaris*, this knowledge is deferred to other allied Cantons. After that the equity of the cause hath appeared, & the outrage receiued: the Canton interrested, may require the Confederates to come and helpe it. In the interim, the Canton may not make recourse to whom it liketh best; but onely to that which is allied to it in some especiall manner. For (as I haue hitherto shewne) euery one of the Cantons is not allied with all the other. In the first place, concerning them of *Zurich*, allied by antiquity with six of the cheefest Cantons; they may demand ayde of all those fixe. Since then, they made alliance with them of *Berne* and *fo* (by consequent) they are bound likewise to giue them assistance, being thereto required. The *Bernishmen* may call vnto their assistance, them of *Vri*, *Suities*, and *Vnderwald*, by reason of ancient alliance: and they (reciprocally) may call to their ayde, and for their other confederates the Canton of *Berne*. But by reason of the new league, they of *Zurich* and *Berne*, must require ayde one of another. The *Lucernians* (in times of necessitie) may haue recourse to the men of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suities*, *Vnderwald*, and *Zug*. They of *Vri*, *Suities*, and *Vnderwald*, may call all the other Cantons. And they of *Zug* haue the same right as the *Lucernians*, that is, to require aide from the Cantones of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suities*, *Vnderwald*, and *Lucerna*. They of *Glaris*, haue recourse vnto the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suities*, & *Vnderwald*.

Now, although that all haue not their rights alike heerein; yet notwithstanding if one Canton require one or two of his allies to come and succour him: all the Cantons must assemble together, because they which are first called, shall giue aduertisement to the other. But, about all things, they shall send their Ambassadors to the Chappell of the Hermitage, or to a place named *Xienholts*, and if question bee made of an acte, which concerneth the men of *Berne*: they must aduise altogether (by all meanes) to appeale the difference in friendly manner, or according vnto right, or (if it may not so bee done) how they may assuredly giue suc-

cour. Their alliance speaketh expressly, that such as are called vnto assistance, shall not vse any fraude or deceit, neither any titolous or vaine excuse, but to assist with all their power.

And because it may so happen, that a Canton shall bee so sodainly assailed at vnwares, as the enemy may stoppe all the passages, and so (by consequent) the Canton can compasse no meanes of crauing succour, neyther by Letters or Ambassadors. For this it is provided and expressly ordained, that in such a case, and when most neede is of speediest helpe: the confederate Cantons, shall assist with all their forces, euen as if they had bene (by name) called thereto. In the alliance with them of *Berne*, it is ordained; That if the enemy assaile the higher countrie, the confederates shall make spoile on the other, vpon the Landes of the enemy: thereby to scatter his forces. And the same to bee done in the higher countrie, if the enemy intrude vpon the lower. They that are called to succour, shall come at their owne expences, and without any wages. Onely in the alliance of *Berne*, with *Vri*, *Suities*, and *Vnderwald*, mention is made of *Wages*. Namely, of a *Sol Tournois* (each day) for euerie man on foote. Neuerthelesse, if the Warre be in the countrie of *Ergow*, then they of *Berne* shall pay nothing. But there is a Village or Hamlet, neere vnto the first Lake of the River *Ar*, which is called *Punderfer* beyonde which, such foote Souldiours as come to assist the one or other party, shall receiue that aforesaid *Wages*.

If the warre last of any continuance, and that they must besiedge and batter some Towne, Village, or Castle, and the same is fully concluded and agreed vpon, by common consent and aduice of the Cantones: then that Canton, in whose fauour, and on whose limites, the Towne or Castle of the Enemy is besiedged, shall pay onely the charge and expences, as well for munition, powder, conuoy of Artillerie, Pionners, as all other things necessarie and requisite in a batterie. Neuerthelesse, if the Warre bee vnderaken, not onlie in the name of one cation, but vnder name of the *Switzers* whole Commonwealth:

No fraud or  
excuse to bee  
vied in giuing  
succour.

When any  
Canton shall  
be sodainly or  
vnwares as-  
saulted by the  
enemie, and  
when no help  
can be requi-  
red.

Aide on theye  
owne expence,  
and without  
wages, or else  
what wages is  
to be receiued

For a warre  
of long last-  
ing, and besie-  
ging or batte-  
ring Townes,  
or Castles.

Of wrong done to the whole Nation, or in particular in places farre distant.

Orders for the Soldiers of the Swissers.

The second Article concerneth public controversies.

Judges chosen to hear and define variations, and a Superarbitrator added to them.

then they shal euery one pay their shares alike.

Likewise it comes to passe many times, that some such as dwell far off from *Swetia*, doth offer wrong to the whole Nation, or to one part in particular; in the meane time, no knowledge is had how to pursue this warre, eyther because the enemy is too farre distant, or keepeth no certaine abiding, where he may bee dealt withall. For such, it is ordained, that if (by any occasion) they, their goods, or any of their complices can bee apprehended on the lands of one of the Cantons: hand shall be laid on them, & they constrained to satisfie them whom they haue offended. Finally, to preuen & hinder, that none shall abuse, or be abused by the *Swissers* Soldiers, leading them whether they list: in many alliances, the limits wherein some stand bound to succour other, are prescribed and determined. The limits are partly to the Cantons confines, according to their extendure forth, or a little more further out: but they may not passe the ancient bounds of *Swetia*.

The second Chapter or Article, is touching publike differences or controuersies, between two Cantons or more. Forasmuch as it cannot be otherwise, but the very best friends and confederates, may sometimes haue cause to disioyne & sunder: our predecessors did denie, to stay the consequence of such differences, to wit, that no warre should follow, as fearing lesse alliance and kindnesse might thereby perish, & vtterly be broken. First then it is ordained, that the other Cantons shall send their Ambassadors, to take order, that the variance may amiably be ended, or according to right, and it is established to be administrated in manner following. Each party shall chuse two Judges of his owne Canton, to whom they shall promise by oath, that without any affection or loue to their country, they will iudge on the difference. To these foure Judges, a fifth must be added, named Vniptre or Superarbitrator: who is elected sometimes by the Iudges, and sometimes by the parties. If the one canton will not vndergo iudgement, nor suffer his right to bee examined: the other cantons stand bound by alliance, to succour him that consents, that the contro-

uerfie should bee ended by the Arbitrators.

The third Chapter or Article, concerneth alliances. The foure first Cantons do determine, that it is not lawfull for any one among them (without the will & consent of the other; to bind themselves by Oath, or make alliance with any, whofoeuer it is. Likewise, in the alliance of *Glaris*, it is saide, that they may not make any alliance or confederacie, without consent of the other Leaguers. For otherwise, the other Cantons may referue to themselves, the liberty and authoritie of making new alliances, yet leauing (in meane while) the ancient still in full force. They kept also the freedome, for increasing and diminishing their alliances, by a publike and common consent. And ordained in like manner, that these alliances might bee renewed by writing, or by word of mouth, and to bee confirmed by Oath, if neede required, from five or ten to an hundred yeares. If this might not bee done commodiously, yet notwithstanding, they were to be obserued firmly.

In the fourth place, are added exceptions, because certaine Cantones, which anciently did concerne the Empire; as *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderwald*, excepted the Empire, and the rights thereof, from which they pretended no derogation by this alliance, in any manner whatsoever.

*Lucerne* and *Zug*, excepted the rites of the Duke of *Austria*. By the alliance of *Glaris*, are excepted all rights and deuoirs due vnto lawfull Lords and Magistrates. Likewise, in all these confederations, are excepted the ancient alliances, rights, priuiledges, and customes of the Cantons, together with their Castles, Villages, and Hamlets: so that those rights remaine found and intire to euery one.

Now, although the other Chapters and Articles are not of any such importance, yet notwithstanding, they tend to maintenance & conseruation of peace and quietnesse. There is one for the punishing of homicides or Men-killers. Hee that killeth any one of the Confederates, shall loose his head: except hee can make good prooffe, that hee did it in defence of his owne bodie, and for safetie

The third Article touching alliances, and beginning with the four first Cantons.

Liberty to augment and lessen leagues and alliances.

The fourth Article touching exceptions, and observed in the alliance.

For punishment of homicides and banished persons in the several quarters of offence.

safetie of his life. Whofoeuer shall be condemned and banished from his Canton, shall stand banished and excluded also from the countries of the other Cantons: and whofoeuer lodgeth or asisteth any such person, shall be guilty and punished in some other nature.

There is another Article, which prohibiteth the exacting or vrging of names to wit, if any Lay-man attempt to pay himselfe in his debtes, by the name or meanes of Iudges of the Church: onely causes Matrimoniall, and manifest Vltury, are to be referred, and sent to the Court for the Church. No man shall exact a pawning of any one, except of his debter, or him that standeth pledge for him. Neither shall he receiue pawns of his owne priuate authority, but by consent of the Iudge. No one shall engage himselfe for another man.

Concerning iudgements, it is ordained, that each man may haue, & assigne his Iudge. He that shall not appeare according to the assignation, but falleth into default, and interesteth the contrarie party by his absence, shall pay his charges. Causes shall be pleaded in the Audience Hall of the Canton, where the acte makes mention of the deed doing. Iustice is to be done without fraude or deceit. And euery man shall content himselfe with the iudgements, Lawes, and customes of the Canton, where his cause is pleaded.

Although that these Articles, and other such like, may seeme to bee of small consequence: yet notwithstanding, because thereby (oftentimes) great debates do arise, yea, warres with our alliances, in discourting them distinctly & at large, it contents me (for mine owne part) that I haue thus briefly & summarily toucht them.

#### The Tenor of the Arrest or Agreement made at Stantz.

**L**ist, we ordaine, that no one of the eight Cantons, either by it selfe, or aided by others shall enterprize to make war on any one of the said Cantons, or any other joynd there-with in this alliance. Neither shal offer any wrong

to their bodies, goods, Townes, Countreys, or people, nor robbe or despoile them of any thing to them appertaining. If any one of the eight Cantons shall do otherwise (which God forbid) and outrage any of the other. To the end it may bee remedied, and order giuen, that our alliance may remaine firme, so that wee may liue together in peace like Brethren: all the other Cantons shall ranke themselves with that which is offended, and conserue the rights thereof, in good faith, and without any fraud. And if some particular person, or many together, shall doe wrong or iniurie vnto some other particular body: that then speedily, and without any contradiction, they shall be chastised by their Magistrate (in what place soeuer it is) according to the quality of the offence, and as they haue deserved. Nenerthelesse, if any one shall commit such insolences vpon the iurisdiction of another, and moue it to be troubled, answer may bee made him in the very same place, and he iustly punished, according to the right and custom of the country.

Secondly we say, that hence forward, none shall attempt to make anie assembly, and therein to purpose anie thing whatsoever (either secretly or publicly) in the Cities, Townes, or Countries of *Swetia*, whereby any damage or danger may ensue, without making it first known, and with the consent of the Lordes of that Canton. Whofoeuer swereth, and endeoureth to make any such assembly, or shall fauour it, either by worde or deede, shall bee chastised by the Magistrate, according to the exigence of the act, and that without the least hindrance or delay.

In like manner, and by common consent, we expressly ordaine, that (honour and oath referred) it shall not be lawfull for any one, to excite the subiects of any Canton, to do any thing derogatorie, to the obedience due to the Magistrate, or moue the people to any disobedience or reuolt. And if the subiects of any one of the Cantons, shall bee rebellious against the commandements thereof: that then the other Cantons shall succour it faithfully, and reforme those subiects to their duties, according to the agreement of our alliances.

Of insolencies committed on the iurisdctions of other men.

The 2. Article concerneth assemblies or Conuenticles without knowledge & consent of the Magistrate.

For disobedience to Magistrates, or infringing their orders and decrees.

The third Article concerneth the Military discipline of the Cantons, answerable to that of Sempach.

Thirdly, because that after the battell of *Sempach*, our Ancestors resolved vpon some ordinances, concerning matter of warre: it seemed good to vs, to explicate in this agreement, that which is perpetual, even the principall Article of those ordinances, and in regard of our selues and our successors, to set it downe as followeth. If one Canton or more, do bring an Army into the field, marching with colours displayed against the enemy: all they that march vnder those colours, must continue together for the fight, as honest men ought to do. And according to the example of our Ancestors, what necessity fouler is enforced, be it to fight in ranged battaile, in skirmish, or otherwise, how short or long longer the time be: it is to be carried according to the orders Military, made after the day of *Sempach*.

The fourth Article concerneth matters of contracts passed long ago by our Ancestors.

In the fourth place, we haue ordained, that those contracts passed long time since, by our Ancestors, as concerning Ecclesiasticall persons, and other things, in the year, one thousand, three hundred and feuenty; shall bee obserued inuolubly, firmly, and from point to point. And to the end, that the memory thereof may be perpetuall, at all such times as our alliances may be renewed by oath: those two transactions and ordinances, concerning affaires of warre and Ecclesiasticks, together with this amiable agreement, shall be publicly read, among and with the Articles of alliances. But to the end, that yong men, and they of meaner yeares also, may the better remember our alliances, and obserue them the more faithfully; we haue agreed, that hereafter (from five yeares to five yeares) the alliances shall be renewed throughout all the Cantons, by oath, which shall bee giuen for this effect.

First yong men and they of vnder age.

The fifth Article concerneth booties conquered in warre, & the ranfomes of prisoners.

Finally, we haue accorded, that when any warre happeneth, all the booty conquered from the enemy, and those fums payed by prisoners for their ranfomes: shall be distributed (by equall portions) among the number of Soldiers, which the Cantons or Townes haue in the Army. But the Cities, Townes, Castles, Countries, passages, anall reuenues, iurisdiccions, and other things of the same nature, though conquered in warre, shall be equally parted or diuided among the

Cantons, according to their ancient custome. If we permit any of these things to be bought or solde to any; the money payde, or arising thereby, shall be distributed among the Cantons by equall portions.

We haue determined and published this louing agreement, and in this manner, that all such as haue or shall carry Armes with vs, all Subiects, citizens, inhabitants, confederates, and parties ioynd with vs, may haue their iust portion in the booties. But as for Cities, Towns, Castles, Countries, men, reuenues yearly, iurisdiccions, ports, and conquered passages: such things doe belong to the Cantons onely. We make exception in this accord, of our perpetual alliances, intending that nothing thereof shall bee infringed; but that this present transaction shall be inuolubly maintained, yea, faithfully and without any fraud, for the confirmation and manutention of our alliances.

This Arrest was ratified with the consent of all, in the yeare, 1481. in the house for particular alliances of our Townes: And by common accord, they of *Fribourg* and of *Salleurre*, were receiued into the number of the Cantons. And then the common-wealth of the *Switzers* (for the space of twenty yeares) stood composed of ten Cantons; whereto consequently, *Basile* and *Schaffhouse*, and then *Appenzell* were added. But before we speake of their alliances, we must say somewhat as concerning *Fribourg* and *Salleurre*: then will we summarily declare, what they did, after their receiuing into alliance.

## CHAP.

The reason of making and publishing this amiable agreement is generally a broad.

*Fribourg* and *Salleurre* receiued into the number of the Cantons, making them ten.

## CHAP. VIII.

Of the Towne of *Fribourg*; who was the first Founder thereof: And how it came into league and alliance with the Cantons.



The original of the Towne of *Fribourg*.

*Ribourg* is a Towne, seated vpon the River of *Saint*, builded by *Berthoull*, fourth of that name, Duke of *Zeruingen*, some few yeares before *Berne*. These two Townes maintained themselves long time in amity: but after the Dukes death, *Berne* became subiect to the Empire, and *Fribourg* fell into the hands of the Counts of *Kybourg*, that dwelt at *Bourgdorff*, which was the cause, that (by succession of time) they took their affection to them of *Berne*. First of all, they were prefernt in the warre with *Godfrey*, Count of *Kybourg*, against the Bernians. Soone after, their friendship was renewed againe, but yet with this exception, that if the Lords of *Fribourg* were at discord with *Berne*, the *Fribourgers* might follow their Lords part, without any prejudice to that louing accord. Some short while after, the Count solde

The diuers deportments and carriage of the *Fribourgers*.



*Fribourg* sold to the King of the Romans.

*Fribourg* to *Raoul*, King of the Romans, and from thence forward, about the space of two hundred yeares it remained vnder the dominion of *Austria*. During which time, the *Fribourgers* being conducted and commanded by them of *Austria*, were present in many fought battailes, giuen to the Bernians at *Loupen*, at *Schonenberg*, and elsewhere. Again, afterward they renewed (diuers times) their ancient alliance and amity, with the men of *Berne*.

The perpetual alliance made betweene the *Fribourgers* and the men of *Berne*.

In the year 1413, after they had bin tormented (in many kindes) by Noblemen, they contracted a perpetual alliance with the Bernians: and yet notwithstanding, continued subiects to them of *Austria*. This amity endured forty five

yeares, at the end whereof, warre being moued betweene the Prince of *Sauoy*, and the *Fribourgers*: they of *Berne* followed the faction of the Prince of *Sauoy*, to whom they had bene allied, and stood friends a long time. There were some courtes on eyther side, and a battaile fought neere to *Grierts*, wherein the *Fribourgers* had the worst. The yeare after, the Ambassadors to the King of France, of the Duke of *Bourgonne*, and of the Cantons, made a peace. And the yeare following, *Albert* of *Austria* being come to *Fribourg*; some certaine men of the Towne complotted with him, to make warre vpon the Bernians. Matters grew on so forward, that there was some apparance of sedition, and one was ready to run vpon another: if the men of *Berne* (by a singular providence and adresse) had not appealed the commotion, by the sending of their Ambassadors.

The enemies of peace put themselves forward into the greatest danger.

*Albert* perceiving that *Fribourg* fauoured the Cantons, and leaned to that side, and that the citizens, who enjoyed the priuiledges of their Ancestors, obeyed not entirely to what he commanded them, and that oftentimes (according to their alliance) they followed them of *Berne*, and went in warre with the Cantons: he began to lose all hope of remaining any longer Master of the Towne. For this cause, the chiefe Master of his household came to *Fribourg* (sent by the Prince as some say) where he caused instantly to be noyed through the Towne; that the Prince would very suddenly come thither, how soone he knew not. Hereupon, he borrowed and got together, all the silver Vessels, Tapitrics, and such like costly moueables, to adorne that house in the Towne, where it was saide that the Prince should alight and lodge. But (by vnder-hand meanes) the Master of the household, caused those goods to be secretly transported out of the town.

*Albert* seeing he should lose *Fribourg* before he could quit it, taketh the latter hand or course.

The day being come, of the Princes appointment to be there, he rode forth with his horsemen, as it were to meet his Master, accompanied with the worthiest men of the Towne. Being farre enough off, no Prince came; but only such horsemen as he had sent before, to attend the Master of the household, and the charge he had. When they were come into a place of security, he saide to them of *Fribourg*,

A cunning trick of the Master of the household.

bourg, who rode in his company to honour the Prince, that for the confidence they reposed, in their league made with them of Berne, and combined amity with the Cantons: they were rebels to the Prince, and therefore it stood with reason and justice, that the Prince should get what he could from them: as namely, the silver vessels, and the other goods brought from the Towne.

Speaking these words, hee galloped away with his traine to meete the Prince with the spoiles of *Fribourg*. But the citizens, being thus unworthily handled, made a far stricter alliance with the Bernians, and ioyned themselves also with the confederates, vpon certaine conditions. So that during the warre against the Duke of Bourgongne, the Cantons sent a thousand men for Garrison into *Fribourg*. And the *Fribourgers* likewise, were present in the batailles with their confederates, against the Duke of Bourgongne, carrying themselves very valiantly in that warre. Afterward, they were received (with them of *Solleurre*) into the number of the Cantons, as hereafter we shall tell you.

## CHAP. IX.

Of the City of *Solleurre*, being one of greatest name in *Suetia*.

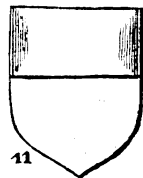
**S**olleurre is one of the most ancient cities or townes in all *Suetia*. It is called by many, the Sister of *Treuer*, which was builded (as the ancient Annals doe make mention) in the time of *Ninus*. The olde Roman inscriptions, which are yet to be seen at *Solleurre*, do testifie the antiquity of the city. But by the warres and courtes of the *Allemaignes*, *Hunnies*, and *Francians* in *Gauls*, vpon the declination of the Romane Empire; *Solleurre* was ruined, as many other cities and townes were in like manner. But after that the *Francians* became Lords & Masters, it was rebuilded, and yielded in subiection to the Bishop of *Genewa*. For it is said, that in the Church or Temple of *S. Vic-*

tor, neere to *Genewa*, these words are found written.

*Acta sunt hæc regnante Domitiano, Episcopo Genewensi, quo tempore etiam Castrum Salodorensis Episcopatus Genewensis subditum erat, &c.*

These things were made and done, in the time of *Domitian*, Bishop of *Genewa*: during which time, the Castle of *Solleurre* was subiect to the Bishop of *Genewa*, &c.

In the times of the *Allemaigne* or *Germane* Emperors, *Solleurre* was daily numbered with the Imperiall cities & townes: yet (notwithstanding) in such sort, as the college of the chanoes enioyed the principal priuiledges and franchises. And it is saide, that they haue the same rights as the chanoes of *Zurich*.



11

The Dukes of *Suaba* were Pro-nobles or Governours of this city, as likewise of other Imperiall townes in *Suetia*. They of *Solleurre* (in ancient times) made an

alliance with the Bernians, I cannot well tell in what year; but since that time, the two cities haue borne good and loyall amity together. And (almost) in all the warres the Bernians had: the men of *Solleurre* euermore succoured them with happy successe.

Vpon the contention moued betwene *Lewes* of *Bawaria*, and *Fredericke* of *Austria*, which should be Emperor of them both: they of *Solleurre* tooke part with *Lewes*, by which occasion, the Pope excommunicated them, and then they were afterward besiedged by the Duke of *Austria*. But they of Berne sent them foure hundred men for their Garrison. Moreover, they had warre against the Count of *Kybourg*, who wonne a battaile of the, by treason of one of their citizens. Finally, in the year, one thousand, three hundred, fifty and one, they made a perpetual alliance with them of Berne, & continued alwayes good friends with the other Cantons. So that after the warre of *Austria*, wherein *Leopold* was slaine; they made peace and alliance with the house

*Solleurre* numbered among the Imperiall cities.

The Duke of *Suaba*, Governour of *Solleurre*.

The men of *Solleurre* communicated by the Pope, for taking part with the late Emperor.

There is nothing gained by good will gotten, and losing the hearts & obedience of subjects.

The original and antiquity of *Solleurre*.

*Solleurre* rebuild and subiect to the Bishop of *Genewa*.

Their receiving into the number of the Cantons.

## CHAP. X.

Of the Switzers wars against them of *Millaine*; against the *Venetians*; and at the conquest of *Naples*.



HE men of *Fribourg* and of *Solleurre*, being admitted into ranke with the Cantons; the Switzers made these warres ensuing. In the year, one thousand, foure hundred, eighty and seuen; *Iustus de Sillum*, Bishop of *Sion*, leuied an Army of *Valachians* and *Switzers*, which he led beyond the Alps, against the Duke of *Millaine*. But the issue of that voyage was vnfortunate, because the Duke ouerthrew them: so that they were enforced to returne home againe to their owne houses, after they had lost very many of their men.

The year following, the Switzers sent succour (according to the tenour of their alliance) to *Sigismund*, Duke of *Austria*, against the *Venetians*. And then afterward, they were in pay with the King of *France*, *Charles* the eight, who had renewed the alliance, which his Father made with the Switzers. They were first in *Bretaigne*, where the King won a great victory against the Duke, at *Saint Aubin*. Then againe in *Italy*, when *Charles* conquered the kingdome of *Naples*. And at *Formio*, when hee gaue battaile to the Princes of *Italy*, that were leagued against him. In all these warres, the Switzers did good and faithfull seruice vnto the King.

In the year, one thousand, foure hun-

dred, & ninety, another ciuill warre kindled it selfe in *Suetia*. The Abbot of *S. Gall* had begun to build a new Abbey at *Rosack*. The citizens of *S. Gall*, they of *Appenzell*, and the subiects to the Abbot (partly moued by a kinde of deuotion, as vnwilling that the bones and reliques of *S. Gall*, should be carried any where else; and partly also for their owne profit, fearing lest the packs of linnen cloth (which grew to great gaine among them) should be transported to *Rosack* conspired together, and at vnawares, went out in Arms, and ioyning together in troopes, went to beate downe the new building, which was not (as then) fully finished. The Abbot not a little moued with this iniury, called the foure Cantons, wherto he was allied, to aide him. The sixe other Cantons, mediators for peace, exhorted the of *S. Gall*, to decide this difference with the Abbot, by course of right in law. But because the confederates alledged, that great wrong was done them, in building a new Abbey, and (by that means) abolishing their ancient priuiledges; therefore consequently, they had iust occasion to vndertake Armes, and would not haue it debated in iustice. The foure Cantons with some other people of their allies, brought their troopes to *Turgau*: but this warre was appeased without blowes. For first of all, they of *Appenzell* made peace with the Switzers, who took from them the Valley of *Rheuzsee*. Then afterward, the city of *S. Gall* being besiedged, peace was made betwene the citizens & the Switzers; by the means of *George*, Count of *Sargans*, *Gudentius*, Count of *Metsch*, and the Lords of *Constance*. In like manner, the subiects to the Abbot were reconciled, after each one had paid his fine.

Some short while after, followed the last warre against the house of *Austria*, which the Switzers called, the warre of *Suaba*: the Emperor *Fredericke* did spread the seeds abroad, but after his death, his Sonne and Successor *Maximilian*, gathered them together. *Fredericke* had procured, that certaine Princes, Lords, and Townes should make an alliance, which they rearmd, The great league of *Suaba*: and (among other matters) to oppresse especially (as was conceived) the liberties of the Switzers. The Emperour

Strife about the bones and reliques of *S. Gall*, & the building of a new Abbey.

The Abbot craved aide of foure Cantons.

The war vnderaken of *S. Gall*.

A war ended, and neuer a blow smitten.

The last war against the house of *Austria*, rearmd the war of *Suaba*.

a great league  
to oppress the  
liberties  
of the Swit-  
zers.

was chiefe of this league, which was beneficiall to *Germany* in one kinde: for by that meanes, the wayes were more safe & assured, theues were taken and punished, and their castles and places of retreat beaten to the ground. There had bene (long time before) some enmities betweene the *Switzers*, and some of their neighbours, vassalls to the house of *Austria*.

Day by day the fire lay kindling, and the *Switzers* suffered insupportable injuries and outrages. On the other side, they of *Austria*, greeted the *Grisons* with nouell charges, and had cast them out of their ancient possessions in some places.

Vpon this occasion, and to provide for their owne security, against the violence of their enemies; the *Switzers* and the *Grisons* made a perpetuall league together.

A league of  
the Switzers  
and Grisons,  
against their  
enemies.

Moreover, King *Lewis* the twelfth, desirous to recover the Duchy of *Milaine*, which he avouched to belong vnto him: purchased the amity and alliance of the *Switzers*, who in such a perillous time, thought good not to refuse it, neyther to let to fit and apt occasion slippe them.

Many goings and comings were betweene them, to pacifie this businesse, and the parties on eyther side took arms, in the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, ninety nine. Many encounters they had in this warre, and the *Switzers* still remained victors: except once, when they were put into route, neere to *Constance*.

Diuers victo-  
ries of the  
Switzers.

But they recovered their honour againe the same day, having freshly recollected their forces, and then giuing battle to the enemy, enforced him to forsake the place. Moreover, they and the *Grisons*, in eight other as great encounters as skirmishes, had still the aduantage: as at *Mont de Lucé*, at *Trefse*, *Harden*, *Fraßenz*, on the plaine of *Malsá*, neere to *Basile*, in the Forrest *des Freres*, in the vale of *Leime*, and lastly, at the Castle of *Dornach*, appertaining to them of *Sollewre*.

They of *Austria*, being tired and spent with so many losses, came finally to a composition; by the intermise of *Lo-*

*dowicke Sforzza*, Duke of *Milaine*, who sent thither the Vicount *Galeazzo*. And so peace was made, vpon this condition, that the liberties of the *Switzers* should remaine in their integrity, and they were confirmed in the possession of all those places which they had taken before from them of *Austria*. In like manner, the jurisdiction in criminall causes, at the command of *Turgaw*, which they of *Constance* had enjoyed vntill that time, was giuen to the *Switzers*.

Behold what  
gaines they  
get, that li-  
bour to ap-  
plish the peo-  
ples liberty.

Thus you see the last warre (except that of the *Grisons* against *Iohn Iaqués de Medicis*, Lord of *Muss*) that the *Switzers* had to this present time, to maintaine the liberties of their countries, against the violence and force of forraigne Princes. They were afterward present in many other warres, and wonne renowne of being hardy and valiant men: but those warres were made partly in Italy, partly in France, vnder authority and command, eyther of the King of France, or of the Popes, or of the Dukes of *Milaine*. For immediately after the peace made with them of *Austria*; the Vicount *Galeazzo* began to make secretly a leuée of *Switzers*.

Rest and qui-  
etudine doth  
well helpe  
to long re-  
st and labour  
(penitence war).

Contrariwise, the King of France demanded succour all openly, according to the tenour of the league, which was granted to him. Notwithstanding, contrary to the will and Edicts of the leagued Lords; *Galeazzo* enrolled five hundred *Switzers*, by the aide of whom, together with an army of Lance-Knights, which he had got together, Duke *Lodowicke* recovered *Milaine*.

Soone after that, the Frenchmen being come with a puissant Army to besiege *Nouars*, the *Switzers* that were then in Garrison, perceiuing it to bee a place, not of defence, nor well munit, nor wherein they could any way resist the enemy; agreed to depart, and repaired home to their owne country. The Duke took the habite of a *Switzer* Soldier, and mingled himselfe among the rest, only to escape: but happening to be knowne and discovered, by a certaine man named *Turman* (who afterward was hewed in peeces) he was taken and led prisoner into France, and kept in the Castle of *Leches*. For the rest, they do

The French-  
men besieging  
King of Nou-  
ars.

great

great wrong to the *Switzers*, that impute to the whole Nation, the faulte of one man only. If they will charge all them that were with the Duke, because (nau- gre his will) they composd with the French: yet (for all that) they must not couple the whole Nation of *Switzers*, with them in that action. Considering, they that did the deede, were not sent by their Cantons, to succour Duke *Sforzza*; but followed his faction, against the Edicts of their Lords. Heere to may be added, that they appeared not to be partiall, or hare-braind in the busines, when they departed by composition.

One man of  
force may not  
blendish a  
whole nation.

Alliances of  
Princes made  
to the Swit-  
zers.

In the same yeare, when these things were done beyond the Mountaines; *Huldreich*, Duke of *Wirttemberg*, made an alliance for twelue yeares, with the common-wealth of the *Switzers*. In like manner, the Emperor *Maximilian* renewed the hereditary alliance, made formerly by Duke *Sigismund*, with the cantons of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*. In the yeare, one thousand, five hundred and one, two potent cities on the *Rhine*, namely, *Basile* and *Schaffhouse*, were ioyned to the number of the *Switzers* cantons.

## CHAP. XI.

Of the City of Basile, and diuersity of opinions, how it receiued that name: As also the originall and antiquity of the City.

\*A people of  
Belgia, neere  
to the Riuer  
Rhene.



THE City of *Basile*, capitall & cheefest in the country of the \* *Rauracians*, is the very greatest of all the cities and townes in *Sweetia*. It is not knowne at what time it was first of all built. *Amianus Marcellinus* maketh mention in his history of it, calling it *Basilica*, and testifieth, that the Emperor *Gratian* erected a Fort hard by it, to bridle the courtes of the *Allemans*. There are some other, who do thinke that it tooke name of *Basilica*, Mother to the Emperor *Iulian*. *Phlegonius*, the enfranchised seruant of the Emperor *Adrian*, maketh

Opinions  
concerning  
the name of  
Basile.

mention of *Basilica*, in a little Tract which he wrote of admirable things, and of people that liued long: but it is not well knowne, whether hee meant this city or no, whereof we now speake. But the opinion of them is most probable, that hold the city of *Basile* to take name, from one of the Romane Colonies, sent by *Augustus* into the country of the *Rauracians*, before named.



But *Basile* is in the number of the free cities of the Empire, and hath obtained (for very long time) very franke and liberall priuileiges, from the Romane Em-

peror. The Bishopricke and Vniuersity encreased the renowne thereof. And as it is a neighbour to the *Switzers*, so hath it bene likewise very carefull for maintaining it selfe in amity, long time before it came to bee allied with them. For after the Pope had excommunicated the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bawaria* (in which case all *Germany* was combused with great troubles) they of *Basile* made alliance, and promise of mutuall succours, with them of the three first Cantons; and afterward, in the yeare, 1327. with *Zurich*, *Berne*, and many other cities and townes of *Germany*. In the yeare one thousand, three hundred, forty five, they made a particular alliance (for 2 yeares) with them of *Zurich*, and then renewed it for three yeares after. Againe, in the yeare 1365, by the procurement of *Leopold*, Duke of *Austria*, an Army of Englishmen came and foraged the country of *Halstatt*, besieged *Strasbourg*, and threatened *Basile* with the same behavior, because the citizens of the lesser *Basile*, engaged by the Bishop to the Duke of *Austria*; would not submit themselves wholly to his will.

On the other side, *Basile* being not strong for resistance of an enemy, by reason of an earth-quake, which had cast downe the walles and many houses, and fire had consumed and done as great harme: *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, and *Sollewre* sent a strong Garrison to *Basile*: so that the Englishmen durst not besiege the city, but retired thence, because the

Basile num-  
bered among  
the free Cit-  
ies of the  
Empire.

The men of  
Basile were  
friend with  
the Switzers  
a long time.

Englishmen  
invaded the  
country of  
Halstatt, by  
Duke Leopold  
meantime.

A strong gar-  
rison sent to  
Basile.

Empe-

Katherine the  
Widdow to  
Duke Leo-  
pold.

The Dolphin  
of France  
brought an  
Army into  
Germany.

The Dailliant  
tyme with  
the Switzers  
againgt the  
Duke of Au-  
stria.

War between  
the Emperor  
Maximilian,  
the Switzers  
and Grisons.

Emperor Charles the fourth, also brought an Army againgt them. In like manner, in the warre of them of *Basile*, againgt *Katherine* of Bourgongne, the widdow of *Leopold*, in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and nine, the Bernians & they of *Solothurn* sent succour: the other Cantons employing themselves carefully, to accord them with the house of *Austria*. Moreover, at the time of the counsell of *Basile*, when as *Lewes* the Dolphin of France brought a great Army into *Germany*, to breake the counsell, and made warre on the *Switzers*, by the instauce & working of the Duke of *Austria*, who had procured him to come: the *Switzers* maintained and defended the city and counsell, againgt the encountering of a strange enemy; as an example very remarkable, it being not above sixteen yeares, since they had coped with great troops of the French. True it is, that they all (well neere) lost their lives there: but yet they did so weaken their enemies troops, that he tooke part with the which fled fastest.

They being thus auoyded, the men of *Basile* ioyned their forces with the *Switzers*, and so made warre together on the Duke of *Austria*. In like manner, when *Charles*, Duke of Bourgongne, made himselfe so terrible, and affrighted all the world, they of *Basile* ioyned in alliance (for ten yeares) with *Strasbourg*, and other cities on the *Rhene*. Afterward, with *Sigismond*, Duke of *Austria*; *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*, and with the Cantons. In this warre they shewed themselves both faithfull & valiant, for their confederates. Finally, a great warre being moued betwene the Emperour *Maximilian*, the *Switzers* and *Grisons*: they of *Basile* remained neuters, without giuing succour to either side, nor receiued their Garrisons; but they furnished them both with victuals and munition. In this war there was a battaile giuen (almost) againgt the walles of *Basile*, afterward at *Dornack*, where the *Switzers* wonne a faire victory ouer the enemies, whom they did beat backe to the gates of *Basile*. But during all this war, the citizens of *Basile* fauoured equally both the one and other side. To conclude, by the diligence of *Lodouico Maria*, Duke of *Milaine*, the Ambassadors on both sides met at *Basile*, & peace

was made betwene the Emperour and the *Switzers*.

The *Switzers* allowed well of this expedient, in the men of *Basile* during this warre, and the Emperour *Maximilian* (for his part) seemed not to impropoe it. But the Noble-men, who were deadly enemies to the Cantons, held *Basile* (almost) in the ranke of a foe, because the city did not then shew it selfe openly, as an enemy to the *Switzers*; and not onely the subjects to the house of *Austria*, but many more, who till then had beene citizens; with-drew themselves to the Count of *Ferrara*, and about *Montbelliard*, into *Halasia*, and to *Brissgov*, countries appertaining to them of *Austria*. Being in those places, they ceased not to outrage (both with words and deeds) the inhabitants of *Basile*, who being moued with such indignities, the yeare after the war ended, to wit, one thousand, five hundred and one; made a perpetuall alliance with the Cantons, and so were left in peace with their neighbours, who stood in awe of the *Switzers* succour.

The Emperour  
and the Switzers  
no way  
disturb  
the dealing  
of the men  
of Basile in  
the warre.

No Boates  
able to passe  
the water at  
Schaffoufe.

Concerning  
the name of  
Schaffoufe.

A great Tolle  
or Customs  
for salt.

Schaffoufe at  
liberty at the  
first, but after-  
ward aliena-  
ted by the em-  
perour.

The original  
and fortification  
of Schaffoufe

Many cities  
in Germany  
tooke their  
names of Ab-  
beyes.

## CHAP. XII.

At what time Schaffoufe was receiued into  
the number of the Cantons; and the anti-  
quity thereof.



*S*chaffoufe, accepted the very same yeare, to be numbered among the cantons, is not of so great age and antiquity. It is seated on the River of *Rhene*, within *Germany*, and yet notwithstanding, the Bridge is in *Swedia*. In the time of the Emperour *Henry* the third, the Counts of *Nellenbourg* builded there an Abbey, which standeth yet to this day, and it is thought, that it gaue a beginning to the citie: as likewise the cities of *S. Gall*, *Lucerna*, and many more in *Germany*, haue deriued their originall from Abbeyes. The *Rhene* is also another cause of the cities encreasing, continuing so for some thousand of yeares since, beneath the city, where

wherewith it is (in a manner) enclosed. It falleth downe from a very great height, with such a dreadfull noyse, and remounting vp againe into the ayre so vehemently, that it maketh there a continuall fogge or myst. And for this cause, and the vncapableness of any Boats to passe there, all such as descend downe the Lake of *Constance*, and from *Cella* on the *Rhene*, are constrained to discharge at *Schaffoufe*, which hath bene conceived by many, to giue that name to the City, to wit, of a *Squiffe*, or of a Boate, which the Germanes call *Skiff*, or *schiff*, thence to be tearmed *Schaffoufe*. Neuerthelesse, the vulgar sort, taking vp a false etymologie of the word *Schiff*, which signifieth a *Sheepe*; haue grounded their opinion strongly thereon, and forged Armes also of the same nature. There is a great tole or custome gathered in this City, especially for the passage of Salt: which appertained in ancient times, and before the foundation of the City, to two Noble Families, to wit, of *Turn*, and of *Stad*, which remaine yet to this day at *Schaffoufe*.



At the beginning, the principall dominion or sway of the City, belonged to the Abbot, who elected and chose one halfe of the Magistrates; but (by little and little) they exempted themselves from his gouernement, and obtained many good priuileges and franchises of the Emperours. But *Lewes* of *Bauaria* (weakened by long warres) could not pay the Duke of *Austria*, such monies as he ought him, according to an agreement made betwene them, which caused him to alienate and sell *Schaffoufe*, together with some other Townes, and so (by that means) it became dismembered from the Empire. After that time, *Schaffoufe* remained subiect to the Dukes of *Austria*, for the space of fourescore and five yeares, euen vntill the counsell of *Constance*: for then *Fredericke* of *Austria*, because hee brought Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth out of the counsell, was banished by the Emperour *Sigismond*, who caused him

to be so narrowly pursued, that all his goods were partly pilld, and partly confiscated to the Empire, without any other meanes of helpe.

In this warre, *Schaffoufe* became re-ruined to the Empire; and the citizens (hauing giuen a good summe of money, to the Emperour) obtained great priuileges vnder Letters patens: and therein was plainly expressed, that (thence forward) their City should not any more be alienated from the Empire. But *Frederick* the third, of the house of *Austria*, being Emperour: laboured to subiect it againe, and that the city of *Schaffoufe* might remaine to his successors. And therefore hee permitted Duke *Sigismond*, to compell the citizens to swear fidelity to him; which they refused to doe, but with exception of their priuileges, and they would not receiue the Princes Ambassadors into the city, but vpon that condition. Contrariwise, the Ambassadors pressed them earnestly, to oblige themselves to the Prince, without any exception, and propounded certaine Articles, for the maintenance whereof, they required oath: threatening the citizens with very great harmes, if they would not yeelde to that which they demanded of them.

The men of *Schaffoufe*, seeing the Ambassadors persist still in their opinion: to make good their owne part, receited the *Switzers* Ambassadors into their city, and made alliance (for some yeares) with them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, so that the Ambassadors of *Austria* returned backe, and performed iust nothing.

Before this, they of *Schaffoufe* were in good amity with the *Switzers*, and from the yeare, one thousand, three hundred, forty five, made alliance (for some time) with them of *Zurich*. But because they were subiects to the house of *Austria*, againgt whom, the *Switzers* had (well neere) continuall warres: they could not then entertaine firmly this amity, but were compelled, to go in war againgt the *Switzers*, vnder the Ensignes of the *Austrians*. But after this last alliance, they were very good and faithfull friends vnto the Cantons, and bare them company in many warres and battailes. For immediately after the alliance

Schaffoufe v-  
nited to the  
empire again,  
and great pri-  
uileges gra-  
ted thereof.

The Switzers  
Ambassadors  
receited into  
Schaffoufe, &  
alliance made  
with them.

The Switzers  
had continu-  
all warre a-  
gaingt the  
house of Au-  
stria.



began: the *Austrians* came and assaulted the *Switzers*, and namely them of *Schaffouse*.

The Cantons made war on Sigismund of Austria, by the Popes command.

The men of Schaffouse accused by Peregrin de Hendorff.

Inursions made on the Austrians lands, by them of Schaffouse.

A new alliance of Schaffouse for 11 years, made with the cantons.

(till then) had not any particular acquaintance.

The tenour of this alliance, is (almost) answerable to that of the ancient Cantons. For in the first place, they binde themselves to aide one another. Afterward, they establish a forme of judgement, for reconciling or auoyding such differences, as should happen between them of *Schaffouse* and the Cantons. Then followeth in what manner debts ought to be paid, & what meanes are to be vsed in such cases. Then for the punishment of homicides, or men-killers. The last Article concerneth the new & ancient alliances, to wit, the one side shall make no new alliance, without the will and consent of the other: And that the ancient alliances shall alwayes be esteemed of most advantage, & to precede all the other.

After all this, the warre of *Bourgonne* hapned, and some yeares consequently, that of *Suba*, moued by the Emperour *Maximilian*, against the *Switzers*. In both these warres, they of *Schaffouse* did their duty exceeding well, furnishing men and money for the weale-publike: by which meanes, they entred into the good grace of the Cantons, much more then ever they did before, and wonne great honour. Also, the yeare after the last warre, to wit, 1501. they made perpetuall alliance with the *Switzers*, and were enrolled in number of the Cantons, obtaining the 12. ranke or roome.

### CHAP. XIII.

Of the warres of the *Switzers*, since such time as they came to be in number of the Cantons, and making them twelue.

After that *Basile* and *Schaffouse* were numbred with the cantons, and that they were 12. during the alliance which they had made with King *Lewes* the 12. in the yeare, 1503. some among them (in great number) went for him in the war of *Naples*, without leave neuertheless, and against the Edicts of their Magistrates. As the *Switzers* and *French* might brag of small happinesse, in the first warre of

A breefe of the Articles and conditions of this alliance.

Schaffouse is reckoned for the twelfth Canton.

Wars in Italy, the *French* & *Switzers* not fortunate in the war of *Naples*.

*Naples*, vnder King *Charles* the eight: so their fortune proued little better in this last warre. They, who (during the first warre) were left in *Garrisons*, in strong places and Fortresses of the Kingdome; dyed of diseases for the most part. Such as escaped in this warre, in recompence of their trauaile, brought home to their owne houses, that villainous contagion of the Pockes, which afterward was tearmed the *Spanish* disease, the *Neapolitane* cull, and the *French* Pockes: At the last war they were overcome in two batailles, and lost a great number of their men. The yeare 1507. the Cantons sent succour vnto the King, who (by their meanes) made himselfe Master of the field, which the *Geneuoyes* had planted in a Mountaine, that commanded ouer their city, which (soon after) yielded it selfe.

At the same time, the Emperour *Maximilian* demanded men of the *Switzers*, and they promised him a leuye of 6000. men, provided, that he should not lead them against the King of *France*, their alie: but because he would not accept this condition, the leuye remained, and was not made.

Soone after, to witte, in the yeare 1509. the league of alliance betweene the King of *France* & the *Switzers*, tooke ending, and the Emperour, Pope *Julius* the 2. the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, leagued themselves together, and made warre on the *Venetians*, wherein the *Switzers* serued the King of *France* for wages. The yeare following, Pope *Julius* made alliance with the *Switzers*, by the meanes of *Matthew*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who immediately after the alliance concluded, led six thousand *Switzers* into *Italy*; vnder pretence of defending the lands of the Church, against the Duke of *Ferrara*. But his true intent was, to surprize and expell the *French* out of *Milaine*. The *Switzers* hauing discouraged his purpose, would not follow the Cardinall against the *French*, and their Lords had likewise forbidden them: so that the Pope sent them into *Smetia*, without paying them their wages, wher at they were very highly discontented.

In the yeare 1511. perpetuall alliance betweene the *Switzers*, the houses of *Austria* and of *Bourgonne*, was renewed. On the other side, the Ambassadors of *France* desired the *Switzers* to renew the alliance

with their King: but the most part of them were displeased, because so soone as the first alliance was expired, the King had denied them all their payes and yearly pensions.

And albeit that a very great number among them, were no found well-willers or friends to the Pope, who likewise had not payed them: yet notwithstanding, fearing lest hee should excommunicate them, they durst not alie themselves with the King of *France*, who then was enemy to the Pope. Hereupon, hapned a disgrace to be done them by the *French*, for they had taken at *Lugano*, a Herald of the *Switzers*, with letters from the Seigneury about him: first, they drowned him, and to despight the *Switzers*, the Coate of Armes, which the Heralds and Officers to the Cantons vse to weare, they solde at open port-sale, or out-cry, as we commonly call it.

The *Switzers*, in the very strongest of winter, led their Army ouer the Alpes, where hauing burned some Villages, they returned backe againe, without performing any other memorable deed. But the yeare following, Pope *Julius* (who had lost a great bataille at *Rauenna*, at encountering there with the *French*) called them to helpe him, and therefore they sent into *Italy*, an Army of twenty thousand me. They being ioyned with the *Venetians* (then reconciled to the Pope) tooke at their artiuall *Cremona* and *Paulia*, driving the *French* out of the whole Dukedome of *Milaine*, so that nothing remained to them, but only the Castle of *Milaine*. In regard of these worthy exploits, the Pope gaue the *Switzers* the title of *Defenders of the Church*; enriching their Standards with diuers Images, and publicly gaue to the whole Nation of the *Switzers*, two great Standards, which they call, *Paner*, that is, *The Sword and Bonnet*, as a noted mark of liberty. *Maximilian Sforza*, re-established in his paternall domination by the *Switzers* succour: made alliance with them, and gaue to the Cantons *Lugano*, *Locarno*, *Mendrisin*, and the Vale of *Madia*.

He gaue also to the *Grisons*, their confederates, the Vale *Telina* or *Volturna*. Likewise *Charles*, Duke of *Sauoye*, whose predecessors had particular alliance (long time before) with some of the Cantons:

Z 2 made

The *Switzers* offended with the King of *France*, about their payes & pensions.

Great wrong done to an Officer of Armes.

The *Switzers* reuenged on the *French* in very notable manner, and called, *Defenders of the Church*.

The *Sword & Bonnet*, signes of liberty.

Great gifts bestowed on the Cantons.

made alliance with all the Switzers, for 25 yeares after following.

In the same yeare, the King of France solicited the Switzers, to become againe allied with them: but because hee would not see free the Caste of *Millaine*, and some discouery was made beside, that his Ambassadors laboured to corrupt some particulars by gifts, and to buy their voyces for faire money layde downe; they were commaunded to depart out of the Leagued countries; and so the warre was renewed again. For the King sent a great Army into *Italy*, under the conduct of the Lords of *Triuise* and *Trimouille*, who besieged *Maximilian Sforza* in *Novara*. Hee was then accompanied with four thousand Switzers, to whose ayde, eight thousand more were sent. Their vanguard being arrived at *Novara*, and they within being ioyned with them, they gaue the battell to the French, vanquishing & driving them out of *Italy*. *Guichardin* the Italian, an Historian much renowned, writes that the Switzers won such honor by this victory, as many haue made no difficulty in equalling this happy successe of theirs, with (almost) all the braue exploits of the Greekes and Romanes. Notwithstanding, the field was decreed enough bought by them, because fourteen hundred Switzers were there slaine, and the most part of them by the Cannon, before that they could come to handie strokes. Which made the people of *Suetia* to murmur in many places, and all blame fell on them that tooke part with the French: so that diuers withdrew themselves from *Suetia* for a time onely, and two only had their heads smitten off in those mutinies, and commotions: for the rest, all was well pacified, without any effusion of blood.

After this victory of the Switzers, the Emperor *Maximilian*, quitting the amity and alliance of the King: aduised the Switzers, to enter France by Bourgongn, with an army of six thousand men; where (wel-neere) sixteene thousand other voluntary ioyned themselves, together with some troopes of horse belonging to the Emperor, vnder the conduct of the

Prince of *Wirttemberg*. There they besieged *Dijon*, the capitall City of all Bourgongne. But the Lorde of *Trimouille*, an olde Capitaine, being not of strength to defend well the place, agreed with the Switzers, on conditions, that the King should acquit whatsoeuer he pretended to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, and paye them (at certaine appointed times) fixe hundred thousand Crowns; for assurance whereof, he gaue them foure Lordes of marke, as hostages, with whom the Switzers departed thence immediately.

Nowe, although it was a matter most palpable and notorious to all men, that this composition warranted the kingdom because that *Dijon* being taken, the Switzers might haue run vp so farre as to the gates of *Paris*, or ioyned themselves there with the English; and beside that king *Leues* hadde not a sufficient Army to make head against them; yet notwithstanding, he would not ratifie his composition. For he would not admit (by any meanes) that his rights to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, should be so much as talk of. The Switzers seeing themselves thus handled, and highly offended with such slye trickes: threatened to kill the Hostages, except the confirmation might be brought within a certaine time. Neuerthelesse, the winter grew extreame vpon them, and yet they refused to re-enter France in the month of Nouember: But the King sent his Ambassadors, who laboured (by all meanes) to make a perpetual peace with the Switzers. In the meane while, they could no way ioyn, because the conditions which the King propounded, were very unreasonable: which was the cause that the time spent it selfe in dayes and deliberations, in meere talke and friuolous disputes, whereby the enterprize of marching into France, was quite broken. Concerning the rest of these meetings and assemblies, they were thus considered on, that in the month of December, the same yeare, they of *Appenzel* were added to the Cantons number, and held the thirteenth place.

CHAP

\* Dijon.

Meanes made to get the Switzers out of France.

The King of France was faine the first composition agreed on by Treaty.

Much talke and nothing done.

Appenzel the 23. Canton.

The King of France is denied to be leagued with the Cantons.

The victory of the Switzers ouer the French at *Novara*, very famous.

An Armie of Switzers, by counsell of the Emperor, entered into France throughe Bourgongne.

## CHAP. XIII.

Of the Originall of Appenzell: how it took that name. The Lawes, Customs, & manner of government there obserued.



*Appenzel* is the name both of a Country, and of a Village. The country is situated somewhat about S. Gall, betwene the high Mountains, and on the Frontiers of the Grisons country. The inhabitants liue (scatteringly) in Villages, and among the number of them, there are eight chiefe and principal, which haue euery one their Temple or parish church.

The maine head of all is the village of *Appenzell*, whereof all the rest of the country beareth name. This Country was sometimes vnder the government of the Abbots of *saint Gall*, and because they alwaies vsed to dwell in the chiefe town or village, wher they builte a very strong Castle, named *Clawx*: the village was therefore cald *Appenzel*, which in Latine is, *Abbatis Cella*: that is to say, The Chamber or dwelling of the Abbot.

The people of *Appenzel* aimed at liberty, first by armes, and after peace made, they bought liberty for themselves & their children, by meanes of a great sum of money, which they paid to the Abbot. They had wars which continued seuen yeares, against *Cuno de Stouffen*, Abbot of *S. Gall*; to whom the towines about the Lake of *Constance*, and belonging to *Frederick D. of Austria*, the bishoppe of *Constance*, the Count of *Wirttemberg*, & many Counts & Gentlemen gaue succour. Yet they of *Appenzel* would not yeld themselves for all this, but being ayded by the Citizens of *S. Gall* (who, at the beginning, were partakers with the Abbot, but afterward ioined with them of *Appenzel*, won from battels, tooke fife Townes, and more then sixty Castles, part whereof were quite ruined. In this war, they leagued themselves with the Switzers, who were enemies vnto the

house of *Austria*. Some say, that they allyed themselves with *Suits* and *Lewis* onely; but others doe maintaine, that it was with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Sutes*, and *Vademylich*. This Warre tooke ending in the yeare, 1408. and by meanes of the Emperour  *Rupert*, agreement was made betwene them of *Appenzel* and their enemies, in the City of *Constance*.

This being done, the men of *Appenzel* framed a forme of government to themselves, which yet they hold vnto this day. For till then, each village had her ensigne, and her estates apart, or by it selfe. Now there was but one Ensigne, one assembly of their estates, and one Council, composed of the most honest people, and the notable persons in all the Villages throughtout the country. Then three yeares after the peace was made, the Abbot of *Saint Gall* attempted a new suite against them: but then they made alliance with *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Frederick Zug*, & *Glaris*, which so offended the Abbots of *Saint Gall*, as, about the yeare one thousand foure hundred twenty five, *Henric Mansdorf* (then Abbot) prevailed so far, that they of *Appenzel* were proscribed by the Emperour, and excommunicated by the Pope. Banishment was no great hurt, or inconuenience to them in any manner whatsoeuer, because the country (being round engirt with Mountaines, and not Trafficking almost with any bodie) no inuasion could bee made vpon them. As concerning the excommunication sent from the Pope, they refused in an assembly of all the country, not any way to care for it. And therefore they expelled all the priests (that obsequied the command of the Pope) out of their Country, and would not permit them to administer the Sacraments: amongst all which they killed but one.

The Abbot of *Saint Gall*, perceiving that this course did him not any seruice; and that (on the other side) the men of *Appenzel* raide verie fiercely vpon such, as durst teame them to be excommunicate, and ruined the Castles of manie Gentlemen. Finally, by helpe of the Bishoppe of *Constance*, and the Noblemen of *Swabia*, hee accused them before the Electours of the Empire, imploring theyr helpe and aide in this extremitie. The Electours sent to the Switzers, and to

Their league with the Switzers.

Their forme &amp; manner of their order and government, first by themselves, and afterwards in due fashion.

People are banished &amp; excommunicated, because they maintain their countries liberty.

The Abbot of S. Gall appealeth to the Electors.

Z 3 the

The Switzers  
would not  
war on their  
neighbours.

Warre made  
vpon the No-  
ble-men by  
them of Ap-  
penzell.

When anger  
helps not, pa-  
tience must  
preuaile.

Appenzell re-  
ceiued into  
the Cantons.

the Citties of *Suaba*, that they should bring them of *Appenzell* vnder obedience. But the *Switzers* would not make any war on their neighbours and fellow citizens: but rather laboured to make peace, which was agreed on foure yeares after this ex-communication, the men of *Appenzell* hauing bene (before) overcome in two encounters, by the Count of *Toggenbourg*.

This peace lasted not long, for the Gentlemen, neighbours to *Appenzell*, about the Lake of *Constance*, assembled a great number of horsemen, wherewith to invade them of *Appenzell*. But they disappointed their hope, and got before them; possessing themselves of *Rineck*, & of the Vale of *Rhegnsee*, in the year, 1445. The Lords of *Hagenwil*, who helde that country in pawne or pledge: caused them of *Appenzell* to be censured with banishment, by the Imperiall Chamber established at *Rotwil*. But gaining nothing by the bargain, they solde them their right, for the summe of fixe thousand crowns, and tooke off the censure. In the year, 1452. they made perpetuall alliance with seauen of the Cantons, and (after that time) ioyned themselves with the *Switzers*, in the warres against the Dukes of *Austria*, of *Bourgonne*, and the league of *Suaba*, wherein they shewed themselves both faithfull and valiant. Afterward, in the yeare, 1513. they were receiued into the number of the Cantons.

## CHAP. XV.

Concerning the alliance made betweene the five last Cantons; And a breuiate of their Articles, binding them together in confederacy.



ALL the latter cantons, except *Rasle*, long time before their receiuing into this ranke, were allied to the other ancient Cantons, and then afterward, at sundry times they were receiued and numbered with the cantons,

according as wee haue noted already.

Now those Cantons doe hold this right about their confederates, that they deliberate, and giue aduice in their dayes of consultation, for all occasions concerning (in common) the common-wealth of the *Switzers*. They haue a share or part, in all commodities and discommodities of the commonalty. They gouerne (in equall authority) all the Baliwicks by them obtained, and partake equally and publicly, all booties gotten in warre. For the rest, the Articles of alliance of the old Cantons, and latter with the first, are almost alike.

The first and principall Article, concerneth mutuall succour or assistance, wherein there are diuersity of clauses. The Cantons which shall be called, ought to succour their associate or companion, without any fraud or delay. If a Canton be so suddenly engirt by the enemy, as he cannot call the other, neither by Letters nor Ambassadors; yet shall not they forbear (for all that) from giuing succour, and in as speedy manner, as if they had receiued expresse aduertisement. If the latter Cantons doe conceiue, that a wrong is done vnto them; yet notwithstanding, they shall moue no war against any person, without the will and consent of the olde Cantons. If their enemies will debate their cause in iustice, and accept the *Switzers* for their Iudges, or others of equall and indifferent iudgement: the Canton may not attempt to pursue his right by Armes. Euery one of the Cantons, at their owne charge and expences, shall come to succour the other, and send such numbers of men as they would haue, and according as they shall see it commodious, wherewith the other Canton must content it selfe. In like manner, the limits are prescribed, wherein the auncient Cantones stand bound to send helpe to the new: And the limits are the confines of the Cantons, as they then stand. There is likewise mention made, concerning charges and expences, at the besiedging and bartering of Townes and Castles. And the Lawes agreed vpon at *Stanz*, touching the partage of booties, which also are heerein confirmed.

The second Article declareth, what kinde

What rights  
and priuileges  
belonged  
to the Can-  
tons

Articles of al-  
liance of the  
latter cantons  
with the for-  
mer.

The limits  
on & bound  
of succour to  
be lent.

Of differen-  
ces betweene  
two Cantons  
or many.

No subjects of  
one Canton  
to be enter-  
tained by an-  
other Canton

An especiall  
sueuety of the  
conditions  
most materiall

kinde of course is to be obserued, if a difference do happen between two Cantons or many: But wee shall speake in our second Booke, what forme of iudgement is in the case to be kept. Moreover, there is mention made, concerning actions in cases of injuries between particulars, and what Iudges they are to take note of in that kind. Then for the exacting of names: Concerning commerce, and free Traffike, and what bargaining ought to stand free for buyers, as well on one part as the other. That no Canton shall receiue the citizens and subjects of another Canton: till they be first left at liberty, by them vnder whose dominion they were before. That the new Cantons shall not make alliance with any whosoever, without consent of the olde Cantons. If war is moued betweene the old Cantons, the latter shall remaine as newters, and labour onely to agree the parties. Each Canton shall keepe his or her ancient priuileges, rights, and customes in their true integrity.

Behold the principall conditions of the latter alliances, wher namely it is decreed that the new Cantons shall not moue any warre, without aduice of the old, neyther refuse that which is right, nor any honest condition of the country, and other such like things, concerning warre, are established fully. And because that the most part of the latter Cantons, are vpon the limits and euen out (as it were) of *Smetia*; they ordained, that no one shoulde attempt to make any warre, except it were for some matter of very great importance: and so much the rather, because it is very hard to conduct and maintaine an army in those quarters.

## CHAP. XVI.

Here we are to speake of the Switzers wars in Italy, when the French undertooke to recover the Dukedome of *Millaine*, &c.

The death of  
Lewes, the 13  
X. of France,  
after whom  
succeeded  
Frances de  
Valois.



IN the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, five hundred, & fiftene, King *Lewes* the twelfth dyed. He had newly fought by

his Ambassadors, the amity and alliance of the *Switzers*. Neuerthelesse, in the meane time, he made great preparation for war, pretending to recover the dukedome of *Millaine*. *Frances de Valois*, his kinsman, and his sonne in law, came after him (as successor) to his crown; who following the deliberation of his father, had also his minde and eye fixed on the *Millaine*. The *Switzers* (on the other side) allied with the Emperour *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, *Sforza* Duke of *Millaine*, and with Pope *Leo* the tenth: vndertook to defend *Millaine* against the French. Wherefore, after they vnderstood the King of France his preparation they sent (at their first leuy) six thousand men to the Duke of *Millaine*. Afterward, the tenth of Iune, they made another leuy of 13000. men, which they sent also to ioine with the first.

King *Frances* passed ouer the *Alpes* in the meane while, by vnaccustomed waies, shunning the Garrisons of the *Switzers*, which were vpon the vsual passages, and entred into *Italy*, with an Armie verie potent, of French and *Germanes*. This was the reason that the Cantons sent twelue thousand men more thereto, so that the campe of *Switzers* onely, consisted of one and thirty thousand men. Now, although the Kings troopes were well provided and resolued, yet they would not hazard any thing, nor set vpon so great an Army of *Switzers* as being such indeed as hardly (at any one time) had so manie euer before bene in the field. Herevpon by their Deputies, they began to treat on peace with the Colonels of the *Switzers*: who likewise (for their part) were not far off from it in disposition, because they considered, that their confederated princes did not march on roundlie with them.

For first of al, their wages was not paid them, according to promise. Moreover the Emperour had not sent his companies of horsemen, as he stood bound to do by the confederacy. And contrarywise, he had not prohibited the Lance-Knights (which hee might haue done in regard of his authority) from going in seruice with the King: but suffered them (by troopes) to depart from Germany, and enter into France. Finally, although the forces of the Pope and King of *Spaine* were neere-

The Switzers  
attempt to  
guard Millain  
against the  
French.

The Camp of  
Switzers, was  
31000. men in  
number, and  
neuer so ma-  
ny of them  
seene before  
in the field at  
one time.

Reasons indu-  
cing the Swit-  
zers to listen  
to peace when  
it was moued.

yet notwithstanding, they could hardlie be perswaded to passe the *Pas*, and ioyned themselves with the *Switzers*. Beside, there were messengers going and coming between the French and them, & from them to the French. Wherefore, the *Switzers* seeing themselves without money, and forsaken of their Comforts: made peace in the village of *Galleras*, with the Deputies to the King of France, vnder honest conditions. Which having bene confirmed by some Cantons, immediately twelve thousand *Switzers* took their way to *Coma*, and returned home to their country, without tarrying for the rest, who likewise prepared to depart the next morning. But the Duke of *Millaine* would not accept the conditions of this peace; and the Cardinal of *Sion*, (a great and perpetual enemy to the French) laboured by oblique meanes, to break & frustrate all.

It came to passe, that by cunning tricks and piques, the thirteenth day of September, the *Switzers* of the Guard to the Duke of *Millaine*, and some others beside offended with the King, in the night time brake in vpon the French, sending worde instantly to aduertise their companions, in what danger they were, and incited their present succour. The other, imagining that it would be a great shame vnto them, to forsake their friends in such a need, and being made to beleue with all, that the French had begunne this broyle, went with all their troopes to assist them. The fight was very sharp on all sides; but the night parted them. In this charge was slaine *Frances*, the Lorde of *Bourbon*, the Lord of *Imbercourt*, also the Count of *Sancerre*, the Prince of *Tallemont*, sonne to the Lorde of *Trimouille*, the Lords of *Bussy d'Amboise*, and manie other: which made some to holde opinion, that the *Switzers* were Maistres in this conflict, and a brute ran thorow *Italy*, that they remained conquerours. But the very same night, the King hauing mounted his Artillerie on their carriages, leuelled the battalions of the Gascoignes and Germaines, re-assembling the horsemen vnder their Regiments, and sending *Bertolomeo d'Aluiana* with the Armie of Venetians: very early in the Morning, he gaue battaile to the *Switzers*, whom he vanquished, after they had lost manie

of their men.

The *Switzers* seeing the victory in a contrary hand, withdrew themselves to *Millaine*; yet in such sort, that their retreat fauoured not of flight. For, they brought backe the Artillery which came out of *Millaine*, and marched in ranke of battaile, hauing their wounded Men in the midst among them, and going but a very softly pace: yet in all the French Army, not a man, eyther Horse or Foot, durst pursue them. On the morrow, hauing left the Duke of *Millaine* fiftene hundred men, to strengthen his garrison in the Castle, they returned into *Swetia*, by the way of *Coma*. But, by reason of their soile, the French recovered the dukedom of *Millaine*.

The Emperour *Maximilian* contested hardly to take it from them againe, & the yeare following, he ledde into Italy (to effect that hope) an army of Germans and *Switzers*; but he could doe nothing, and so was glad to come backe again immediately. As for the King of France, hauing well felt how deare a price this victory cost him: he neuer ceased till hee hadde made peace and alliance with the *Switzers* in the end. Perpetuall peace, betwene the French and the *Switzers*, was made in the yeare one thousand, five hundred, and eightene, the last day of November: and the alliance was confirmed three yeares after, to wit, in Anno one thousand, five hundred, twentie and one. The Articles both of the peace and alliance, are set downe in their due place, hereafter following.

## CHAP. XVII.

*A Discourse, concerning the Alliance of the Switzers, with the King of France.*



T that very time, all the Cantons, Zurich onely excepted, made Alliance with the King of France. And, although they of Zurich were ear-

The retreat of the Switzers backe to Millaine.

The Duke-dome of Millaine recovered by the French.

Perpetuall peace betwene the Switzers and the French.

## Chap. 17.

## Alliance with the K. of France.

Certaine reasons why the King of Zurich refused to be allied with the King of France.

The allegations of Huldrych Zuinglius, why Christian men should not make themselves hye-lings in warre.

The men of Zurich were peacefully minded, and little giuen to warre.

Taxations imposed vpon the new league.

nefly solicited by the rest, to ioyn in this league with them: yet for all that, they could neuer bring them to the point of yeelding to this alliance. In the first place, the yeares going before, *Mathen*, Cardinal of *Sion*, who came verie often to Zurich: by his Orations and perswasive speeches, had wholly estranged them from the French. On the other side, *Huldrych Zuinglius*, being then a principal minister at Zurich, in his ordinary preaching and Sermons, ceased not to turne the people, from taking wages to goe in warre seruices. Shewing by arguments & remonstrances of great weight, that it was not lawfull for a Christian man, to set himselfe to sale for a price of money, and go shed the blood of such as are (oftentimes) innocents, and neuer did him any manner of wrong. He sayd, they ought to follow the manners of the ancient *Switzers*, who (by their manhood) had plantid liberty in their country. All which while, they wholly estranged themselves from such course of liuing, their liues were maintained by their trauell; neuer binding themselves vnto any Prince, neither hadde they any freedome that was to be sold.

And as hee had words verie readie at command; so he approued by great store of sound reasons and arguments, that such alliances did but enserue & meerely prostitute the liberty of the Switzers to forraigne Kings and Princes. So that the men of Zurich, being (otherwise) people of peace, and little addicted to martial affaires; were much moued with his speeches, and abhorred this new League. On the other side, the Captaines that hadde bene in the warres in the times of King *Charles* the eight, and *Lewes* the eleuenth, dissuaded them from the league, as being farre vnlike to the alliances with former Kings. For, in precedent times, after that the *Switzers* had well vnderstood & comprehended the occasion of the war; they made choise of such Captaines and soldiers as they should send to the king, according to their promise. But in the New League, the Cantons neither chose Captaines nor Soldiers, neither cared what became of all, what the occasions of the warre were, nor whether they were iust, or no. But, if the King were to deale with any people, he chose such Captaines

of the Switzers as himselfe pleased, and caused them to come whether he thought good. By which meanes, the Cantons had not any power ouer their Men for warre, except they might counter-mand them, when any warre was moued in the country.

Moreover, many saide, that this new League was contrary to the ancient and perpetuall alliances of the *Switzers*. For, in the first Article they stand bounde, to guard all the Prouinces of France, against all enemies whatsoever they are. True it is, that the first alliances were exempted, but immediately is added, that if the ancient allies begin to make warre vpon the French, the Cantons ought to fend succour to the King, against the other: whereon ensued (as it seemeth) that if any one of the Cantons, or of the Confederates, could not haue reason (in friendly manner) of the King of France, and would pursue his right by Armes; the other Cantons are bound to warre on him, according to the new League, and contrarie to the promises of the ancient alliances.

Moreover, it is not any long time, since the Switzers denied their troopes to the Emperour *Maximilian*, alleading (for their excuse, because he would haue had them serue at his Coronation) that they were occasioned (for many reasons) to keepe their men of warre (as then) at home in their owne country. Therefore it appeared to them verie vnfitting, that they should then allye themselves with the King, who would make a Leuye of them, so soone as the alliance was concluded.

They conceyued also, that it would be farre off from their ancient grauity and magnanimity, if they should league themselves so stricktly with the King of France; of whom (but a yeare and an half before) they had written vnto the Electors of the Empire, that it was no way expedient that he should gouern the affaires of Germanie, so that if he should be elected Emperour, they were not minded to giue him obedience. And, as concerning the commodities of the alliance, which many did make lowd proclamations of: there were others of opinion, that the profite would fall into some particular purses, and especially of such, as enriched themselves by the pensions of France; but the Com-

Articles concerning the ancient and perpetuall Alliances of the Switzers.

The Switzers denied their troopes to the Emperour Maximilian, and vpon what cause.

The Switzers denied obedience to the King of France: hee were chosen Emperour.

15000 Switzers part home to their country, without the rest of their companie.

A hot & fierce fight between the Switzers & the French wherein the Switzers were ouerthrowne in the end.

Read the lord of Bellay, in the first book of his Memoires.

monwealth of the *Switzers* would be no way benefited by the bargain, as very easily was to be proved.

For in the first place, the country had no neede of any strange horsemen or infantry, having worke enough to doe in nourishing their owne breed for that employment. Moreover, the hope of helpe, and money from *France*, robbed the *Switzers* of all their true force and courage. In following the example of their predecessors, they were best to let their hope leane and rest vpon God, to serue and honour him in sincerity of heart, and vprightnesse of conscience. That not onely hope in God, would faile and diminish by such a League, but also it was to be feared, that it would very strongly break and corrupt their ancient manners, cause all husbandry to cease, giue ouer honest trades and exercises, and engender nothing but idleness. And then is easily known what followeth dissolution in diet and apparrell, drunkenness, whoredomes, adulteries, thefts, and blasphemies. For these are the fruites of warre, and the Arts that are learned in the armies of strange Princes.

For a small conclusion, the euent and successe of precedent alliances, haue both instructed and guarded many (especially the men of *Zurich*) to weigh well & consider on nouell combinations. For, albeit that some fewe did sufficient seruice to the nation, as that which was made against the Duke of *Bourgongne*: yet notwithstanding, the most part of those alliances, brought it into great extremities. Because in such strange warres they lost many of their people: or els in those countries, they were rudely hurried and agitated, by factions and seditions. For these reasons, and diuers other considerations, the inhabitants of *Zurich* could not (as then) be induced to ally themselves with the King of *France*.

But the other confederates, who were not of any such opinion, maintaine what they did, by reasons enow. First, they declared, and would prouoe it, that euery voyage in war was not condemned by the word of God: but that many holie persons had made wars; wherein they were ayded and succoured by others, as in like manner they had assisted their Allies. Secondly, that the war of the *Switzers* was not mercenary nor vendible; because

they went to the seruice of a King onely, (with whom they were ioynd by an honest alliance) with the will and consent of their Lords.

Thirdly, that if the King should moue a warre, which all men knew to be vniust; then it remained in the power of the Lords of the Leagues, to deny him succour. But if the occasion were doubtfull and vncertaine: the souldier had nothing to doe to make any curious inquisition thereof: it only appertained to the King and his Councell, to render a reason for it. Fourthly, that the *Switzers* Countrey was greatly peopled, but narrow, hard, & barren in many places, and could not furnish so many men with nourishment: wherefore the commodity was not to be condemned, which the King had offered voluntarily.

To these we will adde, that the *Switzers* ought to consider, with what neighbors they were enclosed, from wherof enuyed them, and others pyed into their Liberties: so that it was both well and wisely done, to fortifie themselves with strange succour against them, and that trust and hope in God, did not prohibit the vse of humane assistance. Also, this was a means to traine vp the *Switzers* in martiall discipline, which is necessary for all Commonwealths: and in regard whereof, warlike people haue euermore bene highly respected. Finally, although that some alliances haue discommodited the Countrey; yet notwithstanding, the *Switzers* haue sped well in the more part, especially, in those which they had with the kings *Leues* the eleventh, *Charles* the eight, and *Lewis* the twelfth. And therefore they must needs expect a happy yssue of this which they contracted with a King powerfull & fortunate.

This was the discourse then made concerning alliance with the French: as I learned of my predecessors, which liued in those times. The selfsame question hath bene often and seriously debated & handled, euen in my time, by men well grounded in the affaires of State, to whome (as yet) I referre the further knowledge of the case.

The *Switzers* Countrey doth consist of many petty states.

Martiall discipline was necessary for all Commonwealths.



## Of them that are Allyed and Leagued with the CANTONS.

And first, The Abbot of Saint Gall. CHAP. XVIII.



Another Discourse of the Author, concerning the associates in particular manner.

Itherto wee haue shewne what the Cantons & confederates are, making vp a whole body of the *Switzers* Commonwealth, and what hath bene the estate and condition of euery one of them before they were leagued. Also, for what causes, at what times, and with what conditions they assembled themselves in a body politike. Now we will discourse of the associates of this Commonwealth, according to the same order: and we will heere shew, wherefore, when, and vpon what conditions they allyed themselves with the Cantons. And because the Abbot, and the City of Saint Gall, were the first ranke, wee purpose to begin with them.



The City of Saint Gall took the name at first of one Gallus, a Gentleman of Scotland.

The City of Saint Gall, was named after the Duke of Scotland, who was named *Colman*, with whome hee came into France, and thence transported himselfe into Germany, to a place called *Tuggen*, neere to the River named *Limagus*, at the mouth of the Lake of *Zurich*. There he preached the Gospel with great zeale and affection, to the people of the Countrey, then bewitched with diuers kindes of Idolatry. Hee continued (soone after) at *Bregents*, at the mouth opening of the Lake of *Constance*: next, at *Arbonna*, and in diuers other places of

*Swetia*, for the space of sixteene years, or thereabout. *Conzo* Duke of *Suabia*, hauing called him to bee Bishoppe of *Constance*; he would not accept that charge: but counselled the Duke to giue it to one of his schollers, named *Iohn*, whom hee thought to be more fit for the place. As for himselfe, about the yeare six hundred and thirty, he retired into the Mountaines, about the Lake of *Constance*, into a very solitary place; and in the very same plot or square of ground, where the Citie and Abbey of *S. Gall* now standeth: hee builded a little Cell or house, wherein he spent the rest of his dayes, with some of his schollers, in the studie and meditation of holy matters.

After the death of *S. Gall*, his schollers liked well to liue in that place, and according to his manner of life: neuertheless, without making profession then of any certaine rule or order. But the Kings of *France*, and the Dukes of *Suabia*, taking delight in their deuotion, did them many kinde Offices: where by the number of these religious men encreased, & (by little and little) the small silly house of Saint Gall, became conuerted into an Abbey. For fourescore yeares after the death of *S. Gall*, they requested Counte *Bertrand*, Governor of the countrey for the Kings of *France*, that hee would giue them an Abbot. He sent them a Priest, named *Omer*, bred and brought vp in a Colledge, called *Coire* of the Grisons, and towards *Peppin*, Prince of *France*, so neere to *Charles Martell*: who following the aduice of his father, established this Priest the first Abbot of Saint Gall, and then (first of all) the Monkes made profession of the rule of *S. Benet*.

Gallus refused to be bishop of Constance, and preferred one of his schollers to it.

The death of S. Gall, & succession of his schollers, and his little house becoming an Abbey.

Omer a priest the first Abbot of S. Gall.

Arguments very considerably alleged by the *Switzers*, against joining in League with the King of *France*.

The fruites of war inforrain Princes seruies.

Some former examples were not altogether warrantable.

Arguments for alliance of the *Switzers* with the King of *France*, against those formerly alleged by the of *Zurich*.

of

Al-

After that time, the abbey became verie rich and powerfull, so that the Abbot of that place, was sette in number of the Princes. And in ancient times, he was vnder protection of the Emperours, who tooke the Gentlemen of *Suaba* to be Governors of this abbey. Afterward, warre being kindled betweene the *Abbot*, and them of *Appenzel*: the Monkes well perceived that their Conuent stood in neede of some good Protectours, because the Townesmen or Citizens of *S. Gall*, who were (as within the abbey) ioyned with them of *Appenzel*, who were also fauored by many seruants of the *Abbot*.

For this cause *Gaspard de Landberg*, then the two and fiftieth *Abbot* (by the aduice and counsell of the Monkes) requested the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suites*, and *Glaris*, to receiue him into their alliance: establishing them patrons, fathers, & defenders of his freedom, & of al his goods, possessions, viances, and priuiledges. This right is perpetuall, and at all times, and as often as a new *Abbot* is to be elected; hee promisseth this accord, and that al the places of his Seigneury, shall alwayes lye open to these foure Cantons, and they to haue free access thither. And if difference shall happen between him and any other: he shall commit it (continually) vnto the hearing of the foure Cantons, and be iudged by them.

The successeour to *Landberg*, named *Huldreich*, and fir-named *Le Roux*, added to this first alliance, that the foure Cantons should send (one after another) one of their Councell, that should remayne two yeares with the *Abbot*, to bee Councellor of all his country. He gaue assitance in pleadings and iudgements, & the morty of al fines remained to the *Switzers*. Moreover, it was ordained in this alliance, that in all warres the *Abbots* subiects should goe to the succour of the 4. Cantons. As concerning that which *Abbot Huldreich* renewed, and the League also, ioyning himselfe more strictly vnto the foure Cantons, the cause was thus. Sometime before, the Citizens of *Saint Gall*, they of *Appenzel*, and the subiects of the *Abbot*, had conspired together, and ruined the abbey of *Rosach*, which the *Abbot* had newly builded. So that the foure Cantons hauing sent for the other Cantons to their assistance, defeated the *Abbot* in his rites,

and reprooued his aduersaries very stoutly. This association endureth yet to this day, and although al the Cantons are not at agreement with the *Abbot*, as concerning matter of Religion; yet notwithstanding, according vnto the articles of alliance, they send him a Capitaine, who manageth and gouerneth ciuill causes, conseruing (in this regard) the rights and priuiledges of the *Abbot*.

## CHAP. XIX.

Of the Towne or City of S. Gall.

**T**HE Cittie of *Saint Gall*, oweth her originall and encreasing to the Abbey, and hath bene enfranchised by the Emperours, who vnted it to the Empire, and gaue it many priuiledges and immunities. In the time of the Emperour *Arnould*, the citie began first to be enclosed with walles: as fearing the courses and surprizals of the *Hungarians*, and both it and the Couent were vnder the Empires protection. The citie was subiect vnto the Abbey in many things: meane while, the citizens had their rites, which they augmented by their industry, & by means of the Emperors liberalities.

Now, when the number of citizens, and the riches of the *Abbot* beganne to increase: many debates and contentions also rooke Original betweene the *Abbot* and the citizens. Oftentimes, the Townes round about the citie, and the Imperial chancery, set them at agreement again. Sometime likewise, they were glad to satisfie the *Abbots* demands with money, and encreased their liberties, by buying their rights of him. But when they of *Appenzel* moued warre against *Abbot Cuno de Stouffen*, the men of *S. Gall* beganne to take part with the *Abbot*, and got nothing for their labour but blowes, which caused them (soone after) to make alliance with them of *Appenzel*. This warre being ended, and some other after, *Abbot Landberg*, being made a fellow-Bourgesse with

Couentment of alliance kept, though not in Religion all alike.

The Abbey began and decreed the citie of S. Gall.

Wealth and ease are the first cause of strifes & civil contentions.

with foure Cantons: the citizens of *S. Gall*, to maintaine themselves by the like expedient, entred perpetual alliance with *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*. This alliance was sworne on the Eue of *S. Iohn Baptiste*, in the yeare, 1454. And they of *Saint Gall* made a publicke banquet for the Ambassadors of the Cantons, wherat were present about fiftene hundred men. Before this alliance, they were leagued with some Cantons for certayne yeares: as with *Zurich*, *Constance*, and *Schaffouse*, in the yeares, 1312. and 1347. And at other times often with *Zurich* and *Constance*. Afterward, with *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, *Suits*, & *Vnderwald*, in the yeare 1329. But I haue purposely omitted those alliances made for so short times, contenting my selfe onely with this last mentioned, which continueth to this day

## CHAP. XX.

Of the Leagued Grifons.



It is generally agreed on that the people of the Grifons are very ancient. For some ages before the birth of our Saviour Iesus Christ, the Tuscans being driven from their houses by the Gauls they possessed the Alpes, vnder conduct of their captain, named *Rhatius*, for whose sake they called themselves *Rhatians*. Heretofore this country extended it selfe greatly in length & largenes, so that the Romane Emperours made two *Rhatian* Provinces, named the first & second *Rhatia*: which comprehended not onely the Alpine regions, but also a great part of *Suaba* & *Banaria*. Now it is well knowne, that this first *Rhatia* beginneth at 5 fource of *Rhine*, & taketh a sufficient great quarter of the Alpes, and all the valleyes on both the sides. Almost all the people ther are (to this day) called Grifons; and in former times they were tearmed *Gris*: as likewise the *Allmains* gaue them the same name, & call them betide, *Strawpundter*, that is to say, *Leagued Grifons*. For, in regard that these *Rhatians* are Leagued, not onely with the *Switzers*, but also among themselves, and that of verie long

time, we call them *Leagued Grifons*, & som times the *Switzers* names them simply, *Pundter*, that is, Confederates.

Vvee are to obserue three leagues of the Grifons. The first tooke name of her antiquity, and of the situation of the country: for they called it, *The High League*, or *high Grifons*. It containeth nineteene Communities or Fellowshippes, among whom (heretofore) the *Abbot of Dissentis*, and the Baron of *Rhatia*, & the Count of *Misauk* held the chiefe rank;



but the families of the 2. latter are expired. Neuerthelesse, among them in common, they which possesse the Castele of the ancient Barons of *Rhatia*, are called *Lords of Rhatians*, a title which (some short while after) the *Lords of Marbrée* took; and after them, they which are named *Plantes*. They of *Tauferscher*, *Limner*, and *Masvortal* are the principall people of this league.

The second is called, *The League of Gods house*. I thinke it to be so termed, because the byshop of *Couire* is comprized in this league. It also comprehendeth nineteene Communities, two whereof doe speake the Germane Language; the other, vnto the *Rhatian* or *Grifon*, which is their mother tongue, & cometh neere to the Italian. The principall people of this league are the city of *Couire*, which is the bishops See. Also they of *Pregaul* and of *Engadin*, out of which countries run two renowned riuers, to wit, *Etich* and *Imn*.

The third league hath ten Communities, and is called, *The League of ten Iurisdicitions*. Therein are comprized them of *Rhuchenberg*, and of *Tunlesch*. The former two leagues had (at the beginning) amity and alliance a certaine time, vnto the Cantons neere to them. For, in the yeare, 1419. the byshop, the Chapter, & the citie of *Couire*, made Alliance with them of *Zurich* for one and fiftie yeeres. Also, they were sometimes allyed with them of *Glaris*. And the Grifons of the high league, wer long time confederated with them of *Vri*. Then after, with them of Gods house they made a perpetual alliance with feauen of the Cantons. But the thirde League is not comprized in this alliance, and yet notwithstanding do

Three feuerall Leagues of the Grifons:

1. The High League, or high Grifons.

2. The League of Gods house or of the Hospitall.

3. The League of ten iurisdicitions.

Seuerall all iances, & at feuerall times.

The Abbot of S. Gall desires to be receiued into the number of 4. Cantons, and to bee ordered by them.

Landberg the Abbot being dead, Huldreich fir-named the Red, succeeded after him.

Abbot Huldreich renewed the league with the foure Cantons, and more strictly.

1500 men present at one banquet.

Concerning the antiquity of the Grifons, beinge sometime called Rhatians, of the captain Rhatius.

Diuerfite of names giuen to the people of Rhatia.



Aliance of the Grisons with the Switzers, and vpon what occasions.

A great difference between the league of Gods-house, and them of Tyrol.

The Grisons depute two of each league for ending their cause.

Cunningerie sand fit for such to vie as desire to oppresse the peoples liberty.

entertain this amity and society with the confederates, euen as firmly and faithfully, as if they stood tolemlly bound thereto.

First then, in the year 1497. the high league, more properly called, *The Grison league*, made perpetuall alliance with seauen Cantons: and the year following, the league of *Gods-house* ioyned it selfe with them, by this occasion following. Some yeares before, the league of *Gods-house* had had certaine great differences, with the dwellers in the county of *Tyrol*. In the end, by the will of the Emperour *Maximilian*, it was decreed; that the parties should chuse an equall number of Iudges, to take knowledge of their variance, and that *Thomas*, Bishop of *Constance*, should be Arbitrator about all the Iudges. But while the Councellers to the King delayed to end this discord, the Bishop of *Constance* dyed: and in his stead, *Maximilian* subrogated *Fredericke*, Bishop of *Ansborg*. But the Kings councellers taking no knowledge of this other Arbitrator, prolonged (from day to day) the decision of the suite, as before they had done: all this while molesting the *Grisons* and charging them full with nouell impositions.

They perceiving no cessation, depu-  
tied two of each league, and sent to *Innsbruck*, insisting that this difference should end, according to the order of the Emperour *Maximilian*. Which the councellers pretended not to know, albeit diuers of them, and (among the rest) the chancellor was present when the decree was set downe. Yet notwithstanding, because the Deputies should not be sent backe without answer; they assigned a day at *Velure* in Lent the next year ensuing. In the meane while, they of *Austria* planted Garrisons vpon the Frontiers, and strong Artillery in diuers places, making (vnder hand) their preparation for warre. For they had appointed that day exprefly, because they would set vpon them at vnawares, & vterly ouerthrow the *Grisons*, no way standing on their guard: where- in the Bishop of *Caire* lent his helping hand to them of *Austria*. But the league of *Gods-house*, hauing discovered the enemies intent; sent men to the cantons, who kept then a day at *Zurich*, and gaue them to vnderstand this eminent danger.

The Ambassadors declared, that beside the olde quarrels, new differences were moued, betwene them of *Austria* and the Switzers, so that there grew an appearance of warre: therefore for the profit & security both of the Switzers & Grisons, it seemed good, that they should be allied together. For by that meanes, the *Grisons* should easily expell the enemy out of their country: although they gaue them but little ayde, or almost none at all. On the other side, the Switzers should haue a Bulwarke to back them, and so might the more strongly make head against the enemy. The Cantons, who had bin well affected to the *Grisons* before, and knew those Mountaine-bred men, to bee a warlike disposed people, and how beneficiall th's alliance wold be both to the one and other: concluded and established a perpetuity of loue with the *Grisons*, in the year 14. 8. and the Month of December, and the Articles of the alliance are these that follow.

*The Articles of alliance, betwene the Switzers and the Grisons.*

1. First, that they shall be friends, & giue mutual succour one to another.
2. The second Article concerneth the agreeing of differences, which may happen betwene confederates.
3. The third is, that no man shall giue or sell away, those actions that he hath against his debitor, or the answerer, or surety for him.
4. The fourth concerneth retailles, according to one anothers trading: And to bee freely in the Markets, without standing bound to pay any new tributes.
5. That neither the one nor other side, shall make any new alliance, wherein these Articles shall be comprised, but with exceptions: And that in times of warre, the one side shall not make peace, except the other be therein comprehended also.

These are the Articles and principall points of the alliance. But the year following, the warre of *Suaba* happened, wherein the *Grisons* valiantly defended their Frontiers, against the men of *Austria*. And by the ayde of their people, many times in like manner, and by the assistance of the Switzers, diuers braue battailes

An offer of alliance betwene the Switzers and Grisons.

A perpetual league of loue with the Grisons.

Friendship and alliance

Agreeing of consultation

No selling of debts.

Free food and trading.

For new alliances & making of peace.

New troubles happened by the warre of Suaba.

Peace made in the city of Basle, for the Switzers and Grisons.

John Iaques de Medicis, Marquesse of Marignano.

The Grisons allied with the French.

A description of Valais or Valois.

\* A Lake of the Allobroges by Geneva and Lausanna.

The Bishop of Siens is Count and Governor of Valais or Valois.

were wonne against the enemy. Yet after these victories hapning on either side, peace was (at length) made in the city of *Basle*, with the Emperour *Maximilian*; in which peace, the *Grisons* are also comprised. By this meanes, the beginning of the alliance was wholesome and happy to both parties, and afterward, in many wars where the *Switzers* were present, vnder wages of strange Princes their confederates: the *Grisons* alwayes marched as kinde companions with them.

It came to passe, that in the year one thousand, five hundred, thirty and one: *John Iaques de Medicis*, who afterward was Marquesse of *Marignano*, getting vnderpurchased possession of the Castle of *Mus*, vpon the Lake of *Coma*, and hauing taken *Clauenna* from the *Grisons*, forraging the country thereof: many Cantons, according to their league of alliance, sent succour to the *Grisons*: by meanes whereof, the enemy was overcome at last, and driuen far off. In our time, the *Grisons* were allied with the French, and with the cantons of *Swetia*, and went to warre together for the King: yet in such sort neuer the selfe, that they send oftentimes a regiment separated to the Switzers, & which hath his Colonell & Capitaine in chiefe.

CHAP. XXI.

*The Alliance of the Valaisians, or people of Valois.*

THE name of *Valaisians*, or them of *Valois*, comprehends three distinct people, enclosed within the most high Mountaines, and dwelling in the Valley, from the fource of *Rheine*, so farre as the Lake \* *Lemanus*. They were anciently called *Viberines*, *Sedusians*, or *Segusians*, some say, *Sebusians*, and *Peragrians*. At this day, the *Viberines* and *Sedusians*, are called the high *Valaisians*, and are diuided into seuen Diocesses, or Wards of ten Parishes. The *Peragrians*, or lowe *Valaisians*, are subiects to the other: but the Bishop of *Sion* is Prince of all the country, hauing the souerainty both temporal and spiritual, and he is called Count, or Governor of *Valois*. We haue descri-

bed in another Tract, apart by it selfe, not onely this Valley, but likewise all the most remarkable things of the *Valaisians*.



Five Wardes or Diocesses of the *Valaisians*, made first alliance with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, in the year 1417. They were then in warre against a Bishop, named *William de Raron*, and his Father *Guiscard*, whom they had (by a popular tumult) forced from their houses. The *Bernians* gaue assistance to the Bishop and his Father, who were of their Bourgeoisies: And for this cause the *Valaisians* desiring to haue succour elsewhere: allied themselves with the fore-named 3. Cantons. Now fearing lest this might be an occasion of breeding quarrell betwene the *Bernians*, and the three Cantons allied with the *Valaisians*: the other cantons, who were as neuters to the business, laboured so earnestly, that the difference was pacified, and the Lords of *Raron* re-established in their goods. Before this alliance, the *Valaisians* had made one (for the space of ten yeares) with them of *Berne*, in the year 1250. Again, after this warre, they contracted another alliance (for certaine time) with the *Bernians*. But in the year 1475. they made a league defensive and offensive. And in the same year when we wrote this History (to wit, 1575.) an hundred yeares being expired, after the beginning of this league: they renewed and confirmed it on eyther part, by magnificent Ambassadors. Two yeares before they were leagued with the *Bernians*, they made a certaine agreement with them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*.

To conclude, in our time, vpon great differences moued, concerning matters of Religion, Ceremonies, life and manners of the Cleargy, whereof reformation was required, *Swetia* being diuided into contrary parts; *Adrian*, Bishop of *Sion*, and seuen Wardes of the *Valaisians*, in the year 1533. made alliance with seauen Cantons, in the Towne of *Fribourg*, which Cantons made profession of the Roman Religion, as namely, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Luz*, *Fribourg*, and *Sollemre*. In this Alliance (ouer & beside that which is used in the other) it

Guillaume de Raron and Guiscard his father.

Contracted alliances of the Valaisians with the Bernians.

Differences about the ceremonies, liues, and manners of the Cleargy.

was especially agreed, that they should aide one another, to maintain the vied and approved Religion, to wit, that of the Romane Church, against all them that would deprive or violence it.

## CHAP. XXII.

Of Rotwill, or Rotuile.



One haue imagined, that *Taxagatium*, whereof *Ptolomy* speaketh in his Geography, was *Rotwill* or *Rotuile*, which *Glareanus* call-

leth *Erythropolis*, hauing changed the *Alemann* or *Germane* word, into a Greek word: but they much deceive themselves. For *Ptolomy* placeth *Taxagatium* in the country of the *Grisons*, and *Rotuile* is situated beyond *Danubius* in *Germany*, on the left side of the *Riuer Aera*, and very neere to the Spring-head of both those Floods or *Riuers*. This city is sufficiently renowned among the *Imperials*, for therein is a chamber of the Empire, which is vulgarly called *Hofricht*, whereunto all the round neighbouring countries resort, for causes of appeale. Such as are contumacious, and fayle of their appearance there; are sent (by sentence of the Iudges) into banishment from the Empire. It is said, that this chamber was established by the Emperor *Conrad* the third, and that it is 424. yeares since.



The first alliance that they of *Rotuile* made with the *Switzers*, was in the time of the Emperor *Fredrick* the third, in the yeare 1461. This alliance was renewed diuers times

betweene them. At last, in the yeare 1499. they contracted perpetuall alliance with all the Cantons of the *Switzers*. During the warre of *Suaba*, they of *Rotuile* (engirt with enemies on all sides) shewed themselves alwayes faithfull to the *Switzers*; offering them amiably and liberally all their riches and men: which the *Switzers* could not accept, but onely desired them, to defend their city against the enemy. Now in regard that *Rotuile* is situated

along the limits of *Swetia*, and that succour cannot bee brought to one another, but with danger, considering, they must passe through other mens landes: the alliance speaketh expressly, that they must be careful for drawing any warre upon them, or vpon any of their confederates.

And first of all; It is said, that they may not make war with any whosoever, without the knowledge and consent of the Cantons. They shall giue no succour to any person out of *Swetia*, without the will and consent of the Cantons. Moreover, if they would haue reason by Arms, for any iniury or out-rage done vnto the; they must attempt nothing, but by aduice of the Cantons. If their enemies will vndergoe iudgement, such as the Cantons shall thinke to be honest and equall: the men of *Rotuile* must also consent thereto. If warre chance to bee moued among the cantons; they of *Rotuile* are to follow that part, which the most part of voyces do allow. The cantons are to conserue (with all their power) the Imperial chamber of *Rotuile*, which (in the mean while) shall vie no authority against the *Switzers*, or any of them. And if any stranger shall cite or summon thither a *Switzer*; they are to make knowne, and he likewise, how farre he is to bee defended by priuiledge. In breefe, they are not to molest any *Switzer* in that iurisdiction.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Of Mulhouse.

*Mulhouse* is a Towne in the county of *Ferrara*, or (as some do hold opinion) in the Territory of *Basile*. It is thought that in ancient times it was called *Ariabium*. For in the Guide or Director of wayes, appointed by *Antonius Augustus*;



this place is set betweene *Augusta Rauraca* (which is *Basile*) and *Vruncim*, which some do thinke to be called at this day, *Ensisheim*; then Mount *Brissac*, *Heluetum*, and *Strasbourg* are named. In times of antiquity, *Mulhouse* was in number of the Imperiall townes: but the Bishop of *Strasbourg* was Governor thereof, also of the Towne

Rotuile is situated the south of Swetia.

A breuiate of the Amities of alliance betweene them and the Cantons.

The Imperial Chamber of Rotuile, to be powerfully defended.

Mulhouse one of the Imperiall Townes.

Towne of *Colmar*. It came to passe, that warre happened betweene *Raoul of Habsbourg*, and the Bishop of *Strasbourg*, wherein *Mulhouse* was taken from the Bishop, & the Castle ruined. After which time, *Mulhouse* was againe re-obtained, and numbered among the Imperiall Cities and Townes.

Her first alliance with the *Switzers*, was made about the yeare 1464. For in regard that the neighboring Gentlemen molested the Towne, and narrowly watched all occasions to assault it: the citizens made alliance with them of *Berne*, for fiftene yeares, as also with *Fribourg* and *Sollemure*, and by means of the *Bernians* intercession, the other seuen Cantons tooke the Towne into their protection. Which proued so displeasing to the Noble-men, that these priuate enimities conuerted themselves (soone after) into open warre: which caused the *Switzers* immediately, to send and plant Garrisons in *Mulhouse*. Afterward, all the Cantons brought their troopes into the field, and came with great assistance to releue *Mulhouse*.

In the end, hauing besiedged the towne of *Waldshut*, appertaining to the house of *Austria*: they compelled the Gentlemen, to come to some equall conditions of peace. Afterward, they of *Mulhouse* were receiued for fellow-Bourgeses with them of *Basile*, and thereby more strictly vnitied to the *Switzers*. Nine yeares after, the 19. day of Ianuary, they made alliance with all the thirteene cantons. The conditions were all alike to the alliance of *Rotuile*, as well in regard of warres, as leagues with strangers.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Of Bienna.



*Bienna* is at the ende of a very pleasant Lake, abounding with plenty of fish & round engirt (on all sides) with goodly Vineyards. It is vnder the government of the Bishop of *Basile*; and yet it enioyeth lawes and regi-

ment a part by it selfe, as also liberall franchises and priuiledges.



The first alliance of the *Bienna*, was made with the men of *Berne*, in the yeare 1303. to ridde the country of certaine robbers and theeces, which wandered there in so great numbers, as almost no way had any security for passage. In this alliance, they of *Strasbourg*, *Basile*, *Fribourg* and *Sollemure* were also comprized. Three yeares after, in regard of some great differences, which they had with their neighbours: they made a particular alliance with the *Bernians*. Their third alliance was made in Anno 1352. and fifteen yeares after, because *John de Vians*, Bishop of *Basile*, (a man of turbulent spirit) would not suffer any of his neighbours to lye in quiet: they of *Bienna*, desirous to provide for their owne ease and tranquility, ioyned themselves more strictly with the men of *Berne*, by giuing each to other the right of fellow-Bourgeses. The Bishop very angry at this vnion, mustred together some troopes of horse, and (at vnawares) ranne vpon them of *Bienna*, and clapt vp in prison the Authors of this association.

When the men of *Berne* heard of this deede, they came to succour their fellow Bourgeses, tooke (by force) the Castle, which the Bishop had in *Bienna*, set the prisoners at liberty, and made warre vpon the Bishop, as also on them of *Sollemure*, his associates. In this warre, they tooke and ruined many places, which were in subiection to the bishop.

## CHAP. XXV.

Of Geneva.



*Geneua* is the last and vtmost Citie of the *Allobroges*, of which (amongst other of Antiquity) *Cæsar* hath made mention in his Commentaries.

As 3

It

John de Vians Bishop of Basile, a man trouble some to his neighbours.

Julius Cæsar in comment. lib. 1

Opinions concerning the name of Rotwill, or Rotuile, which is an Imperiall Towne or City.

The first alliance of them of Rotuile with the cantons.

Alliance made with Bernie for fiftene yeares, and other.

The situation and citace of Bienna.

1st. *Confession*,  
Lib. 1.  
The situation  
and antiquity  
of Geneva.

It is neere to the limits of the Switzers, at the end of the Lake *Lemanus*, and an issue of *Rhone* commeth into it. Not only the words of *Julius Caesar*, but also many antiquities there found, do testifie the ancientnesse of the city. Many famous Monuments might haue bene seene there, but that the city was oftentimes ruined by enemies, and much destroyed and defaced by fire. For I finde in ancient chronicles, that in the time of *Helioababulus*, *Geneua* was embraced with so fierce a fire, as hardly was any one house to be found, that stood free from it. The Emperour *Aurelianus* restored the city againe, being so pitifully disfigured, granted it great priuiledges, and gaue it the right of fairs, and of the Empire, because it was situated most commodiously. Hee called it *Aurelia*, according to his owne name: but after his death, he took her ancient name againe. Afterward, it was forraged (as many other cities were) by diuers barbarous Nations, intruding themselves into France. And some 250. yeares after, or thereabout, within the space of 7. yeares, fire tooke it in such terrible manner, as the most part of the city was quite ruined.

The Bishoppicke of *Geneua*, in former times had very ample priuiledges & franchises: yet notwithstanding, the citizens held their liberties to themselves, and alwayes carefully conserued theyr leagues perpetuall with the Bishop, according as they were left vnto them by their ancestors. The Counts of *Geneua* were great enemies to their liberties: who (neuertheless) were vassalles of the Bishoppicke, and held their Earldomes of him by fealty. So in like manner were the Counts of *Sauoye*; but the citizens maintained their rights and priuiledges courageously against the Counts.

In the yeare 1420. when *Amias*, the first Duke of *Sauoye*, laboured to obtain of Pope *Martin*, by way of enterchange, the right and superiority (as they call it) ouer the city of *Geneua*: the Bishop named *John de Pierre-fixe*, made an agreement for him, and all his successors with the citizens, that he nor they should at any time consent, that the liberties of *Geneua* should be exchanged or alienated. If eyther he, or any of his successors did otherwise; the citizens might hold and ranke him or them in the number of traitors

and conspiring enemies. Some while after this, the Emperour *Maximilian*, hauing amply published his Sonne in law, *Philibert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, Vicar of the Empire in those parts: then againe, *Philibert* and his brother *Charles*, strove to subiect *Geneua* vnder their awe, pretending the title of this new right, and priuiledges of the Vicarship, giuen in former times to the Counts of *Sauoye*, by the Emperour *Charles* the fourth. Who (notwithstanding) tooke from Count *Amias*, all action, power, iurisdiction, and preheminence, ouer the city and territory of *Geneua*.

While these praides and conspiracies of the neighbouring Princes lasted, they of *Geneua* maintained themselves heedfully in amity with the Switzers, and (diuers times) made alliance with the *Bernians* and *Fribourgers*, for certain yeares. At length, they combined alliance and fellow-Bourgeship perpetually, with the of *Berne*, and confirmed it more strictly, in the yeare 1536. Then in regard of the religions alteration, the Duke of *Sauoye*, and the Bishop of *Geneua*, made war vpon the citizens, they being succoured by them of *Berne*. This alliance hath bene (since then) renewed, and many friendly motions made, to alie *Geneua* with the Cantons: but I know no reason, why it is not executed and done.

## CHAP. XXVI.

## Of New-Castle.



HE City of *New-Castle*, is seated in the country of the *Auantici*, vpon the lake which is called the Lake of *New-Castle*, at the head

whereof is another little Towne, called *Tuerdun*. *New-Castle* is both a city and country, and the Count thereof was chosen by succession of the Counts of *New-Castle*: but since, saue to the Counts of *Hochberg*, the Marquesse of *Rotelin*, and to two Dukes of *Longueuille*. During the warre betwene King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Switzers, the men of *Berne* (in name

The estate of  
New-castle  
being both a  
City & Countrey  
in the ancient  
country of the  
Auantici.

The Countes  
of Geneua  
and of Sauoye,  
great enemies  
to the liberties  
of the citizens  
of Geneua.

An agreement  
made betweene  
the Bishop and  
citizens  
of Geneua,  
concerning  
the liberties  
of the City.

A Gouvernor  
placed in  
New-castle by  
the Cantons.

name of all the cantons their confederates) possessed themselves of the city of *New-castle*, and of the whole county, and placed there a Gouvernor. This order the other cantons continued, except that of *Zurich*, who hauing lost their ranke: at the returne of it to their turne againe, they should command at *New-castle* two yeares together.

But when the time drew neere, *Jone* of *Hochberg*, widdow to the Duke of *Longueuille*, preuailed so much, as (with certain conditions) the county was surrendered back againe, in the yeare 1529. Sometime before, this county had bene allied from the Cantons of *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre* by meanes of some Articles, which were confirmed againe vpon this restoring or surrender. At this day, the counties of *New-castle* are particularly allied with the men of *Berne*, or the *Bernians*.

## CHAP. XXVII.

Of those people that are gouerned (in common) by the Cantons of the Switzers.



WE haue appointed for a third part of our Switzers common-wealth, those people that are gouerned (in common) by the Switzers.

The cause &  
reason of this  
instant argument.

It is necessary then, to say some-what of the time, and by what title, they became subiects to the Switzers. Among them there are some Townes, which wee may tearme stipendiaries: because (at their own proper costs and charges) they march along in warre with the Switzers. Neuertheless, they gouerne themselves by their owne lawes, and make election of their Magistrates; & yet the maine souerainety appertaineth to the Switzers, to whose Lawes and Edicts, those Townes stand bound to obey. Anciently they belonged to the house of *Austria*, but during the warres against that house, the Switzers became Masters of the neighbouring countries, and these Townes yielded themselves to them vpon certaine conditions; to wit, that they should be as well subiect

A good and  
singular kinde  
of gouernment  
and well obserued  
among them in those  
parts.

to them, as to the house of *Austria*, their ancient priuiledges saued and excepted. Those Townes are *Bada*, *Bremgarten*, *Frauenfeld*, *Mellingen*, and *Rysperwill*.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

## Of Bada.



*Bada* is a Towne vpon the Riuer *Limagus*, or *Limathus*, and so called, in regard of hot waters, whereof there are many Vells or Fountaines in that place, whereunto men and women vfe to resort (in great numbers) from diuers countries. For this cause some haue called it the Towne of Baths, others, the Castle. According to custome of our Elders, who called Eaths, those places where there were hot Springs and Fountaines: so may wee tearme this, the Switzers Baths. As in Italy there are the Baths of *Statiell*, and others: In France, the Baths of *Aix*, of the *Conuennes*, and of the *Turbes*. In Germany, the Baths of *Spach* or *Spaw*, and of *Aix*. In like manner, *Bada*, a Towne of the Marquise of *Bada*, in a certaine inscription, is named, *The Bathes*: And in the inscription of *Wettingen*, they of *Bada* are called, The citizens of the Baths.

This Towne is one of the most ancient of *Suetia*, by the testimony of *Cornelius Tacitus*, who tearmeth it a Towne or City, hauing in abundance, and with great pleasure, very wholesome waters. The same Author saith, that the Romans took notice of a Garrison in the Castle of *Bada*, and reputed it selfe to be a Garrison: for the Mountaines which close & ioyn together in that quarter, do locke vp the country. To passe out of Germany and *Suetia* into France, and into Italy, wee must goe through *Bada*, then ouer the lands of *Zurich*; from thence into the country of *Ergow*, and thwart ouer *Suetia*. In ancient times, this Towne had two Castles, one seated vpon an high *Rocke*, which is nothing now at this day, but old decayed ruines (being spoyled and defaced by the Switzers, as we shall declare anon.) And the other at an end of a bridge, where

Hot waters or  
Baths belonging  
to the  
Switzers.

Of Baths in  
diuers countries.

In England  
likewise is a  
Towne of  
Baths.

The testimony  
of Cornelius  
Tacitus,  
concerning  
Bada.

Bada ioyned to the house of Austria, & reuoluted to the Switzers.

By what means Bada came into the power of the Switzers.

A Councell of war, & their answer returned vnto the Switzers.

In the selfe same councell it was decreed, that men did not stand bound to keepe Faith with them that were called hereticks.

where (in our time) dwelt the Bayliffes or Gouernours, which were sent thither by the Cantons. *Bada* hath had (in former times) Counts, the race whereof are quite extinct, and their successors have bene the Lords of *Habsbourg*, who ioyned that County to the house of *Austria*, and diuers other goods. But from the house of *Austria*, *Bada* came into the Switzers hands, at the time of the Councell of *Constance*, in manner following.

*Fredericke* of *Austria*, brought *Pope John* the 22. out of the Councell, & maintained him against the Emperour and the Councell. For which cause, by the Decree of the Councell, he was excommunicated, banished from the Empire, and his goods confiscated. The Emperour himselfe, with an assembled Army, from the Townes and Cities of *Germanie* and *Suaba*, the Duke of *Bawaria*, and some others, made warre vpon him. Also commandement was giuen to the Switzers, on behalfe both of the Emperour and the Councell to assaile *Frederick* with all their forces. Whereof they made refusal, alleging that they could not doe it, and their honor faied: in regard of the peace formerly made (for fifty yeares following) with them of *Austria*, confirmed by Oath and Letters Patents. The Fathers of the Councell made answer to this excuse of the Switzers: that *Fredericke* was an enemy to the Church, excommunicated and banished by publike order: This warre concerned the good of Church, who was offended and iniured (in her members) by *Frederick*.

Wherefore, if in this cause the Switzers vnderooke Armes, according to the command of the Emperour, they should do a good and holy worke. They should also well consider with themselves, how much it would wounde their honour, if (in contrary opposition) they continued idle excuses, which would wrap them vp in the same censure and condemnation with *Frederick*. Out and beside all this, according to the aduice of the Ambassadors of *England*, *Denmarke*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Bohemia*, *Polonia*, and Princes, Gentlemen, and Lawyers, the Emperour declared, that the Switzers might (with a good and safe conscience) make warre vpon *Fredericke*, notwithstanding the peace made. Because that the Subjects of

the Empire, in all actions doe except expressly or covertly, the right and Maiesty of the Emperour.

The Emperour sent a copy of this arrest and decree to the Switzers, enioyning them againe to make war on *Fredericke*, and by the same means adiudged to the empire, all that which they of *Austria* had engaged to them before. Promising also, not to make any peace with *Fredericke*, til the Switzers were first reintegrated into their former agreement. The Switzers being then perswaded with such reasons, leuiued their Armes: but because they were to Warre in the name of the Emperour, and of the Romane Empyre, they demanded wages of the Emperour: declaring, there was no reason, that they should furnish themselves at their owne charge, and the fruites of the victory fall into other mens hands; and that their wealth was not sufficient to furnish such expences.

The Emperour thought this demand to be made in equity: neuertheless, because he was somewhat empty of money, he agreed with the Switzers, that all the goodes of the house of *Austria*, which they possessed already, or could conquer in this warre; they should enioy it in the Empires name, vntil they should be paid their wages, and charges during the war. By especiall Letters, the Emperour exhorted them of Zurich to enter the field, and granted them (in title of Fee) the Countrey which is beyond Mount *Albius*, named the Free Prouince, which they of *Austria* held. According heere to, the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and fiftene, about the fiftenth day of April, the men of Zurich, with their troops well prepared; went to besiedge a Towne seated on the Riuer of *Russ*, named *Mellingen* and on the third day tooke it by composition. From thence they went to *Bremgarten*, where the Cantons of *Suits* & *Zug* ioyned with them. They of *Bremgarten*, (by example of the other) yeelded themselves to the Switzers, vnder protection of the Empire.

At the same time, the Lucernians tooke a Towne named *Sursey*. The Bernians, assisted by them of *Sollewre*, *Bienna*, the County of *New-castle*, and some others beside, got into their power *Leffingen*, *Arberg*, *Arow*, *Lenzbourg* & *Brug*, to-

A Copy of the Decree sent by the Emperour to the Switzers

The Switzers demand wages of the Emperour for their seruice.

The Emperour Letters to them of Zurich.

The Cantons of the Switzers.

together with the country of *Ergow*. As for them of Zurich, after they had taken the forenamed Townes, they besiedged *Bada*. All the other Cantons, except *Bern* ioyned with them, for they of *Austria* held no place in *Suavia* of greater strength then this: and the Garrison of *Bada* had much ouer-travelled the Switzers, especially them of Zurich, and this was the reason, that the Cantons resolved to force both the Towne and Castle. As for the towne, after it had bene beaten with the Cannon, for the space of three weekes, without ceasing, it yeelded. But the soldiors still defended themselves in regard of the fortresse, and held out well, after reddition of the Towne. The Switzers on the other side, hauing receiued succour from them of *Berne*, did dayly beate the place, and pressed the Garrison to yeelde themselves. At length, the Souldiers hauing no more stones, arrowes, darts, nor anie other munition proper for defence, truce being granted for some dayes: vpon condition, that if within a limited time *Fredericke* of *Austria* did not deliuer thē from this sledge, they would quit the place, and deliuer the castle into the power of the Switzers.

While these things were in working; by the intercession of the Duke of *Bawaria*, and the Burggraue of *Nuremberg*, *Fredericke* was reconciled to the Emperour *Sigismund*, who sent immediately his Ambassadors to the campe of the Switzers, to giue them command for the ceasing of warre. But the Switzers feeling yet the outrages which the Garrison of *Bada* had done vnto them, so soon as the truce time was expired, so pressed them within, that two dayes after Pentecost, the castle was deliuered to them, which they burned and quite ruined, as soone as the enemy had auoided it. On the Morrow, the Count of *Togge*, Ambassadour from the Emperour, being arrived at the Switzers campe, to command them agayne, that they should giue ouer armes, found the castle to be taken and spoyled. This strooke somewhat deadly vnto the Noble mens hearts: but they had no occasion to complaine, because the Switzers had done nothing, but in case of open & lawfull warre.

Then, as the Emperour was ready to go for Spain, to fetch thence *Pierre de Lune*,

that he might be Pope, who afterwards was called *Benet* the eleuenth; beeing in need of money, because his cofers were emptied (hauing disbursed great payes, without any intermission in the precedent warres, and for the affaires of the Councell) he engaged to them of Zurich, *Bada*, *Bremgarten*, *Mellingen*, *Sursey*, and the Lands to them belonging. Also to them of *Berne*, the country of *Ergow*, which they had taken, as already hath bene declared: yet paying a great sum of crowns. At this day, the country of *Ergow* is possessed by them of *Berne* only. The yeare following, they of Zurich made a part of that which was engaged to them, ouer to the Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*.

From the beginning, the men of *Vri* would not haue any part; as thinking, that the detention of these places, contradicted the treaty of peace made with *Fredericke*. But after they vnderstood the reasons of their confederates, who protested (in themselves) the same desire of observing the peace: but that by command of the Emperour, and of the Councell, they vnderooke armes. Next, that by the will and consent of them both, they possessed now those places for wages, and price of warre-seruice, and held them on the faith of the Emperour, the soueraigne Lorde; yet for a great summe of money, which they had layd out & disbursed. The men of *Vri* hauing heard these Reasons, and other of the like Nature, entred into part of this engagement. The Bernians also were receiued in at the length.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

### Of Bremgarten, and Mellingen.

*Bremgarten* is a Towne, situated on the Riuer of *Russ*, which encloueth it in the midst almost, in forme of a demy Island, a great Germane mile beneath *Lucerna*. It appeareth by the ancient priuiledges of this Towne, that it was (heretofore) numbered among the Imperials. Neuertheless, it became (afterwards) subiect vnto the Counts of *Habsbourg*, then to the Princes

The Emperour engageth lads to them of Zurich and of *Berne*.

*Vri* stood free from all these parrakings, till further information from their confederates.

*Vri* and *Berne* accepted into this combination at last.

How and in what manner *Bremgarten* is seated.

of *Austria* descended of them. But it is not well knowne at what time, neyther by what title, they came to make themselves Lords thereof.

*Mellingen* is a little small Towne vpon the selfsame Riuer, about half a German mile below Bremgarten. It hath alwayes been vnder the dominion of the Counts of *Habsbourg*. These two Towns were taken (as Bada) in this war which the Switzers made vnder the Empires name, and then afterward, the Emperour *Sigismund* pawned it to the Cantons: vpon condition, that all their ancient rights, priuileges, and customes, should remain entire, and the Citizens to yeelde the same dutie to the Cantons, as formerly they had done vnto the Counts of *Habsbourg*, and Princes of *Austria* their Lordes. At this very day, both these Townes are vnder gouernement of the eight first Cantons.

## CHAP. XXX.

## Of Rasperwill.

As concerning *Rasperwill*, it is a town on the Lake of Zurich, wherein dwelt (sometimes the Counts of *Rasperwill*, who had to their successours the Countes of *Habsbourg*, that gouerned likewise in these quarters. In the year 1458, the Switzers became masters thereof. There were then two factions in this town, the one of *Austrians*, and the other of Switzers. Duke *Sigismund*, tooke some of the Switzers partakers, and brought them as prisoners to *Inspruk*. The rest amazed at this deede, fled into *Smetia*; but by entemise of the Cantons, they all re-entred *Rasperwill* againe. For the Cantons protested out a lowde, that they would come and assault the towne, except the prisoners might be enlarged, and the banished receiued.

It came to passe the year following, that the Switzers made warre on them of *Constance*, who had done them some despitefull outrages. Peace being made, as they of *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderualde*, and *Glaris* returned homeward to their houses, they demanded victuals for their troopes, and passage thorow *Rasperwill*, which they easily obtained by the pursuite of their partakes. But, being entred more strong, and

in greater number then the Citizens (the most part whereof were Switzers in affection) they compelled the Citizens to sweare fidelity to them. So that from that time, *Rasperwill* remained in the power of those foure Cantons: who (neuertheless) left the citizens to the same liberty as they had vnder the Dukes of *Austria*.

## CHAP. XXXI.

## Of Frawenfeld.

Two yeares after the taking of *Rasperwill*, the seauen Cantons then being in warre against *Sigismund*, Duke of *Austria*, tooke *Frawenfeld*, the chiefeft town in all the country of *Turgow*. There were reasons and occasions enow, whereby this warre was vnderaken and attempted. The Duke had imprisoned Cardinal *Cusano*, byshoppe of *Brescia*, and because he did not release him, so soone as Pope *Pius* (who formerly was named *Aeneas Sylvius*) sent him command to doe it, hee was therefore excommunicated. But, because this Thunder-bolte did not dismay him, and he appealed from that sentence, to the next Councell: the Pope commanded the Switzers to defend the Churches rightes, and to set vpon *Sigismund*. The Cantons, who had as much credite with the one, as with the other, obeyed the Popes command: but there happened other occasions to induce this warre.

The towne of *Winterduer*, in the countie of *Kybourg*, appertaining to the Canton of Zurich, was subiect to the Duke of *Austria*. There is euery year in that place a Fayre, on the day of Saint *Gals*, the sixte of October, whereat the Countrey people round about doe meete in great numbers. They of *Kybourg* being come thither, the gates vver shut against them, vpon a sinister suspicion of the inhabitants, that they of Zurich would surprize the Towne, during the Faire time, & had therefore made some preparation.

Now, as the Bayliffe established by the Canton of Zurich in those quarters, required that the Gates might be set open, and that they of *Kybourg* might haue free trading, according to their accustomed manner, promising that the town should

How the town came to be taken by the 7. Cantons.

The causes that procured this warre.

The Pope commanded the warre.

Small parties can cause and kindle a great fire, and innumerable culpable proud to produce great harme.

One wrong or injury draweth on another, and to no means danger

It is now called both *Badia* and *Austria*.

Violence and cruelty is deaf and will not heare any iustice.

A new Garrison is planted at *Winterduer*, which soon after was beleagged.

should receiue no endamage; notwithstanding all this, no credite would be giuen vnto his words. As a counterchange of this iniury, they of Zurich prohibited their people from bringing either victuals or merchandizes to *Winterduer*. The Duke of *Austria* on the other side, standing vpon his guard, placed a garrison in the towne. These things happened before the excommunication from the Pope.

But yet there was another occasion for the moouing of this warre. There were two brethren, Gentlemen of mark, of the country of *Stiria*, named *Vigilius*, and *Bernard Gradlers*. They of *Austria*, had informed them from their houses, and depoyled them of all their goods: without excepting so much as the dowrie belonging to *Bernards* wife, who was of the house of *Starckenber*. After they had solicited the Duke a long time, to restore their goods againe, and neuer could obtain so much, as that hee would admit but what iustice did allow: at length, they withdrew themselves into *Smetia*, and were receyued as Bonneges into Zurich. Afterward, hauing brought a little town, called *Eglisow*, they made warre on the Duke of *Austria*, assisted by the men of Zurich. The Duke placed a new garrison at *Winterduer*, but after the troopes of Zurich were drawne thence: some difference fell betwene the Garrison, and the inhabitants of *Kybourg*. So that once more they of Zurich (having demanded succour of their confederates) went forth into the field, going to besiege *Winterduer*. At this time then, to wit, in the year, one thousand, foure hundred and sixty, *Diesenhoven*, a Towne on the *Rhine*, in the country of *Turgow*, this country also, and *Frawenfeld* were conquered, and reduced vnder the power of the Switzers.

## CHAP. XXXII.

## Of the nine Baylywicks, or Governments.

The Baylywicks gouerned by the 7. first Cantons, and others with them.

THE common Baylywicks, are gouerned (in part) by the seauen first Cantons, and partly by some other with them. There are nine Baylywicks, or Go-

uernments in all, to wit, the Countie of *Badia*, the three Prouinces, *Turgow*, *Surgans*, the *Rheghesces*, that is to say, the valley of *Rhine*, which they call *Einthal*, *Lugans*, *Locarna*, *Mentris*, and the vale *Madia*. The foure last are beyond the Alpes, in Italy, towards the *Millaine*; & speak Italian; the other the German tongue. *Surgans*, and the valley of *Einthal*, are on the Frontiers of the *Grisons*: the other 3, are seated within the confines of ancient *Smetia*.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

## Of Bada and Turgow.

In this manner (then) were the Towne and Countie of *Bada*, *Turgow*, and *Frawenfeld*, by the Switzers conquered; at such times, and by those means, as formerly hath bene related. The Cantons of Zurich, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderualde*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Berne*, commanded at *Bada*. They are Lords of *Turgow*, except the Canton of *Berne*, which hath no part therein. As concerning the taking knowledge of criminall causes, the Emperour *Sigismund* tooke it from *Frederick of Austria*, at the time of the Council of *Constance*, and engaged it to the City of *Constance*, which kept it till the year 1499. when the Emperour *Maximilian* attributed that authority to the Switzers, by a treaty of peace which hee made with them, and therefore the seuen first Cantons about named, are Lords of *Turgow*. But concerning the knowledge of crimes, appellations and fines or amercements, which may happen, as oftentimes they doe: that appertaineth to the renne first Cantons, who made warre against the Emperour *Maximilian*, and the League of *Suaba*.

## CHAP. 34.

## Of the three first Prouinces.

NOW, to speake of the three Prouinces, which are along beyond the Riuer of *Rass* (to distinguish them from the free Prouince, beyond the Mountain *Albus*, which was giuen to them of Zurich, by the Emperour *Sigismund*, as we haue already declared before:) they were taken by the Switzers, at the very same time

The manner of their Conquest hath bin already used.

Criminal causes took away from the Emperour *Sigismund*.

The authority belonging to the ten first Cantons.

Concerning the situation and true name of the free Prouince.

A description of the situation of *Mellingen*.

The forme & situation of *Rasperwill*.

Two factions of Austrians and Switzers in *Rasperwill*.

How *Rasperwill* became ioynted to the Cantons, and afterward continued.

The reason why the name was thus given them, according to the authors opinion

when *Bada* was conquered. Heere let me tell you, that we call certaine Castles & Villages, which lye along the River of *Ruß*, both above and below *Bremgarten*, free Prouinces. This name was giuen them (in mine opinion) because that the three villages, to wit, *Meyenberg*, *Richen-see* and *Ergow*, had anciently kept (each one) her iurisdiction, Magistrates, and Officers by themselves: so that they seemed as three severall Prouinces, nowe ioyned all into one. In times past, all that quarter was called the Countie of *Rora*, and so it was named by *Henry* the 5. Emperour, in a priuiledge of the Abbey of *Muren*. The castle belonging vnto the Countes of *Rora*, was in the Towne of *Aron*.

Some difference among the Cantons, concerning the conquest of the free Prouince.

At such time, as (by command of the Emperour and the Councel of *Constance*) the Switzers made warre on *Fredericke* of *Austria*, they of *Lucerna* conquered those places, which are along the River of *Ruß*, and namely that county of *Rora*. After the warre, when they contended vho should be Lords thereof only: the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug* and *Glaris* opposed against them, and in diuers dayes held at *Beckenried*, *Vnderwald*, *Suits*, and in the campe before *Bremgarten*, they shewed, that (from the beginning of the warre) the Cantons had agreed, that they should be Lords (in common) of all places in the country of *Ergow*, that should be won in that Warre. Now, although the Lucernians maintained, that they had giuen charge thereof to their Ambassadors; yet notwithstanding, after the testimonies were gathered both of the one side & other, the Lords of *Berne* being appointed iudges of the variance pronounced, that the 5. Cantons had part in all the country.

The Lucernians pleaded their Title in right of their Ambassadors.

Tenne yeares after that, by consent of the sixe Cantons, they of *Vri* were ioyned with them, and hadde a great part also in that gouernment. And therefore *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, are Lords thereof at this day. The country is not great; and therefore, of what *Canton* soeuer the Bayliff is, hee makes not his residence there: but vhen necessity doth so require, he comes once a yeare to iudge suites in law, and then he is lodged (most often) in the Abbey of *Muren*, which is rich enough, and well builded.

## CHAP. XXXV.

## Of the Sargans.

Among the Grisons, the *Sarunetes* liued long time since; but at this day, both their towne and country is vulgarly called *Sargans*, whereof diuers etymologies are made. But in the auncients Chartes, this Towne is named *Sarunegans*, which is a word deriued from the name of *Sarunetes*, whereof *Pliny* maketh mention. Now, because the dwelling of the *Sarunetes* was at the spring of the River *Inn*, where now they of *Engadin* and of *Munsterthal* make their abiding; the inhabiting *Sargans* (now in question) it may be, are yssued from them: theret or else might take their name of the River called *Sar*, which runneth thorough the Towne.

In former times, this country belonged to the Counts of *Werdenberg*, who in that respect were called Countes of *Sargans*. Afterward they pawned it vnto the *Austrian* Princes, and at another time to the Counts of *Togge*, but redeemed it againe, and possessed it til the yeare 1483. And then, *George* Count of *Werdenberg*, sold it to the seuen first Cantons, who sent a Bayliffe thither each one by his turne, that commanded the whole country, & kept in the castle where the Countes were wont to dwell. As for the Towne of *Sargans*, although it is subiect vnto the Switzers: yet notwithstanding, it enioyeth his priuiledges, and electeth Magistrates that administer iustice, and also deale in criminall causes.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

## Of the Rhegusces: now adayes called Rhinthal.

That is to say: The Valley of *Rheine*.

THE *Rhegusces* are of the Grisons country, dwelling on the bankes of *Rheine*, about the Lake of *Constance*. As for them that dwell beyond the *Rheine*, where

The situation of the County and Town of Sargans, and diuers names thereof belonging.

The Counts of Werdenberg, Count of Sargans.

Sargans sold to the Switzers.

The situation of Rhinthal, and of the Countes on either side of Rheine.

The valley of Rheine seized by the Count of Togge, and sold to the Emperour.

The valley sold to the Count of Appenzel.

How Rhinthal came to belong to the Switzers.

Bayliffes sent by the eight Cantons to the valley for Rulers there.

where are *Bregents* and *Velcure*: they are yet to this day, subiects to the House of *Austria*. But they on the hither side, as *Rhineck* and *Altstetten*, two little Townes, and the valley tending toward the Count of *Werdenberg*, they are obedient to the Switzers. Heeretofores, all this country appertained vnto them of *Austria*, who pawned it to the Lords of *Ion*. But at the time of the Councell of *Constance*, when as *Fredericke* of *Austria* was banished by the Emperour *Sigismund*: the Count of *Togge*, the Emperours adopted sonne, seized on this valley of *Rheine*, and other places belonging vnto the house of *Austria*, by disbursing money for them, to whom they were engaged.

Afterwards, this Count pawned this Valley of *Rheine*, for a great summe of money, to two Gentlemen, *Huldreich* and *Conrad* *Beierer*, brethren. In the yeare, 1460. *Liques* *Beierer*, their Brother and heyre, hauing some variance with them of *Appenzel*, and fearing his vnableness of keeping this valley against their strength: willingly sold them his rights, and resigned the engagement. After that, this valley remained in the power, and vnder dominion of *Appenzel*, for the space of thirty yeares, or thereabout.

But when it so fell out, that the men of *Appenzel* were troubled in warre, against the Abbot of *S. Gall*, his subiects, and the Citizens also, and the Abbey of *Rofach* (new build) quite defaced: the Canton'd Switzers, confederates with the Abbot, mustred vp their troops, and called their other allies to them, by whose helpe they maintained the Abbot, and condemned them of *Appenzel* in a great fine. Which made them to require peace, and beside, to offer them the rule of the Valley of *Rheine*: the possession whereof fell (as a recompence) to the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, and *Glaris*. After this, they parted with a portion of this Seignury, to the Cantons of *Vri*, *Vnderwald*, and *Zug*, who had assisted the: likewise to *Appenzel*, who indeed were ancient Lords thereof. So that (euen to this day) these eight Cantons, each after other) send a Bayliffe into this valley, who makes his abiding in a small Towne, called *Rhineck*, at one end of the valley, somewhat above the place, where the *Rheine* enters into the Lake of *Constance*.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

## Of the Governments and baylywickses which are in Italy.

FOURE Baylywicks do yet remain, which the Switzers call Baylywicks beyond the Mountaines, because they are quite ouer the Alpes. The first is *Lugano* or *Luca*, a Towne vpon the Lake, which some call the Lake of *Gauna*; others, the Lake of *Lugano*. This Lake is in the middest of two other Lakes, to wit, that of *Como* on the left hand, and on the right hande of the Lake *Maior*, whereinto it shutteth vp it selfe.

The second Baylywicke; and neereft of all to this former, is *Locarno*: a very pleasant Towne, at the head of the Lake *Maior*, sometimes beautified with verie goodly and strong Castles, and accounted the cheefest in Lombardie, next vnto that of *Millaine*.

The Baylywick of *Mendrisia*, on the left hand of the Lake of *Gauna*, maketh the third.

And for the last, there is the Vale of *Madia*, which depended heeretofores vpon *Locarno*, as *Mendrisia* on *Lugano*.

These foure Baylywickses fell to the Switzers, in the yeare, 1513. by the Donation of *Maximilian* *Sforza*, Duke of *Millaine*. For, hee hauing driuen the French out of Italy, by the counsell and authority of Pope *Iulius*, and being holpen therein by the Venetians and Switzers, he made a present of these foure Baylywickses (abutting on the Frontiers of their country) to the Switzers. He gaue also the Vale of *Tellinoto* the Grisons. But three yeares after, King *Frances* hauing vanquished the Switzers at *Marignano*, expelled the Duke, and re-uinted to his Crowne the Dukedome of *Millaine*. By an accord made at *Fribourg*, he confirmed this donation of his owne royal authority, as his successors in the dukedome of *Millaine* did the like.

All the Cantons send their bayliffs thither by turnes, except that of *Appenzel*, which was not in the number of the Ca-

B b tons,

Baylywicks beyond the mountaines.

Lugano or Luca the first Baylywicke.

Locarno the second.

Mendrisia the third.

The vale Madia the fourth.

How and in what manner these foure Baylywickses came to be commanded by the Switzers.



tons, when as these countries were first giuen to the Switzers: but they were receiued in a yeare after only.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of Bellizona.

WE might ranke among these Bayliwicks of Italy, the Towne of *Bellizona*, which obeyeth to the Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*. This Towne (in former times) appertained vnto the Countes of *Misauk*, who were reiecte by the Dukes of *Millaine*. Afterward, hauing found meanes to enter againe by intelligence; they sold it to them of *Vri* and *Vnderwald*. But the Duke of *Millaine* recovered it againe, and tooke it from the Switzers, by the same subtile tricks which the Counts of *Misauk* had vsed to repofesse it. This hapned about the yeare, 1422.

After that time, the *Switzers* made many voyages ouer the Mounraines to recover *Bellizona*. At length, in the yeare 1500. they got into possession of it again. For, in regard of continuall warres betwene the *Sforzates* and the French: the men of *Bellizona* willing to provide for their owne safety, yielded themselves to the Canton of *Vri*. The French, becoming matters of the *Millaine*, labored often (but all in vain) to regain the town. Finally, at such time as the Dukes of *Millaine* gaue the fore-named foure Bayliwicks to the Cantons, they were also confirmed in the possession of *Bellizona*.

The Switzers in full possession of Bellizona.

Three Bayliwicks in Bellizona, & how their government is ordered equally.

The whole country is diuided into 3. Bayliwicks, to witte, *Bellizona*, the vale *Brune*, and *Riniera*; and in like maner gouerned (turne after turne) by those three Cantons, that they haue a Bayliwicke belonging to each one. As if *Vri* doe establish a Gouernour or Bayliffe at *Bellizona*: *Suits* placeth one also in the vale *Brune*, and *Vnderwald* one at *Riniera*. Then beginning againe, *Vri* commends one to *Riniera*, *Vnderwald* to the vale *Brune*, and *Suits* to *Bellizona*. And because that the Bayliwicke of *Riniera* is of the least reuenew, most commonly, he that hath bene Bayliffe at *Bellizona*, is established nexte after at *Riniera*.

They

## CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Alliances made by the Cantons, with Kings and Princes neere neighbouring to them.

**D**emosthenes, the most eloquent of all the Græcian Orators, a man wonderfully well acquainted with affaires of State, and (about all) a deare Louer of his Countreyes liberty, wrote thus. *Over great familiarity with Tyrants, should be suspitions to ciuill and free Cities: And no trust is to be reposed in them, especially if they be neighbours, because every King and Tyrant is an enemy to liberty, and contrary to lawes.* The euent and successe attending on such cases, did well witness, that this Learned man had giuen very wholesome counsell to the Athenians, yea, and to all Greece. For *Phillip* the sonne of *Amyntas* (against whom *Demosthenes* made head) and the succeeding Kings of Macedon oppressed the liberty of the Greekes, by a dissembled amity, and working certaine combinations and alliances, deuised onely for their owne aduantage.

The case standing thus, I thinke, that many stand thus amazed, what should moue the ancient *Switzers* to make such alliances as they haue done with straungers, Kinges and Princes, their Neighbours. But here is to be noted and obserued, that all alliances doe not hurt one like another in a Commonwealth. They are to be mistrusted, which do import a league offensive and defensive. & ouer great familiarity. Otherwife, for the benefite of peace, it is needfull sometimes, that Princes and great Lords nere neighbouring, should ally themselves together, for the better vse of some rightes, and the easier manning of their affaires. The ancient *Switzers* made many such alliances of peace and amity. And if at any time they were knit more strictly to some King or Prince, it was not inconsiderately done: but, as appeareth by the tenour of the alliances, the conditions wer such, as their liberties could no waies be easily touched or wronged.

The Learned & wise counsell of the Græcian Orator Demosthenes well approued and explicated by his own counsay.

The Switzers haue bin warded off, for their league.

What alliances are said to be dangerous, and what are indifferent, are not hurtful.

The prouident care of the Switzers, in making their League.

## Chap. 41.

## Their alliance vvith Millaine.

Leagues with Popes.

With neighbouring Princes.

With Bishops and Cities.

They made diuers alliances, for a certainty of times, with Popes; as *Sixtus*, *Iulius* the second, *Leo* the tenth, & with *Clement* the seauenth. With neighbouring Princes; as the Dukes of *Austria*, of *Sauoye*, of *Millaine*, and of *Wertemberg*. Then, with the Bishoppes of *Constance*, the Cities of *Susaba*, and others on the Lake of *Constance*, and on the River of the *Rheine*. But, without staying our selues at the most part of these alliances, wee will touch those onely, which were hereditary, that continue yet, must longer continue, and are most notable among all the other. As namely, the Alliances with the Dukes of *Millaine*, of *Austria*, of *Bourgongne*, of *Sauoye*, & the most remarkable and last of all, with the King of France.

## CHAP. XL.

Of the Alliance made by the Switzers, with the Dukes of Millaine.

Uncertainty of the first treaty of alliance.

Galeazzo D. of Millaine, and his Wife Blanche Maria capitulate with eight Cantons

**C**annot well set downe what treaty or discourse was anciently had, and at the first time, betwene the Duke of *Millaine*, and the *Switzers*. But in the yeare, one thousand foure hundred sixty and sixe, Duke *Galeazzo*, and *Blanche Maria* his wife, made an accord and agreement with eight Cantons, vpon certain conditions: which yet vnto this day, are called, *The Articles or Capitulations of Millaine*. Wherein also, mention is made of other auncient capitulations, which shew and testifie, that long time before, the *Switzers*, especially they of *Vri*, which inhabit at the *Alpes*, had bene associates with the *Lombards*, vnder certaine conditions. But because the auncient Capitulations, are (almost) quite worne out of mens memories: I will propose the Summary of the accord with Duke *Galeazzo*, and his wife, the Lady *Blanche Maria*.

The Articles of Agreement, betwene the Duke of Millaine, and the Switzers.



**H**E first Article, concerneth them of *Vri*. The Ordinary of the great church in *Millaine*, intended a Proceffe against them, concerning the Valley of *Luiner*. By this first Article, the Duke agreeth with them of *Vri*, to haue free possession of that valley, in the regard of ciuill Iurisdiction: renouncing his owne rightes, and promising to obtain the fame of the Ordinary.

They of *Vri*, on the other side, shall pay a tribute to the Duke, & euery yeare, in the Moneths of Iune or Iuly, or before midde-August, shall send him foure Hawkes, and a Crosse-bow. As concerning the difference touching the Churches reuennues, betwene the Ordinary, and them of the Valley, each of the two parties shall nominate two Iudges, and to those foure Iudges, the Duke shall adde one, as an Arbitrator: and of him he must and will make choyse among the Lords of Councell, and in one of the seauen Cantons. These Iudges, must nominate what it is, that the Prince and they of the Valley, should pay vnto the Ordinarie. And if there happen anie variance besides, for matters of Duties not payed: they also are to censure thereupon.

The second Article is, that the eight Cantons, their subiects, and all they that haue dwelt in their countries, the space of foure yeares, shall enjoy the ancient liberty, to wit, that they shall stand exempt from all tributes, imposts, and colles, throughout *Millaine*, euen to the ditches of the Towne.

The third Article, concerneth debts, and imprisonments.

The fourth is for such variances as may happen betwene the Duke and the Cantons, and of some particulars against the Duke.

The fifth, is for proceffe and suites of particular persons.

The sixth matter of free Trafficke, and that it shall bee lawfull for the Switzers, to go and sell their Wares and Cattel:

The Ordinarie of the great Church of Millaine, against the most of Vri, and vpon what occasion

Iudges appointed betwene the Ordinarie and them of Vri.

The nature of the 2. Article.

The third.

The fourth.

The fifth.

The sixth.

The feuenth.

tle: and the Duke no way to impeach them in their selling, or his Subiectes in their buying.

The feuenth importeth, that the duke and the *Switzers* shall maintain and preferre themselves in good amity: and that neither party shall giue passage, or allow lodging or harbor to the enemies of neither side.

Renewing &amp; reco- firmation of these articles.

Now, in regard that after this transaction, *Millaine* changed her Lordes oftentimes, these Articles haue beene also renewed and confirmed from one time to another. And finally, in the year, 1522. *Ferdinando Gonzaga*, Gouvernour of *Millaine*, in the name of the Emperor *Charles* the fift, renewed this accord with the *Switzers*, very neere with the same conditions.

*The Articles of Agreement, betweene Ferdinando Gonzaga, Governour, and the Switzers.*

Freedom from Tolles.

**T**HE first Article concerneth benefit of exemption, from Tolles, Taxes, and other charges. Item, it shall be lawfull for the *Switzers*, to buy any kinde of bread corne. But if there be a dearth, and the Market measure is sold for more then thirteene Francks, it is not lawfull to transport any. Neurtherelife, for our amity with the *Switzers*, they may carry away two hundred measures. The Cantons did make the same condition with them of *Millaine*.

For Bread Corne.

A Francke is two shillings sterling.

Selling of salt.

The second, is for the selling and carriage away of salt.

Free passage and trading.

The third, confirmeth to the *Switzers* their ancient priuiledges, for going and coming freely, and trafficking through all countries of *Millaine*, without any need of support or safe conduct; except in the time of pestilence, and then to bee free from all Tolle, onely the gate of *Millaine* excepted.

To whome these priuiledges belongeth

The fourth, declareth who and what they are, that must enioy these priuiledges, wherein are (by name) excluded all *Millainnes*, that shall retire themselves into *Swetia*.

For auoyding of fraud and deceit.

The fift ordaineth, to prevent & auoyd all means of fraud, that such as inioy these priuiledges, shall not keepe companie, or trade in merchandize with them that are vnacceptable, or may not haue the benefit of them.

The first speaks of awards, and decision of law suites.

The feuenth willett, that if criminal parties on either side, doe withdraw to any one of their precincts, after that they or he shalbe adiudged culpable, on knowledge of the cause: he or they shall be sent backe to their Magistrate, who is to chastise them according to the exigence of the case.

The eight is, that in such reuennews, dismes, goods mouable and immouable, which the *Switzers* possesse in the Duke-dome of *Millaine*, or which may fall to the from this time forward: they shall haue the same rights in them heere, as the *Millainnes* enioy in *Swetia*.

The ninth, that passe & passage may be as free and safe in the countries of each other, as formerly it hath bin, & with the like maintenance of amity.

In the tenth, the *Switzers* make exception of their other alliances, & all precedent instruments: to the end that they may not derogate or faile in the fore-named conditions.

In the last, the time is agreed on and prefixed, for this combination: which is, to continue for foure years after the death of the Emperor *Charles*.

Now, although (for diuers reasons) this agreement hath not beene renewed to this instant between the King of *Spain*, Duke of *Millaine*, and the *Switzers*: yet notwithstanding, both on his part, and theirs likewise, ancient amity hath beene carefully kept; and euen to this day, the *Switzers* enioy (almost) the same priuiledges, as in elder times they did among them of *Millaine*.

## CHAP. XLI.

*Of the Switzers Alliances with the Dukes of Austria and Burgongne.*

**L**Ike as there hath beene no Prince or Princes, that haue made so much war vpon the Cantons, as the Dukes of *Austria*: so in the same manner, the *Switzers* did neuer make so many accords, treaties and alliances, as with those Dukes. At this time, I meane not to make mention of those

Awards in suites.

Disobedience in awards or sentence.

Of reuennew goods, &amp;c. on either side.

For free and freely passage in their countries.

Of other Alliances.

The time of this alliance.

Of the Switzers alliance yet with *Millaine*.

A strange court, that much contention should beget as many friendships.

those alliances which haue lasted but for some few years, and agreed or combined with one or two Cantons onely; but rather will resolute my selfe on the perpetual and hereditary alliance of *Sigismund*, Duke of *Austria* with the Cantons; which was renewed afterward, by the Emperor *Maximilian*, *Charles* the fift, and *Ferdinand*.

This *Sigismund*, surnamed the Simple, was sonne vnto *Fredericke*, who brought Pope *John* the 22. out of the Council of *Constance*, whereby he was banished from the Empire. *Sigismund* was a great Enemy to the *Switzers*, and had many warres against them, wherein he was continually beaten, as at *Winterduer*, *Mulhouse*, *Waldshout*, in *Turgow*, and other places, & lost in these warres the countrey of *Turgow*, which is great, fertile, and well peopled, yet afterward conquered and kept by the *Switzers*. Seeing by Armes he could not quail the *Switzers*, hee withdrew into France, and required succour of King *Lewes* the eleuenth, which hee was flatly denied: because the King would not entangle himselfe in warre with the *Switzers*, of whose magnanimity he had formerly made good proof, being Dolphin, when the battell was fought against them neere to Basile.

Hereupon, he made his recourse to the Duke of *Bourgongne*, and pawned to him the County of *Ferrara*, and other Seigneuries on the Frontiers of *Swetia*, for the sum of fourscore thousand crownes: onely that he might finde busines for the *Switzers*, by means and help of the duke of *Bourgongne*. *Lazius* writes, that *Sigismund* sold *Swetia* it selfe, but therein he abused himself. This engagement did not aduance the matter, according vnto *Sigismund*'s expectation: for *Hagenbach*, gouernor in these pawned countries to *Charles* Duke of *Bourgongne*, began to tyrannize vpon all the people, violating women and children, and putting many innocents to death. By which occasion, *Sigismund* being moued to compassion, and incited by the continual complaints of his subiects; redeemed the pawned countries, & confiscated the money to be paid at Basile. But notwithstanding all this, *D. Charles* would not forsake his possession, but stroue still to hold the same by force. The *Switzers* (on the other side) were but crookedly

The Emperor Sigismund, surnamed the Simple, a great enemy to the Switzers.

K. Lewes the 11. denied ayd to Sigismund against the Switzers.

Sigismund engaged Ferrara to the Duke of Bourgongne.

The cruel and violent dealing of Hagenbach.

dealt withall by Duke *Charles*.

To be plaine, *Sigismund* nor the *Switzers* were strong enough to make head against the Duke, and therefore some men, better seene and skild in such businesse, layd downe their opinion; that *Sigismund* and the *Switzers* were best to agree in vinity, and make war together vpon their common enemy. King *Lewes* the eleuenth pusht hardly at that point, and followed the matter very hotly: for it was his custome to prepare such diets for the Duke of *Bourgongne*, and to raise him so many enemies as might bee. To further these practises, he serued his owne turne with a *Switzer*, namd *Iustus de Sillini*, who soon after was byshop of *Sion*, and of *Granoble* also. *Sigismund* likewise fauored him, and gaue him as many good respects, as hee could receiue by his byshoppricks. At length also by his means, and by authority of the King, an hereditary alliance was made, the substantiall points wherof follow thus.

Good advice in cases of extremity, much auails.

Iustus de Sillini, byshop of Sion &amp; Granoble.

*A breuiate of the Articles of hereditarie Alliance betweene the Duke of Austria, and the Switzers.*

**F**irst, They shall continue themselves in mutual peace and amitie, so that the Austrians in *Swetia*, and the *Switzers* in the Countreyes belonging to the Duke of *Austria*: may freely and safely Traffike, and also mannage theyr other affaires.

If any variance or contention happen betweene them: they shall pursue their right in iustice, and not by armes.

The Arbitrators to iudge their causes shall be the Bishop or Citie of *Constance*, and the Byshop or Seignerie of Basile. And before they take knowledge of the cause, both parties shall promise to the Iudges, by authentike Letters vnder their handes: that they wil beare no malice, neyther doe any outrage, what sentence sooner is giuen vpon their difference.

As for common suites, concerning successions and debts: the ordinarie Iudges in their Courts of iustice, are to take order for them.

If Duke *Sigismund* stand in need of succor from the *Switzers*, they shall send him

For trading in friendly manner.

For differences.

For Arbitrators to censure causes.

For ordinarie Law-sutes.

Officour  
from the  
Switzers, and  
from the D.

Of Charters,  
letters, Regi-  
sters, and  
bookes of cau-  
ses.

For benefit of  
enjoying their  
owne rights.

Of meddling  
with the sub-  
jects one of  
another.

No enemies  
of each other  
to be fauored  
on either side.

The transla-  
tion of Wald-  
shout.

For portages  
and tolles.

For tenure in  
case of fealty.

men: provided, that it may be done with their honor, and without prejudice vnto their ancient alliances, and they are to receyue as much wages, as the Cantons haue customarily payed to their Souldiers. The same is also to be done by the Duke, if the Switzers desire any succour from him.

The Cantons shall deliuer such Charters, Letters, Registers, Bookes of reason, and other like instructions to the Duke, as are or shalbe in their hands, and belong to him; or declare to whom they haue formerly given them: onely excepted, such letters and Registers, as concerne cities, townes, and castles, which nowe are in the power and authority of the Switzers.

The Duke and the Switzers shall remaine Lords of those countries, cities, castles, Fortresses, Townes, Burroughes, and Villages as they haue taken, and now possesse; without any suere in Law, or any kinde of quarrell to bee offered on eyther side for them; neyther shall suffer anie wrong or iniurie to be done, neither to the countries, cities, castles, &c. of one another.

Neither side shall make alliance with the other subiectes, nor giue them the right of Bourgeship, nor receiue them into protection to eithers damage or prejudice, except any one with all his goods retire into the country. And yet with this exception notwithstanding, that hee shall remaine answerable to the iurisdiction of his first Lord. But if any such person do pursue his intention by violence, they among whom he hath retreated him selfe, shall present him immediately in iustice. Because neither the Duke, nor the Cantons ought to lodge, maintaine, or fauour (in any kinde whatsoever) the Enemies of one another.

The Duke shall make satisfaction, for the translacon of *Waldshout*; wherein the Switzers shall assist him with all their forces.

The one shal not greue or offend the other, by exaction of any new Portages or Tolles.

Such persones as hold any thing by title of fealty of the Duke *Sigismund*, shall continue his Subiectes: excepting them of conquered countreyes, and of places engaged, and that haue not bene re-

deemed.

This alliance shall bee renewed from tenne yeeres to tenne yeeres: and if by aduenture it happen to be broken, the party intereffed shall demand iustice, without mouing any warre.

All enmities and warres which formerly haue bene betwene Duke *Sigismund*, and the Switzers, and their predecessors, shall bee appeased and layde to sleep, by means of this agreement, which is to be inuolably kept on either side.

This first transaction was made before the war of *Bourgonne*; in the year one thousand, foure hundred, euente & foure. In the same year, *Sigismund* of Austria, *René* of Lorraine, the Bythoppes of *Strasbourg* and *Basile*, the Cities of *Strasbourg*, *Basile*, *Colmar*, *Selstat*, *Montbeliard*, and some others, made alliance with the Switzers for certain yeeres, against the violence and tyranny of the Duke of *Bourgonne*, who being slaine 3. yeeres after in the battaile of *Nancy*, *Sigismund* of Austria renewed the hereditary Alliance, and this first transaction made with the Switzers, by the entermite of *K. Lewis* the eleuenth. This alliance was confirmed with the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Bern*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, with liberty to the other Cantons, to enter into the same alliance if they pleased. There was not any new Article added at that time: but onely the forme and meanes of mutual succour, which was couched in far more cleare and plaine termes. Some years after this, Duke *Sigismund* not hauing any legitimate children, resigned his Dukedome to the Emperor *Maximilian*, reseruing onely to himselfe an annual pension. *Maximilian* required the Switzers to enter the forenamed alliance with him. But because they had bene at some variance with him, and hee with them, and there grew some apparance of warre (considering it seemed evidently, that *Sigismund* had thus despoyled himselfe, to inury the Switzers) they would not enter into any nouell alliance, especially, because hee meant nothing else but fraudes in all this carriage, as the euent plainly declared. For immediately, they of Austria, and of the league of *Suaba*, moued warre against the Switzers and Grisons.

After peace vvas made, betwene the Emperor *Maximilian* and the Cantons, on

For renou-  
on of this al-  
lance.

All former  
warres and  
cut off by this  
peace.

The alliance  
of many com-  
monrealities  
to redit the  
proud D. of  
Bourgonne.

D. Sigismund,  
reigning at  
that time, re-  
signed the  
Dukedome to  
the Emperor  
Maximilian.

Maximilian  
intended no-  
thing else but  
fraude in his  
dealing.

The Emperor  
renewed the  
hereditary  
alliance of  
Austria with  
the Switzers.

The contents  
of the alliance  
or transaction  
made by the  
meanes of *K.  
Lewis* the 11.

Money giuen  
by the Empe-  
rour in the  
name of his  
Nephew  
Charles.

Charles the  
first confirmed  
the alliance  
with the Swi-  
tzers when he  
came to age.

on the twelfth year, which was in Anno, 1111. the Emperor renewed the hereditary alliance of the house of Austria, with the Switzers, and ioyned in one, the house of *Bourgonne*, and his Nephew *Charles*, of whom he was tutor. Moreover, not onely the Switzers of the first alliance, but the twelve Cantons. Item, they of *Appenzell*, with the Abbot and Towne of *S. Gall*, confirmed this alliance hereditary, with the houses of Austria & *Bourgonne*. In this alliance or transaction for confirmed, made by the meanes of King *Lewis* the eleuenth, is expiessly set downe first of all: that therein is comprehended onely the county of *Bourgonne*, and the high countries of Austria, the county of *Tirol*, and that which is beyond the Mountaine. Item, some Townes along the *Rheine*, as *Waldshout*, *Lauffenberg*, *Secon*, *Kunfeld*, & others that are on this side the Mountain. Neuerthelesse there is added, that order shall be giuen, that those other countries not comprized in the alliance, shall not enterprise any thing by Arms against the Switzers, nor the Switzers against them. All outrageous words & actions are prohibited, for feare of alienating their hearts, as hath happened sometimes heretofore thereby.

Moreover, the Emperor *Maximilian* promised, in the name of *Charles* his Nephew, to giue (in present) euery year in the city of *Zurich*, to each one of the cantons, two hundred crownes. To the Abbot and city of *S. Gall*, and the Bourg of *Appenzell*, an hundred crownes to each of them: vntill such time as *Charles* shall be growne greater, to gouern these countries himselfe, & then he shal stand bound to confirm the alliance, which accordingly was done. For in the year 154. by letters which the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, sent to the Cantons, he confirmed the alliance; in so much as concerned the house and county of *Bourgonne*, for his brother *Ferdinand* was chosen then Duke of Austria. The conditions and Articles of alliance with *Bourgonne*, are the very same as them of Austria. To wit, that it shall be lawfull for eyther side, to traffick, and to go and come freely into one another's countries. Item, that they neyther doe, nor suffer any of the countries, to make warre vpon each other. And if (by aduenture) some enemy would doe vio-

lence to one of the two sides: the other (being thereto required) shall be careful to preuent it without any delay, for feare, lest against right and equity, it should be oppressed.

## CHAP. XLI.

Of the Alliances betwene Sauoy and the Switzers.

THE Dukes of *Sauoy*, (which part was called by our Ancients, the country of the \* *Alobrogians*) long since, and for long space of time, helde amity with the Cantons of *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*. In the ende, *Charles*, Father to *Philibert*, now Duke of *Sauoy*, made an alliance with all the cantons, for twenty five years, in Anno, 1. 12.

The first Article treateth of the amity which is to be maintained on either side, without any outrage, or seconding an enemy to passe among the Allies.

The second ruleth the knowledge of Procceses and Law-cases, wherein Iudges of equall number are to be elected on both sides, who shall call the parties into the Towne of *Bienna*, and there ende the difference. If two sentences be giuen, hauing as many voyces on the one side as other: the Iudges shall elect a subarbitrator in one of the cantons, that shall haue no part of interest in the Proccesse. As for causes betwene particular persons; they are to be decid'd by Iudges of the places.

The third ordaineth, that it shall be lawfull for the subjects of the allies, to goe about their affaires freely, and in all safety, in the countries of *Suetia* & *Sauoy*, without being charged with any new imposts, portages, or tolles.

The fourth auoucheth, that if any man haue a difference against the Duke, and would haue it referred to the orders spoken in the cantons: if the Duke will not agree thereto, the Switzers doe not stand bound (by any alliance) to assist any such party against the Duke.

The fifth speaketh, that if the Switzers are assailed and pressed with warre, the Duke shall send them (at his own charge) fixe hundred horse at the least; provided, that

\* People of  
Prouence,  
containing  
the Countie  
of Sauoy and  
Dauphine.  
The alliance  
of Duke  
Charles with  
the Cantons.  
For preferu-  
tion of amity.

For suiter and  
law-cases.

For freedome  
of commerce  
on both sides.

For any diffi-  
rence against  
the Duke.

For mutuall  
succour in  
warre on ey-  
ther side.

that hee haue then no warre in his owne country. In like manner, if the Duke haue any warre in his owne hand, & demandeth succour, the Switzers shall send him fixe thousand foot, or more, to each man whereof, the Duke shall pay 6. *Liures Tournois*, for wages euery Moneth. If (ouer and aboue this number) hee demandeth some other Switzers, that desire to goe to warre vpon their owne good will towards him: hee shall not stand bound to pay them any wages, but what he will do out of his owne liberality.

The Duke may demand no seruice of the Switzers, in any nauall warre, nor cause them to passe the Seas: but onely to defend the countries, which they possesse at the day of making this alliance.

To the end that this accord may bee firmly kept, the Duke nor the Switzers shall meddle with any affaires of strangers, to debate any thing to the preiudice of their alliance: neyther shall they giue right of Bourgeoisship, to any subiects of Swetia or Sauoye, but onely to such, as shall haue their persons and goods transported into cythers countries.

While this alliance endureth, the Duke shall yearly pay in the City of *Berne*, to each Canton, the summe of two hundred crownes.

Vpon the ending of this alliance, which lasted almost 25. yeares, the King of *France*, *Frances* the first, despoyled Duke *Charles* of the most part of his countries. And in this warre, the *Bernians* taking in hand the cause of their fellow-Bourgeois of *Geneua*, with them of *Fribourg* and *Valois*: tooke all the Dukes places in the countries of *Faut*, couerty of *Romont* and *Tuam*. After this time, the Emperor *Charles* the fift (in the protection of whō the Duke of *Sauoy* was put) was in war continually in *Piedmont* gainst the *Frēch*: and that was the cause of breaking the renewing of the alliance. At length, *Philebert*, the Sonne of *Charles*, hauing recovered his countries, by the meanes of peace betweene the Kings of *Spain* and *France*: made a new and perpetuall alliance with the Cantons of *Lucerne*, *Suits*, *Vri*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Solleurre*. It is (almost) the very same as the former: but onely that there is no mention made (of the remembrance) of mutuall succour. Soone after, the other Cantons re-

newed with him, the very same conditions of ancient amity and alliance.

### CHAP. XLII.

*Of the Alliances betweene the Switzers and the Kings of France.*

King *Lewes* the 11. was the first King of *France*, that allied himselfe with the Switzers, and that assigned rewards & pensions annually to all the Cantons. Being as yet Dolphin, hee led a great Army into *Germany*, conducted by the Count of *Armignac*. This he did in fauor of Pope *Eugenius*, and of the Emperor *Frederike*, onely to breake the councill of *Basile*, as the Pope desired: and turiously to invade the Switzers, whom the Emperor hated, and to breake off their siege (in meere despight of them) which they had planned before the city of *Zurich*, because he was allied with the house of *Austria*. The Switzers had another Army before the castle of *Franken*: 1500 men whereof, they sent thence, to succour *Basile* & the Fathers there in the councill.

Being about 2 miles from *Basile*, they did set vpon the Dolphins troops so fitly, as (although in regard of their enemies multitude, who had enclofed them on all sides) they were euery man (almost) slaine in the field: yet notwithstanding, they to weakened the French Army (for there were slaine about 6000 of them) that the Dolphin standing in feare of a further losse, and of the valour of the Switzers; tooke his way suddenly home to *France*, leauing the businesse vnexecuted, which he came for. It is reported, that the Dolphin seeing his enemies slaine bodies lying on the ground, saide thus. Sometimes with farr lesse forces, and in the space of three houres; I haue broken an Army of thirteen thousand men, without any such paine or danger as I haue met with heere, labouring a whole day roughly, to ouercome a little handfull of men. Neuer hadde I to deale with more valiant and fast enemies; and therefore I will take order, for euery warring any more against them. Which hee most truly and faithfully performed a long time after,

Rewards and pensions yearly allowed to all the Cantons, by King *Lewes* the 11.

The Switzers set vpon the Dolphins troups neere to *Basile*.

The words of the Dolphin vpon the slaughter of his enemies the Switzers.

euery vntill he came to the crowne.

Hee neuer loued *Charles* Duke of *Bourgonne*, and yet durst not make open warre on him, because hee was not well appointed for it: and therefore hee laboured by all meanes, to set the Duke a iussling with the Switzers. But to compasse his intent the more easily, and haue the Switzers at his command, when he should stand in need of their assistance: he made an alliance with them for ten yeares, giuing as an annuall pension to each Canton, the summe of fienue thousand *Liures Tournois*. During the warre of the Duke of *Bourgonne* against the Switzers, the King furnished them with a great summe of money: as fearing least (through want of coine) they should giue ouer contending, and talke of truce. The Duke being foyled at *Morat*; the King gaue publike great gilts to the Switzers, and in particular to their Captaines and Colonels. Finally, after the death of the Duke, slaine in *Lorraine*, to set an imbarment, that (by right of warre) the Switzers should not possesse themselues of *Bourgonne*, where there were many men that nodded the head at their deuotion: hee bought the country for a goodly summe of money. And because he must needs make warre, to get into possession of the country: hee made vse of the foote Switzers to serue him, giuing to them farr greater wages, then euery Prince had done before.

*Charles* the eight, sonne to *Lewes*, in the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, foure score and three, renewed the alliance which his father had made with the Switzers: and vsed their seruice in the warre, whē hee ouercame the Duke of *Bretaigne*. But principally in the warre of *Naples*, he diuers wayes made good proofe, that the warlike Switzers, were both loyall and valiant of their persons. His successe, *Lewes* the twelfth, hauing vnder taken the conquest of *Millaine*, and very desirous to turne the Switzers, from the amity they bare to Duke *Lodowick Sforza*; made alliance with them for ten yeares. At the end whereof, he thanked the Switzers, & denied to pay the rewards and yearely pensions, which he had payed in publike and to particular persons. Which so highly offended this martiall people, as partly of their own inclination, but much more by meanes of the Cardinall of *Sion*,

who solicited the principals of the cantons; they made a league with Pope *Innus* the second, in the yeare, one thousand, five hundred and ten. A fientimes afterward, this King laboured to make a new alliance: but the Switzers beeing ioyned with the Pope, would neuer listen to it. But in the yeare, one thousand five hundred and twelue, they droue the French out of *Millaine*, and re-established *Maximilian Sforza* in the Dukedome. Then the yeare following, they ouerthrew the French at *Nouars*, and came with a maine Army along into *Bourgonne*.

*Lewes* the twelfth, had his Sonne in law *Frances de Valois* for his successeur: who wonne a memorable bataille against the Switzers, when he ouercame them at *Margiano*: Hee brought into France, *Maximilian Sforza*, and made himselfe Lord of the Dukedome of *Millaine*. After a victory so remarkable, knowing well, how bloody it had bin, and at how deare a price the French had bought it: the first thing hee did, was (to winne the good fauour of the Switzers) a kinde agreement made with them, ioyning them to his crowne, by a firme and durable alliance. The conditions and treaties of this peace and mutual amity, are comprized in these thirteen Articles following.

First, all enmities, dissensions, warres, differences and quarrelles in precedent times, are vtterly brought to nothing: and as for particular variances, which concern nothing in common with the occasions of warre, they shall stand vtterly void, by those Articles of agreement, made betweene the Duke of *Millaine*, King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Cantons.

Secondly, all prisoners, in what part or place foucer they are deteyned as prisoners, or as slaues; they shall be releafed and set at liberty, without paying any ranfome.

Thirdly, if any man at Armes of the Switzers, haue any suite against the King of France, not for any matter of warre, he may contest in iustice, according to the Articles following.

Fourthly, all such persons as after the accord made betweene King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Cantons, were and are allied with them, or receiued into the number of their Bourgeois: shall be comprehended in this treaty, and enioy the benefit

The Switzers chased the French out of *Millaine*.

*Frances de Valois* successe for to *Lewes* the twelfth.

The tenour of the peace made betweene King *France* the first and the Switzers.

For free delivery of prisoners.

For suites in law against the King.

For such as are to enioy the benefit of this peace.

The *Liure Tournois* is two shillings sterling.

No Nauall war, or passage of the Seas.

For preferuacion of this alliance firmly.

Payment of 200. crowns to each Canton yearly.

The men of *Berne* ioyned with their fellow-Bourgeois of *Geneua*.

A new and perpetuall alliance betweene *Philebert* and the Cantons.

King *Lewes* a great enemy to *Charles* Duke of *Bourgonne*, yet durst not war with him.

Great gilts & presents to the Switzers for foyleing the Duke at *Morat*.

King *Charles* renewed his fathers league with the Switzers.

King *Lewes* the 12. made alliance with the Switzers for ten yeares.

The Switzers displaced with *K. Lewes*.

nesse thereof. Onely such excepted, as are out of the limits of *Swetia*, that speake not the Germane tongue, and are not subiects to the Cantons.

The fifth Article, confirmeth to Merchants and subiects of *Swetia*, the priuiledges and franchises, which the Kings of France haue formerly graunted vnto them.

Sixtly, to the end that the *Switzers* may the better vnderstand the good will and liberality of the King: hee will pay them downe presently a great summe of crownes, for their great charges at the siege of *Dyon*, and afterwards in Italy.

Seauenthy, that peace may bee the more firmly maintained on eyther side, and to continue on this begun amity: if any difference happen to be moued, neither the one party or other shall vnder-take Armes, in that manner to pursue his right; but according to the order before mentioned, is to demand reason by course of iustice.

Eighty, neyther side shall giue passage, food or harbour to the others enemies: nor suffer their subiects to vndergo Armes, for such Princes or common-weales, as are enemies to France, or to the Switzers. Such as do the contrary, shall be repealed to their country, and punished according as they haue deserved.

Ninthy, permission is granted vnto Merchants, Pilgrims, & Subiects, French or Switzers, to trafficke, voyage, goe and come freely, into France and *Swetia*; without any outrage, or being offended by any new tolles or taxes.

Tenthy, the King giueth yearly to each Canton, the sum of two thousand *Liures Tournois*: As much to the *Valaisians*, and as much to the *Grisons*, as was graunted vnto them by king *Lewes* the 12. And moreover, the sum of 20000 *Liures Tournois*. Item, to the Abbot of *S. Gall*, to the Subiects, and to them of *Toggenbourg*, the sum of 600 *Liures Tournois*: To the city of *S. Gall*, 400: To *Mulhouse*, 400: And to them of the county of *Gruyere*, 600.

Eleuenthy, the ancient priuiledges and franchises, which they haue (till then) enioyed in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, the inhabitants of *Belluzana*, *Lugano*, *Lo-*

*carna*, and the Vale *Madia*; are to them fully referred and confirmed.

Twelfty, the king leaueith it in choise to the *Switzers*, to declare within the compasse of a yeare, whether they affect or no: to hold the countries and castles of *Lugano*, *Locarno*, and of the Vale *Madia*; or else to forsake them, for the sum of thirtie thousand crownes of the Sunne. And if they take the money: then they of the Vale of *Telins*, and of the county of *Clanenna*, shall haue their part in this summe, as much as one of the Cantons.

The last Article ordaineth, that this peace and amity betweene the Realme of France and the cantons, shall continue inuiovable and perpetuall.

The king excepteth in this peace, Pope *Leo* the tenth, the See and Romane Empire, the kings of *Spaine*, of *England*, of *Scotland*, of *Nawarre*, and of *Denmarke*: The Dukes of *Sauoy*, of *Lorraine*, of *Guel-dres*: Item, the Duke & common-wealth of *Venice*, *Laurentius de Medicis*, the house of *Medicis*, and the common-wealth of *Florence*: The Bishop of *Liege*, and all the confederates of the king.

The Switzers also except on their part, Pope *Leo* the tenth, the See of Rome, the Emperour and Romane Empire; the house of *Austria*; the Dukes of *Sauoy*, and of *Wirtenberg*; the family of *Laurentius de Medicis*; the common-wealth of *Florence*, the Marshall of *Bourgongne*, their ancient alliances; and all their allies and fellow-Bourgettes.

The reason for these exceptions, is, that if the king of France make warre vpon any one of them aboue named, in his own countries: the Switzers may keepe what promise or alliance they haue formerly made or sworne, to those Princes or common-wealths. But if one or more of those Princes or common-wealths, come to assault the king in his owne kingdom: the Cantons shall not permit any of their Subiects to goe in warre against the king; but shall countermaund them, as it is ordayned in the eight Article, and which they are to keepe and obserue inuiovably.

To these conditions is added the forme to be kept, in the deciding of suites and differences. But it seemeth to me, that it would bee great losse of time and paper

The Author auoydeth needlesse insertions.

A courteis left by the king to the Switzers choise.

The King made a more strict alliance with the Switzers.

For continuance of this amity.

Exception made by the King of France.

Exception made by the Switzers.

Concerning warre in any place belonging to the crowne, and liue of men.

For choise of Captains and Colonels out of the cantons

Against hindering or men and delay of time.

For continuance in the Kings seruice, except warres be at home in *Swetia*.

paper to insert it: because it agreeth almost altogether, with the accord of *Millaine*, and other formes of iudgements, wherof we haue spoken heretofore. All this conference and treaty of peace, was made by the Ambassadors on eyther side, and sette downe in writing in the Towne of *Fribourg*, on *S. Andrews* day, in the Moneth of Nouember, and in the yeare 1516.

The King hauing made pacification with the Switzers, as already hath beene declared: yet hee would needs proceede somewhat farther, and allie them more strictly to his crowne. Which also he obtained, and that agreement was past at *Lucerne*, five yeares after the fore-mentioned peace. Then all the Cantons (except *Zurich*) and all their confederates, allied themselves with the King of France: and the tenour of that alliance was as followeth,

### The Tenure of a more nere agreement, made betweene the King and the Switzers.

1. If any one (whosoever it be) make war within the Realme of France, in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, or any other country appertaining to the crown, eyther on this side, or beyond the Mountaines: the King may make a leuie of Switzers, when and at what time himselfe shall thinke meete, to wit, of fixe thousand men at the least, and seauen thousand at the most, except the Lords of the Leagues will permit more.

2. Hee may also chuse out of all the Cantons and confederates, such Colonels and Capitaines as he shall thinke fit: provided, that they be men of good fame and credite.

3. The Lordes of the Leagues shall giue no hinderance to those Colonels, Capitaines, and Soldiers, neither delay time, or put any case in question, to hinder their going: but that within ten daies after that first day, whercon the King required succour, they shall bee permitted to march away.

4. They shall continue in the Kings seruice, vntill the end of the warre; if it seeme good to him, and they not recalled home by their Lords: The King shall

also pay them (euery one) his accustomed wages. But if there happen warre in *Swetia*, and that thereby the cantons cannot succour the King, as they otherwise wold: In this case, they shall stand quit of their promise, and they may suddenly countermand home their men; to whom also the King stands bound, to grant their departure immediately.

5. If the King would make warre vpon his enemies: he may make the same leuie of fixe thousand Switzers at the least, and seuen thousand at the most; chusing Colonels and Capitaines, men of faire and good fame, which are Switzers, or of their Allies.

6. The King may not separate an Army of Switzers, or diuide them in troops for Garrisons in diuers places: and they are not to serue at Sea, but on the land.

7. As concerning the wages for the Gendarmery; it is agreed on both sides, that the King shall pay for a Moneth vnto each Switzer Soldier, foure *Florins* and an halfe, of them that are called *Florius du Rhin*. And their wages shall begin on the day, when they set forth from their houses: and then shall three Moneths pay be due vnto them, although the King do not vie them in seruice so long. And before they part out of *Swetia*, they must receiue the first Moneths pay: and the rest for the two other Moneths, at meete places, according as need shall require. If after those three Moneths are past, the King will longer retaine the Switzers; hee shall pay them the same wages euery Moneth, vntill such time as they may commodiously returne home to their owne house.

8. The Colonels, Capitaines, Ensigns, Ambassadors, & others that haue charge in the troopes; shall bee payed after their accustomed manner, and according as the Predecessours to the Kings of France haue done.

9. If any war is made vpon the Switzers, the King of France shall stand bound to succour them at his owne cost: sending them two hundred compleat horsemen, and twelue peeces of Artillery, with all their equippage and furniture; to wit, fixe peeces for battery, and fixe Canons. Moreover, hee shall furnish the Switzers (from three Moneths to three Moneths) in the city of *Lyons*, with certaine sums

When the King shall haue occasion to make war.

An Army of Switzers not to be diuided, &c.

wages agreed on for the horsemens, & in what manner it is to be paid, vpon the due of three Moneths pay

Pay for men of higher rank & place, according to their degrees.

Concerning succour to be sent the Switzers, when war is made on them.

of money, for expences in the warre. And if the *Switzers* affect it rather: instead of two hundred compleate horsemen, the King shall giue them all the three Moneths, the sum of two thousand crownes at the least.

10. If it come so to passe, that if (thorough occasion of moued warre here or there) the *Switzers* cannot haue any Salt: it may be bought for them in France, & so bee conuayed home into their countries.

11. No side or party shall receiue into protection, neyther bestow Bourgeship on any of the others subiects, nor succor, lodge, or defend men banished, or enemies to eyther side: but according to the Articles of peace, shall hinder & expulse them.

12. Finally, the King being willing to make knowne his loue and good will towards the *Switzers*: ouer and beside the twenty thousand Francks, which he promised to pay them by the treaty of peace, further promisseth, to pay yearly to each one of the Cantons (while this alliance shall continue) the summe of a thousand pounds *Tournois*. He will also pay to the confederates, the moiety of the pension which they had before.

The King excepteth Pope *Leo* the 10. The Romane See and Empire; the kings of *England* and of *Scotland*: the Duke of *Sauoy*, of *Lorraine*, of *Halsatia*, and of *Guelvres*; the common-wealth of *Venice*, and of *Florence*; the house of *Medicis*; the Marqueses of *Brandenbourg* and of *Montferrat*.

The Cantons do likewise except Pope *Leo* the tenth, the Romane See and Empire; the common-wealth of *Florence*; the house of *Medicis*; the Duke of *Sauoy*; the house of *Austria*; their alliances, their Bourgeses and confederates; the Duke of *Wirtemberg*; and *Ottavian Maria Sforza*, Bishop of *Landa*.

Neuerthelesse, if any of these aboue named, make warre on eyther of these parties, in their countries on this side, or beyond the Mountaines: the other shall giue succor, without exception of any person, according to the tenour of this alliance, which is to endure while King *Frances* liueth, and three yeares after his death.

This alliance being expired, *K. Henry*

the second, Sonne and Succesor to king *Frances*, contracted a new alliance with the Cantons, vpon the same conditions before named: and that alliance lasted 5. yeares after his death. Now because the Dukedome of *Milaine*, and some other Prouinces, comprehended in the alliance made with king *Frances*, were dismembred from the crowne, when this new league was contracted: It is expressly set downe, that the *Switzers* shall not stand obliged, to giue the king any succor, for recouery of those countries. But if he can reconquer them by the ayde of another Army, and he shall bee Lord of them againe, as of other Prouinces belonging to his Kingdome: for the better conseruation of them, the Cantons shall furnish him with men, who shall likewise attend him in warre, for the recouery of *Bullen*, and the county of *Bullenois* in *Picardy*.

If the king will goe in person to some warre, hee may make choise (at his pleasure) of Capitaines *Switzers*, and command a leuée of sixe thousand men at the least.

He may not disioyne or separate the *Switzers* Army, when hee is vpon the point of giuing battaile: but out of such occasion, he may plant the in Garrisons, in Townes and strong places, to defend them.

As for the wages, rewards, & succors, which the king is to giue vnto the *Switzers*; it beareth the very selfe-same reason as is in the precedent alliance; and the other Articles doe agree with them before mentioned.

And to the ende, that the treaty of peace, made in the yeare 1516. may remaine firme, when wages reit vnpaid, it is thus orayned. The demander shall acquaint his Magistrate with the matter, to whom, if the cause seeme vpight; he shall goe or send to the kings Ambassadors, which are in *Swetia*, or if they be absent, the Magistrate shall write to the king, and require satisfaction for the party. If the king yeelds to reason, the demander is satisfied, but if he refuse to pay according to equity; the demander may then call his cause before Iudges and Arbitrators, and there haue it debated. And if the K. yeelds to reason, the demander is satisfied, but if he refuse to pay according to equity, the demander may then call his cause

king Henry the second succeeded his Father King *Frances*.

Concerning the Iudges of the Dukedome of *Milaine*.

A breuiale of the new adjoined Articles.

For leuée of men.

No finding of the *Switzers* Army.

For wages & rewards.

When wages remaine vnpaid.

In cases concerning the King and a private man.

Vpon dearth or necessity of Salt.

Against receiuing eyther others enemies.

The liberality of the King to the Cantons.

Exception made on the Kings behalfe

Exception also on the cantons behalfe.

A caution of generall warning.

before Iudges and Arbitrators, and there haue it debated. And if the King will not yeeld to the Iudges his part, the *Switzers* may passe on to further knowledge of the facte, and what they appoint, shall be allowed for firme and auailable to eyther party, euen as if the Iudges on eyther side had therein assisted.

The Merchants both French and *Switzers*, according to the articles of peace, shall not be greeued with any new taxes, tolles, or imposts.

If any suite be moued betweene par-

ties on eyther side, the demaunder may p'cade before the Iudge, in the place where the defender dwelleth.

This alliance was treated and past at *Sollemure*, in the yeare, 1545. All the Cantons (except *Berne* and *Zurich*) with their confederates, being bound thereto.

Finally, King *Charles* the ninth, Sonne to King *Henry*, renewed this alliance with the *Switzers*, vpon conditions little differing from the former: and that alliance continueth yet to this day, after the kings death.

For suites in law.

When this alliance was made.

King Charles the ninth, & the allied with the *Switzers*.



## THE MANNER OF GOVERN- ment obserued among the *Switzers*.

### THE SECOND PART.

As he haue shewne in our first Part, of what parts & parcels, the common-wealth of the *Switzers* is composed; for what causes, & with what conditions these people, dwelling in diuers places, allied themselves together, to make vp one body of a Common-wealth. Also with what industry and trauaile, they haue maintained their liberties; and with what Princes and peoples, they haue associated and leagued themselves. In this second Booke, wee shall declare, how this common-wealth is governed. And because the confederates haue (each one) their Magistrates, Lawes, and particular government, and that the cantons do make one common-wealth apart, and yet there is a council in common to the whole Nation, and lawes and ordinances, to whose obseruation all are obliged: First, I will make mention of the *Switzers* common-wealth in generall; then I will describe the estate and government of the Cantons, severally

ly in their places.

They that haue written concerning common-wealths, doe set downe three sorts.

The first, when all the managing and government of the common-wealth, is in the power of one only, who is called a King; if he gouerne iustly, with consent of the people, and according vnto the lawes; for if he do otherwise, he is a Tyrant.

The second, when a small number of principall men, and more people of good behauiour, do gouerne.

The third, when all the people haue the authority in their hands.

Thus there are three kindes of Common-wealths, to wit, Monarchy, Aristocracy, & Democracy: who haue for their vicious shaddowes, Tyranny, Oligarchy, and Anarchy.

We cannot compare or sute the *Switzers* common-wealth, with any of these before named: but as (aunciently) the great Common-wealths of *Rome* and *Carthage*, and (in our time) that of *Venice* may be termed mixt and compounded.

C c be.

Three several kindes of common wealths, & their hurtfull shaddowes.

A forme or shape of the *Switzers* commonwealth.

A breuiale discourse of the first Booke Argument.

A breuiale of this second Booke Argument.



because (in some matters) they shared or took part, with all the three kinds of governments; so in like manner, the commonwealth of the Svvitizers is mingled or composed of a Seignioriall, Lordly, and Popular government. For among all the people, of whom the whole commonwealth of the Svvitizers is compounded: there are some, whose government is merely democraticall, & where all things (almost) are done by the deliberation of the people. As in those Cantons that have no cities, to wit, *Vri, Svits, Vnderwald, Glarus, and Appenzell*: yea, even in *Zug*, although it is a city. The other are governed by Lords, as cities commonly use to be, namely *Zurich, Berne, Lucerna, Basle, Fribourg, Solleure, and Schaffouse*. But because the Soueraignty appertaineth to the people, who doe elect these Lords, these commonwealths are compounded of two kinds of government: so that notwithstanding, the one is more Aristocraticall, and the other more Popular.

So then, the commonwealth of the Svvitizers being compounded of people, that haue not all one, and the same forme of government: the order and policy also is very diuers and mixt. For if upon some dayes of audience, ambassadors do aduise on matters of the whole commonwealth, or end some differences: this appeareth to be a government merely Aristocraticall. And yet neuertheless, because they are (for the most part) elected by the people, and that in causes and affaires of importance, they cannot go beyond their aduice, but deale according to the peoples command, to whom they must render an account of their negotiation: it may easily be noted, that such a kinde of government is not altogether Aristocraticall.

Now it plainly appeareth, that the Svvitizers commonwealth cannot be better governed, for the liberties which they do enjoy, was gotten by their ancestors, nor by the industry and power of one, or of a small number of particular men: but the people themselves were employed therein, and did enfranchise it with the expence of their purses, blood, and liues. And therefore it is no more then reason, that they should reape some fruit of their trauaile. And as concerning, that

it seemeth incommotions and perillous in a popular estate, that all men should deliuer their aduice, but rather, that it ought to be done by them of most wisdom, and men of best quality: This danger is not to be doubted in the Svvitizers Commonwealth, for they do most employ, and send on their dayes of audience, the best and wisest persons of each Canton. And although they haue not power to conclude definitiue (because it might be a dangerous consequence, for the peoples liberty) yet notwithstanding, they are as the chiefeest counsellors, and make a conference of opinions, upon the State affaires. Afterward, the people giue their content, by assemblies which they make in Townes and Villages. Now such as are not altogether stupid and ill-affected, may know and approue, that which hath bene deliberated in those dayes meetings, for common benefit: considering, they giue them plainly to vnderstand every thing.

## CHAP. II.

Of the manner and behaiour of the Svvitizers, in the times of both peace and warre.



Forasmuch as the right government of a commonwealth, is best discerned in affaires and managements of peace and warre: it behooueth vs to shew how

our predecessours haue carried themselves therein. As concerning exercises of war, beside that which nature hath done, in fashioning the Svvitizers fitthereto: necessity also hath constrained them, to apply their paines, and that in good earnest. The Country is Mountainy, sharpe, and hard for culture, anciently desert and fauage for the most part, making the people not onely indurate and hardened for trauaile: but also robuste, stiffe, & strong, and so (by consequent) very apt for warre.

Now as naturally the people of *Europe* are more magnanimous and warlike, then they of *Asia*: so the *Europeans* which

No danger to be feared in the Svvitizers commonwealth.

The obseruation among the Svvitizers.

The best glasse to see any commonwealth in its true nature.

The nature & quality of the country.

The Svvitizers are naturally men fit for warlike employments.

Concerning those people becom the Alps, & nature of the country.

All the Svvitizers are soldiers borne.

The Princes of Austria haue mult times tried the Svvitizers.

A comparison well worth the obseruation.

It is an especiall command to every Svvitizer young and old, to beare Armes.

which dwell in Mountainous and hard countries, are reputed to be more martially minded then the other. Prooue heere of appeareth, in the histories of the *Goths, Vandales, Hunnes, Lombards, Franks, and* other people, who being bred in the very coldest countries of the North: did yet disperse themselves ouer the fairest parts of *Europe*, and eyther foraged, or troubled them, treading vnder their feete the power of Rome, sometimes so much renowned through the world. In like manner, as the very coldest countries of the Alps, do beare the highest and tallest Trees, and haue beasts more fatte and faire then can be desired: so the naturall disposition of the country, and temperature of the ayre, produceth men more robuste and strong then others are. Wherefore, in many Countries, some are men for Armes, others are labourers, and others artesans: but in *Switzerland*, all are Soldiers borne, even by a meere manner of desire, and there is not a *Svvitizer*, (provided that hee haue stature and apt disposition) but in him may be seene the very lues (to life) of a man of warre.

And because almost all the neighbors to the Cantons, but especially the Princes of Austria, laboured by continuall warres, to annihilate the liberty of the *Svvitizers*, and that for the space of two hundred yeares: meere necessity made the *Svvitizers* martiall, being compelled to carry weapons daily in their hands, to maintaine their liberty, bridle the headstrong courses of their enemies, & to preserve their wiues and children. And as it was said of *Aesilius*, after he was wounded by the *Thebanes* in an encounter, that he receiued worthy wages, for teaching them the arte of warre: euen so Noble men that entrusted the olde *Svvitizers*, simple peasants, and shepheards, to handle a Sword, and compelled them to vnderstand the trickes of fencing, receiued (in the end) the recompence for their apprenticeship, hauing bene so many times beaten in battailes, and finally driuen out of *Switzerland*.

From hence it ensued, that their lawes & customes were accommodated to the exercises of warre. For whereas in many Countries, the people are forbidden to carry and manage weapons: so on the contrary, there is none so young in *Swit-*

zerland, dwell he in City, Town, Village, or Field, be he a peasant, porter, or of the very basest condition can be desired, but he is strictly commanded to haue Armes, according to his quality. And because that in our time, the Harquebuz or Caliber was in great vse for warre: there was a prize and reward proposed in publicke, for such as would exercise, and could dexteriously handle these fiery weapons. Not only in Cities, as was done in many parts of *Germany*: but also in the most people d Townes and Villages. Nay, there was a prize and reward appointed for children, that could draw the bow to the end, that they might afterward be the better fashioned for weapons of more danger, which proued to such an expert practise, that from their very youth, they accustomed themselves to discharge the Caliber.

Their other pastimes also fauored all of war. For they neuer used to meete together, were it on solemne daies & festiuals, according to the Churches dedications, or at weddings and other such like occasions, but with Drums and Trumpets for war. And it was (and still is) a great honor for a Bride-groome, to be attended on with a great number of Pikes, Halberds, & Shot, who (vntreated) march before him, or come to honour his feast, in the nature of a muster, marching after the manner of war. Many times also, boyes of 8. or 10. yeares old, and others somewhat more aged, meet together and make musters, with Drums & Ensignes, some bearing Calibers, others Halberds, & others Pikes: so that to see them march, it might well be said, that they had hearts & hands already apt to manage those warlike weapons. In this manner, they that neuer vnderstood any thing set downe in the Military precepts of *Vegetius*, nor of any other, inured from their infancy, without any command: but onely of their owne motion, and by a naturall inclination to Armes, can carry and manage themselves with countenances and steppings fit for Soldiers. In many places, every yeare, or at certain times of the yeare, the Lords cause generall musters in arms to be made for all their followers, as if they were going to war against the enemy. These musters are sometimes performed at the dedication of Temples, sometimes at Fairs; and in some other places, when the

Prizes & rewards proposed only for encouragement to handle the caliber.

All the exercises and pastimes of the Svvitizers fauour of war.

The exercises of the Svvitizers children, that they become soldiers from their Cradles.

Good & virtuous examples are fit for all to be imitated.

Subjects take their oath to a Gouvernor, sent newly to some Bayliwicke, for then they all muster, and shew themselves in Armes.

It is altogether needlesse, that I should make any long discourse of other exercises, which do dispose the to be the more valiant in war: as to runne, leape, throw the stone and barre, to wrestle, so shew all kinds of defence fit for Arms; for which there are prizes publicly appointed euery yeare. Moreover, I am of the minde, that in all christendome, there is not any people, that do exercise themselves more in swimming, then the Switzers: who (with much ease) can vie that Arte, swimming thorough great Lakes, Riuer, Streames, and very impetuous floods, where-with the country doth greatly abound. When they are at leysure, and haue done their husbandry in the fields: they daily follow hunting, sometimes ouer the highest Mountaines and Rockes, almost inaccessible, after wilde Goates, Kids, and other beasts. At other times they pursue Beares, Wolves, Ounces, & wilde Boares, reputed it as an honour to him that can kil one of those sauage creatures, and fasten his head at the entrance of his doore; yet sometimes hee makes a present of it to the Seigneury. The Grecians had an ancient custome among the, to giue the heads of wilde Boares, vnto Gentlemen or Gouvernours of the country, as an honourable present after hunting.

How the Switzers doe beare themselves in warre.

What kind of Armes are most in vse with the Switzers, according to the elder times.

Now we are to declare, how the Switzers doe carry themselves in warre. First then, I will make mention of their Arms: next, how they chuse and enroule theyr Soldiours: And consequently, of other things belonging to the acte of warre. Let me then tell you, that (ordinarily) the Switzers Souldiours are well furnished with Armes in their houses: yet (oftentimes) the Citties and Towns do fit them with Armes, which are kept in their publicke Arsenalles and Magazines. Their Armes are commonly those of the Germane Lance-Knights, to wit: the Harquebuz, or Caluer, or Musket; the Pike of eightene foote in length; the Halbert: the Courtlace, and Sword made apt for both hands. They were also a long Sword by their sides, whereas their ancestors did wear one farre shorter on

their thighs, proper to ioyne with the enemy neerer hand, and to giue him the Stoccardo.

Now adayes, ouer and beside this long Sword, they wear a large Pontard or Dagger, of three or foure fingers bredth, and sharpe pointed: which the very meanness of them do adorne and enrich, with curious workmanthip of gold and siluer. Some wear shirres of Mayle; others Corselets, or a good Cuirats for the body.

The poorer sort, and especially the Muskettiers, content themselves with a Murrian or head-peece. Some, in stead of Armes plated with yron or Steele, make vse of skinnes of Beares or Buffelles: Others wear doublets of linnen cloth, redoubled in iust thicknesse, and made full of oylet-holes, and these doublets thus made, are not easily to be transpierced. For the rest, as *Polibius* writeth, that the braue Parado or Romane Soldiour, vied to wear a Panache of three plumes, red or blacke, about the length of a foote and an halfe, because this addition to the rest of his furniture for warre, made the Soldiour seeme to be twice greater and higher, then he was indeed; much more comely to looke on, and terrible to the enemy. Euen so the Switzers Soldiours, who couet to appeare sightly amongst all other, do wear on their heads a Plume of Feathers, one part white, and the other answerable to the Ensigne, or Colours of their distinct Cantons.

They beare euery man vpon his Arms, a white crosse, plaine and right, which is the Switzers Ensigne of war: Each man yeelds himselfe vnder the Standard of his Canton. They serue their turne with Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets: yet in such sort, notwithstanding, that the Drums of the Switzers are easily discerned frōm of the *Allemans* or *Germanes*, because the found of the Switzers Drum is weighty and deepe, and the other more blunting. Particularly, they of *Vri* vie in warre, a Cornet made of a wilde Bulles horn. They of *Vnderwald* do the like. The *Luzernians* often-times vie a Cornet of Brasse, which they say was giuen them by *Charlemagne*.

Now as concerning the enrolment of their Soldiours, it is done in manner following.

What they vie now at this present day in their due order.

The braue Parado or Soldiour of Rome in his gallant plumes.

The Imperiall or signall of the Armes of the Switzers purplicated warre.

How and in what manner they vie to enroule theyr men for war. If warre be made on them about.

When they march forth abroad to war

The care of the old Switzers in their enrolment.

A reason concerning the name of Germanes, and how it came vpon first.

A great happinesse to be among such men, and in such a campe.

If warre be made vpon the Switzers, and that they are assailed in their owne country; as no person was excused at Rome, when *Hannibal* was at the gates of the City; euen so (without the least delay) all such as are able to carry Armes, they lay command on, to run with speedy succour, as to a sudden and dangerous fire, which euery hand ought helpe to quench. Yet in all this, they proceede by good order; for in the time of peace, each Canton hath certaine Captaines, Ensignes, and chosen men, that ought still to be ready vpon any warning. But because it cometh to passe more often, that they must leade their troops out of their country, and all are not meete for marching, neither ought to be drawne abroad, for feare the country should be left naked of men of warre, and so remaine as a prey to the enemy: Then one neighbour makes choise of another for his companion, and according to the aduice of *Xenophon*, the very strongest Army that can bee imagined, is that which is compounded of friends and companions.

The ancient Switzers well knowing this, tooke especial care, that in their enrolment, friends, and such as knew one another, might be ranked together. And hereupon they ordained, that in warre, Switzers should aide each other, & loue together like brethren, throwing of all particular hatreds, which they could formerly pretend one against another. The other *Allemagne* Soldiours had a custome to call one another brother: in regard whereof, some haue thought, that our ancient named them *Germanes*, which is as much to say, as brethren. Yet notwithstanding, they were all (almost) at the Swords point one against another, & (very often) the furious Lance-knights, who by their hackt and slasht faces, seeme to breathe no other word but warre: haue receiued more cuts and gashes by their friends and companions, then from their enemies.

On the contrary, ordinarily in the Switzers Campe, there is a very great tranquillity, & one louing another (though otherwise they know not at all) euen as if they were brethren. And when they are the very greatest enemies in the world: yet notwithstanding, for the good and quietnes of their country, they renounce

all spleene & particular quarrels. Whereof I will declare a memorable example, which oftentimes (in my youth) I heard reported by my ancestors.

Two Switzers being deadly enemies, to wit, *Arnould* of *Vnderwald*, who afterward was a great Captaine, and *Zerchintes* of *Zurich*, both of them very valiant men, and meete for war. It came to passe, that during the warre of *Suaba*, they were both at one time in the Campe: when the cheefe Leaders (knowing their chmity) commanded them to be friends, and (as then) to forget their ancient quarrels. It happened in a certaine encounter, that *Arnould* was round engirt with his enemies: which *Zerchintes* perceiuing, came with his companions to relecue him, and did set him free from the danger wherein he was. In the euening, being returned to the Campe, *Arnould* went to the Tent of *Zerchintes*, and called to him by his name. His fellowes and followers, being ignorant of that which had happened, were perfwaded by their owne opinion, that he came to challenge combate with the other. Wherefore they stepe between them, & admonished *Arnould*, to remember the command giuen by the Captrains, and to take heede of mouing any trouble in the Campe. He answered, that he came with a quite contrary disposition, and so acquainted them with all the aduventure. And instantly presented to *Zerchintes* a very goodly horse, fit for warre seruice, which he had wonne in that daies trauaile. From that time forward, euen to the houre of death, they were very louing and intimate friends.

As the ancient Switzers shewed themselves brethren, in succouring and assisting their companions, doing as they would be done to themselves: so did they obserue the same forme, in sharing and diuiding a gotten booty. For first of all, they gaue prohibition on paine of death, that no man of theirs, should bee so hardy or bold, as to forsake his ranck & the troops, vntill such time as the enemy should bee driuen in rout. Afterward, when the Captrains had giuen licence to rife and ransacke; all the booty was brought in common, & distributed by the poll. And because the cantons are publicly vntied, euen so the publicke booty, as Artillery, Castles, conquered Countries, Tolles,

A very memorable example of great vertue in the Switzers, appearing by two mortall enemies.

How the ancient Switzers vied to diuide such booties as they won in the warre.

Distribution  
by equality of  
portions.]

They that de-  
serve best  
ought to have  
best.

The ancient  
Switzers or-  
der for victu-  
als, Arms, mu-  
nitions, &c.

Prohibition  
for violating  
of Churches,  
maidens, and  
women.

Of the manner  
of the Swit-  
zers battallion

Example of  
the battallion  
of Nouraz.

Example of  
the two dayes  
at Marignano

and other reuennues, are parted among them by equall portion. Albeit there are some of the Cantons, that doe furnish out twice, thrice, and some whiles fūe times more Soldiours, then others doe. Neuertheless, extraordinarily and particularly, recompence is giuen, and gifts bestowed vpon Soldiers, that haue borne themselves valiantly, & performed some braue exploit in the warre, beyond the fortune of their companions: and also to those Cantons in like manner, that haue bene more employed and charged, then the other.

Forasmuch also, as victuals and other munitions, are in warre to bee especially considered: the ancient Switzers ordained, that such as brought victuals, Arms, or other necessary things, and came to sell them in the Switzers campe, they should befaoured & maintained, in all respects as if they were Switzers. There is also a perpetuall law, and established by length of time, that in warre, Temples and other places destined for the exercise of Religion, should be left intire and vntoucht. And that no outrage should be offered to maids nor women: but onely to such, as shall giue Armes to enemies, or acte the parts of Soldiours, by hurling stones, or hurting in some other manner.

As concerning the manner of camping, and raunging themselves in battaile; it is needlesse for me to shew heere, that which the Switzers do in particular, or in common with the other Germans. Only I will say, that in our time, and by the memory of our aunccestors: among all Infantry, the battallion of the Switzers hath alwayes bene highly esteemed. For being composed of Pikes crossed, it resembleth a Porcupine, so that such as vnderstand the affaires of warre, doe iudge, and experience hath approoued it, that this battaile may beare head against the horsemen. In the battaile of *Nouraz*, the Infantry of the Switzers being not couered with any horse: foiled and droue in route, the French Infantry and Horsemen. Afterward, on the day at *Marignano*, hauing had battaile against king *Francis*, two seuerall dayes, which they lost, by reason of the thundering Artillery, and multitude of their enemies: Neuertheless, though vanquished, yet they returned to *Milaine*, ranged in battaile, so that

their retreat seemed nothing like a flight; and yet the French (for all their victory) durst not follow them. It is not long since, when on the day at *Dreux*, in the first Troubles, the *Reîtres* & the French Caudery, liuely charged the battaillon of the Switzers, and slew the most part of their Captaines: yet notwithstanding, the Switzers rallied themselves three times, and kept their ranks so well, that euen in that battaile, their enemies confessed themselves, that they were very valiant & warlike men.

But let vs leaue such discourse to men of warre, and shew you, how the Switzers busie themselves in the times of peace, & how they are ordered from their infancy. First, as concerning letters and learning, which holds the first ranke: I freely confesse, that the ancient Switzers were not very careful thereof. But rather they imitated the Romans therein, when they were in warres continually, against the *Aequi*, *Volsians*, *Vientes*, and other neighbouring people. And as they then, with rusticall songs celebrat'd the valiancy of their aunccestors: so in the same manner, the olde Switzers had vulgar songs, to remember the victories which they had obtained in warre. The Song wherein the day of *Sempach* is aptly described, when as Duke *Leopold* was slaine, is very common in Switzerland. As for knowledge of Artes, and of the Latine tongue, men of warre, bruske and vnapt to handle Bookes, rather thought, that such matters belonged to Churchmen. But in our dayes, there are to be found in all the cantons of Switzers, men learned both in the Tongues and Sciences. And as for many that vnderstand not the Latine tongue: yet they forbear not to reade Histories of all kinds, either concerning government of life, or affaires of State, or of Religion: And there are Libraries, well furnished with Bookes, written in the vulgar tongue.

Now, as concerning Schooles, it is a very long time since, that the Colledges of the Abbey of *S. Gall*, and of *Coire* among the *Grisons*, were renowned, as we haue already shewne else-where. But within some certaine yeares after, letters and learning became quite banished. The Pope *Pius*, formerly named *Aeneas Sylvius*, provided an Vniuersity at *Basile*, to whence

Example of  
the day at  
Dreux,

How the Swit-  
zers carry  
themselves in  
times of peace  
and are train-  
ed vp from  
their child-  
hood.

Letters or  
learning little  
regarded a-  
mong the an-  
cient Swit-  
zers.

Many in the  
Cantons learn-  
ing in tongue  
and sciences.

Of Schooles  
for the further-  
ing and main-  
tenance of  
learning.

Pope Pius  
referred a Vni-  
uersity at Ba-  
sile, to  
whence

Goodly Prin-  
ting-houles.

Love of ver-  
tue & iustice  
among the  
Switzers.

The Lawes of  
the Switzers.

The alliances  
of the Swit-  
zers.

Of vnder-  
taking Armes  
or going to  
warre.

In the case of  
mutuall aide  
and assistance

whence haue come many learned and excellent men: whom it is needles to name, because they are sufficiently famous, and knowne by their writings. There are also diuers notable and publike Schooles at *Zurich*, at *Berne*, and one established at *Laufannus*, by the Lords of *Berne*. Nor must I let sleepe in silence, the goodly Printing-houles at *Basile*, *Zurich*, and *Geneua*, renowned among them all that are in *Germany*.

Beside the study of good letters, whereof I haue made mention, there is loue of all vertue, and especially of Iustice, which appertaineth also to the maintenance of peace. For it is a matter most certaine, that the common-wealth of the *Switzers* is grounded vpon most great equity, and hath euermore bene famous, in regard of her iustice: as appeareth by the lawes, alliances, customes, and manner of life among the ancient *Switzers*, and by many examples, and particular actions. I need not make mention of their lawes, because they agree with those of other common-wealths, that are ruled by good lawes: where crimes and misdeeds are severely punished, without any exception of persons.

As for their alliances, the Articles of them, reported in the first Booke: do declare, with what vprightnesse, diligence, & faithfulness they are made. The ends of them are, that euery man may enioy his owne peaceably, and that (by a common consent) all violence may be expulst and banished. For the better governing of this case, it is expressly forbidden, to goe and assault, and make warre one vpon another, cyther rashly, or without iust cause. And therefore also, before Armes may be vnderaken, the wisest and most discrete persons in all the nation: in a publike assembly, must examine the causes of the warre, and vnderstand them to be iust and lawfull. Then afterward, when question is vrged of repulsing an enemy, it is most strictly prohibited to the confederates, that ought to giue assistance; to vse therein no fraud nor cunning. But if they be called by letters, or by messages, or admit they could not bee called, the passages being fore-closed by the enemy: yet notwithstanding, they are commanded to go and giue succour, euen to their vtmost power.

Moreouer, because it many times happens, that the recovery of debts and borrowed money, do beget great debates, so that such differences between particular persons, doe sometimes fet the Cantons at variance one with another: the Articles of the alliances doe euery where make mention, what course is to be observed in the recovery of such debts, and for taking pawns, to cut off the ouer great licence of lenders, and to shunne the fraudulency of borrowers. Whosoever hath bene but a meane reader of Histories, knowes very wel, what troubles haue happened in Rome, in the case of debts, at all times, and whensoever the people are oppressed by the violence of vsurers, & taxed in great summes, then they would mutiny, and demand, that the vsurers contracts might be torne in peeces, & other made of more honest nature. But the prouidence and vprightnesse of the ancient Switzers, made such an imbarment, that neuer was the abolition of Obligations vrged in Switzerland; although the country is not very great, nor rich, and hath bene troubled with warres continually.

Because also, that men of warre are prompt, and ready, to lay hand on their weapons, and (oftentimes) fight vnder a false and dangerous pretence, they being men rather quarrellous, sturdy & outrageous, then valiant, yet taking a delight in this forwardnesse of enduring nothing, as thinking it makes men magnanimous and invincible: the ancient Switzers laboured to remedy this euill, first by imposition of great fines, on such as began the stirre, and to outrage their associates. But because choller is a furious beast, and very difficult to be bridled: to hinder him from taking carriere, and obuiate murders; they added another remedy, to wit, that such as were found present at those quarrels and debates, if they did not pacifie and hinder their proceeding, and impose on them the penalties appointed by the lawes: then themselves should be greuously punished by the Magistrate. For they would not permit, that men should be so ouerswaid and mastered by choller, and their lawes (in the meane while) lose their power and authority. If any man committed a murder, and escaped from the hand of iustice: hee could not be receiued into any of the Cantons.

Concerning  
debts & bor-  
rowed mo-  
nies.

Great trou-  
bles in Rome  
about cases of  
debts.

Great care &  
prouidence in  
the Switzers.

An especiall  
care against  
quarrell and  
frayes of par-  
ticular per-  
sons.

A good law  
to be vied in  
other places.

Against such  
as committed  
murder.

If any man were banished, for offending any one of the Cantons, or killing a man: he was to stand excluded from all the rest, except hee could proue by sufficient witness, that he slew his enemy in the mere defence of his owne body.

Such hath bene, and still is, the equity of the *Switzers* in doing justice, & punishing the faulty from time to time: that many straggers haue made their recourse to them, and haue accepted them for Arbitrators in their differences. For they do shew themselves protectors of all such as haue any wrong done to them, and vpon this their coming to them; they haue sent Ambassadors, nay, haue vnderaken Armes, to re-establish in their goods and possessions, some that haue bene despoyled of them by very powerful Lords.

The Cantons (in this cause) made war on the Princes of *Austria*, to maintain the right of the *Fulachs*, Citizens of *Schaffhouse*. And for certaine Gentlemen of *Stiria*, named the *Graders*: & constrained the Duke of *Austria*, to restore such goods as he deteyned from them. In the like case, but of much greater importance they gaue bataille vnto Duke *Charles of Burgongne*; to maintain *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*, whom *Charles* had disposed of the most part of his countries. In like manner also, many times haue they made warre on certaine theues, who couering themselves with the title of Noblemen; robbed and spoyled Merchants. To foile these theues, they haue bin faine to make out vpon them, not onely in their owne country of *Switzerland*, but also in countries further off, allying themselves (to effectuall good a worke) with those farre off townes. By which means, the wayes of *Switzerland* haue bene made very secure: so that Merchants, charged with neuer so great summes of money, goe and come in al safety, transporting their Merchandizes whether they please, without any need of company or transport. And a pleasant Prouerbe grew thereon, that if any man carried his pursse full of gold or silver on his staffes end; hee might safely passe through *Switzerland*, and care not how many looked on him.

Iustice seldome walkes without her companion Liberty, vnder which epithie wee will comprehend hospitality, which alwayes hath made the people of

*Switzerland* to bee highly commended. They haue not the delicacies of the *Italian* and *French*, but they offer liberally those presents which the earth yeeldes them, as namely, Milke, Butter, & Hony. And who would bee ashamed, or can despise this liberality; seeing the great Patriark *Abraham*, entertained Angels with such viands, when they came to see him? And yet the country is not without good store of wilde Beasts and Fowles, with diuers kindes of Fishes, both in Lakes & Riuer. And as great men in times past, (so sweetly sung of by learned Poets) honoured men of worth, by giuing them flesh for their food: euen to oftentimes in *Switzerland*, presents are giuen to straggers, and them of the same country also, passing from one place to another, of good and delicate flesh, namely Venison, and also of very dainty Fish. But principally, the *Switzers* are liberrall and charitable to the poore, in lodging, feeding, & furnishing them with other needfull things: so that there are very few countries, wherein so many poore beggers are to be seene, as in *Switzerland*. I do not heere dispute, whether the Magistrate doth well, or no, in suffering or supporting them: onely I was desirous to shew heerein, the great humanity of the *Switzers* towards the poore, which resort thither from all parts.

The people of *Switzerland* (among all other) take pleasure in Feasts and publike Banquets. In Citties and Townes, they of one trade, or of one band, haue certaine houfes ordained to assemble themselves in. Euery Village (almost) hath a house by it selfe, which they call the house of good company: because they there meete, onely to maintaine loue and amity. The men doe meete there often, and sometimes the women are invited thither, to sitte and banquet with their husbands. They do not vse any sumptuous dishes or delicacies, but most often content themselves with one or two kindes of meates. Many times euery neighbour bringeth his dish, and there feed friendly together, on that which was provided for their owne private houfes. And as among the *Lacedemonians* it was ordained, that aged men and Magistrates should be present at banquets, to the ende, that euery man should carry himselfe honestly: the

It is no shame to follow veruous & good examples.

The *Switzers* are greatly charitable to the poore.

The *Switzers* delight in learning & banqueting, only for the maintaining of their neighbourly friendship.

Aged men & Magistrates allowed by the *Lacedemonians* to be at Feasts and Banquets.

very fame is practised in *Switzerland*, so that all of one Trade, or of one Brotherhood, haue their distinct places, and the Magistrate, with the most ancient men, haue the higher ende of the Table allowed to them.

They do not much delight in Musick at such Banquets, because they conceiue more pleasure in conferring together: either of particular affaires, or (oftentimes) of publike businesse. About all, when one of the most aged begins to discourse on some notable matters, which happened in his youth, or that himselfe had learned from his predecessors; euery one is very attentive, without the least interruption. And many times, he that hath a good & pleasing tongue, will speake loud enough on the faire deservings of his Ancestors. The ancient *Switzers* were very sober & modest in all things, especially at publike Feasts and Banquets: so that it is a matter rare & most ignominious, if any man should be drunke in such an assembly.

But I am enforced to write, and to my great griefe, that although there is more moderation in the *Switzers* Banquets, euen at this day, then in many other people of *Germany*: yet notwithstanding, drunkennesse will not be banished, nor so vily thought on, as in elder times it hath bene. And as *Xenophon* saide of the *Lacedemonians* (whose common-wealth hee had most highly commended) that hee durst not maintaine now in his time, that the lawes of *Lycurgus* were in full force, because in former times, sober and moderate people, affected rather to liue among them in great continence, then to be Lords in other Citties, where they might possesse worlds of riches: So now in the time of *Xenophon*, the *Lacedemonians*, yea, them of greatest power among them, contended to haue the gouernment of citties, as fearing they should be compelled to liue in their owne particular condition, glorifying themselves openly, of their wealth and riches. And whereas their Ancestors were studious, to make themselves become honourable, & worthy of giuing command to others: these men coueted after dignities onely. So that whereas the *Grecians* (on their owne meere motion) made request to the *Lacedemonians*, that they would accept of the gouernment: matters became so contra-

rily changed, that the *Grecians* prayed & exhorted one another, to resist against the *Lacedemonians*, yea, and to expulse the vicerly, fearing lest they should vsurpe vpon the gouernment.

It appeareth now to me, that euen as much may be said of the *Switzers*: for I must needs confesse, that the frugality & temperance of our ancients, in eating, drinking, cloathing, and in the whole course of life, is dead, or as if it had neuer bene at all. The *Switzers* are not now so continent and spare in liuing, as heerebefore, when they maintained their liues with the labour both of their mindes and hands, without taking wages of Kings & Princes, strangers to them. And therefore I am much affraid, lest we lose that wholly too, which yet remaineth, namely, valiancy and strength in warre, humanity, debonary, iustice, and vprightnesse. So that one day, they who (heerebefore) haue so carefully compassed amity & alliance with the *Switzers*: it is to bee doubted, may change their mindes, and study how they shall best subdue them. I desire of God, that he will turne from my country to deadly a danger; and I desire also, and exhort all them that ought to think thereon, to strue to bring in vaine against those honest ancient manners, that frugality, continence, equity, humanity, loyalty, & constancy of the olde *Switzers* in al their actions.

### CHAP. III.

Of publike assemblies and meetings, or rather of the Councill and Senate of the *Switzers*.

**I**n all Commonwealths, three things are especially to be considered, to wit, the Councill or Senate, the Magistrate, and Iustice; for the Common-wealth of the *Switzers* hath no common Magistrates: except wee may place in that ranke, the Bayliffes and Gouernors, which are sent here and there, not by the councell of the Common-wealth, but by each one of the Cantons in it selfe. For the rest, the

The *Switzers* are greatly altered from their famous progenitors.

The Authors especiall care of his countries honour, end of his countrymen.

The three ornaments of any common-wealth.

The *Switzers* are protectors of the oppressed.

Examples of diuers protected & holpen to their rights by the *Switzers*.

The *Switzers* haue made warre vpon theues that robbed and spoyled passengers.

Good actions are euermore worthy to be commended.

The bounty and hospitality of the *Switzers*.

The *Switzers* delight not in Musick at their meetings.

The Author greed to write that which the peoples folly compels him to do.

The words of *Xenophon* concerning the *Lacedemonians*.

A strange alteration in the gouernment.

The councill  
of the Swit-  
zers not equal  
always.

councill of *Switzerland* is not alwayes equal in number; for sometimes, ouer & beside the Cantons, the other allies and confederates, especially the Ambassadors of *S. Gall*, of the *Grisons*, and of *Mulhouse*, doe meete together. And then this is the very greatest councill, which doe assemble but rarely, and to conferre on peace or warre, or of other affayres, which appertain equally to all the confederates.

The Ambassadors of the 13 cantons meet oftentimes together, but not upon all occasions.

Ofteft of all other, there do none but the Ambassadors of the thirteen cantons meete together, to consult and aduise on matters of the Common-wealth. Euery man of them hath a deliberative voyce, as well as the other, and theretore, though one Canton do send two Ambassadors: yet they shall haue but one voyce, & one aduice, because the aduice is collected according to the number of the Cantons, and not to the number of Ambassadors. Neuerthelesse, all the Cantons doe not send their Ambassadors at all daies meetings; as when there is question of the Bayliwicks, governed by the seauen or eight first Cantons, or of other things on them depending: then seuen or eight ambassadors onely meete together, & haue their deliberative voyces. But if there be any speech concerning the Bayliwicks of Italy, belonging to the twelue first Cantons: then those twelue ambassadors doe assemble. And as for that which concerneth the good of the whole Common-wealth: the ambassadors of the thirteene Cantons, do then make a perfect & complete body of councill.

Factions among the Switzers, about matters of religion.

In our times, since *Switzerland* became diuided into factions, by reason of differences happening in Religion, they likewise instituted particular assemblies: so that the five Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, and *Zug*, that make expresse profession of the Religion and Ceremonies of the Romane Church, & are very strictly vnited together, by especiall amity (I know not whether it bee by league or alliance) they meete together more often then the other cantons, and are (as it were) a councill apart. And theretore, when speech is made of the five first Cantons, they before named are vnderstood, and not the five first in alliance. As also in making mention of three, of seuen, or of eight Cantons: it must be considered according to the time and or-

der, when they were entred into league; as thus, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Lucerna* and *Zurich*, shall be the five Cantons. Sometimes they of *Fribourg* and of *Sollewre*, assemble themselves with the five forenamed, and call themselves the seuen catholike Cantons. Now, although any in the cantons of *Glaris* and *Appenzell*, doe belong to the catholike Church, & *Masse* is sung in their cheefest Villages: yet notwithstanding, they are not ranked among the catholikes, because (for the most part) their people walke with them that are of the new Religion. Finally, the foure Citties, to wit, *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Basile*, and *Schaffouse*, haue likewise (sometimes) their assembly apart; but yet it is not so often as the other.

Moreover, it is very vnease to discipher particularly, all those things whereon the councill of *Switzers* do deliberate: neuerthelesse, I will touch some of the principall articles. The first and cheefest, is concerning war and peace, as likewise mention is made in most part of the alliances, that if a great wrong is done to one of the cantons, and it thinketh good to haue reason by armes: it must first bee referred to the councill of the leagues, to the end that the ambassadors may regard together, whether the cause of warre bee iust, or no, lest warre should bee lightly moued, and vpon triuiall occasions. Then afterward, if it appeare to bee expedient to begin warre, and for the safety of the common-wealth, the meanes must next be consulted on.

It chanced (in my time) that *Christopher Landberg*, being leagued with many Gentlemen, furiously to invade them of *Rottuile*, allied to the Cantons: many said, that such succour ought to be sent to *Rottuile*, as the inhabitants desired. But the greater part of the Senators, and Deputies to the councill of *Switzerland*, hauing vnderstood the causes of the variance; hindred any such proceeding. For they saw plainly, that the whole State would ouerthrow it selfe into very great perill, and vpon silly occasion: because there was pregnant apparence, that by inuading *Landberg*, they must thereby meddle with the Duke of *Wirttemberg* his neighbour, to whom the Switzers hadde bene good friends a long time. Nor could they come so neere him, without irrita-

The seuen Catholike Cantons, that will be so distinguished by their cities.

Of what matter the councill of the Switzers vsually take knowledge.

War is not to be moued on slight occasions.

An example of Rottuile allied to the Cantons, threatened with danger.

inating (by the same meanes) many other Princes, that were his kindred, friends, and confederates. Neuerthelesse, because they of *Rottuile* should not complain, that they were forsaken in such a necessity: fifty Soldiers of each Canton were sent as a Garrison to their Towne, but they stayed at *Schaffouse*, and (soone after) the difference was pacified by Iudges, chosen for cyther side. And as the councill deliberated on the matter of warre, and whether it should be begun, or no: peace also was treated on by the same councill, and not by the Cantons in particular.

According heretoe, in the warre of *Suba*, all the Cantons together sent their ambassadors to *Basile*, where they made peace with the Emperor *Maximilian*. So the councill of *Switzerland*, assembling at *Fribourg*; made perpetuall peace with the King, and all the Realme of France, in the year, 1516. The negotiation of alliances, is ioyned with that of peace: for very often in the dayes of our ancestors, and in ours also, the Cantons (by aduice of their councill) haue made alliances with neighbouring Kings and Princes. Wherin this order is kept still to this day, that no one of the Cantons can bee constrained to make alliance with a strange Prince, but is to remaine at his owne liberty. As in the year, 1519. when all the cantons allied themselves with king *Frances*; they of *Zurich* refused to be bound, and afterward, they of *Berne* renounced this alliance. In like manner, when *Philibert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, obtained to enter league and amity with the Switzers: first the five small cantons began, and then *Sollewre* ioyned with them afterward.

The second Article, of such things as the councill of *Switzerland* do ordaine, concerneth lawes and ordinances. Each Canton hath his lawes and customes by himselfe, which remaine firme and inuiolable: neuerthelesse, by a common consent, our ancestors deuised and established many publicke Edicts and Ordinances. Among which number, are the forementioned lawes of warre: wherewith also may the accord at *Stantz* bee ranked, passed betweene the eight first Cantons, and wherof we haue spoken in the first booke. Also, because Priests abused their immunities and priuiledges; they were repro-

ued by a publicke Edict, containing this in effect. Whosoever of the citizens or inhabitants of the cantons, be hee Priest or no, be hee a Counciller, Vassalle, or bound to the Princes of *Austria*: he shall stand bound neuerthelesse, and promise by oath to his canton, to procure & aduance the profite therof, and of all the confederates, and discover speedily and in good conscience, all that may bring them any damage. This oath shall precede all other, and no obligation, how expresse soeuer it be, shall excuse them, if they go aginst this oath.

Such Priests as dwell in *Switzerland*, and are not of the country, may draw no man into ciuill or ecclesiasticall iustice, out of the country; except in matrimoniall and ecclesiasticall causes. If any one dare do otherwise, the Magistrates of the canton wherein he dwelleth, shall prohibit all men, not to harbour, lodge, or friend him, nor to frequent his company: none shall presume to protect him, vntill such time as hee hath renounced all forraigne iustice, and payed the charges of the party, that receiued endamage by such iustice. Whosoever shall doe wrong to his neighbour, cyther in taking pawnes against order of right, or by any other meanes: he shall be punishable in body and goods, vntill hee haue satisfied the party. He that is not of the Church, and yet hath summoned his aduersary, cyther before a Iudge of the Church, or secular, and out of the country: he shall pay all the charges endured in that cause, in regard hee ought to plead in the same place, where the party dwelleth. No man shall assigne ouer his action to another, by which meanes he may the easier afflict the contrary party.

If any man shall renounce his Bourgeship, and thereby do wrong to another, by drawing him into strange iustice: hee shall neuer bee receiued againe into the number of the citizens, till first hee haue made satisfaction to the party. All the cantons shall take order, that the waies be sure and safe, because both Switzers & strangers may passe securely, conveying their Merchandizes through the country, without any manner of violence done to them: whosoever shall attempt otherwise, by common consent of all, and our helpe to the victor most, hee shall be compelled

Against Priests that abused their immunities & priuiledges.

No Priest may commence law-sutes out of the Country, but with exception.

For punishing of wrong done to neighbors.

No suite to be pleaded out of the country.

No colour admitted to wrong another.

For secure & safe passage on the high-ways.

Lucerna, Vri, Suits, Vnderwald, and Zug, are the five small cantons.

Example of the warre at Suba, when peace was made at Fribourg.

No Canton can be compelled to make alliance with a strange Prince.

For the establishment of lawes and ordinances.

No pawne to be taken but by the Magistrate's consent.

An Edict against Brokers for Benefices.

The Authors reason for the Lawes & Edicts alleged.

Concerning Embassages sent forth of the country, or employed at home on serious affairs.

When Alliances are to be contracted.

pelled to make satisfaction, answerable to the faculties and riches as the party hath lost. No man in any Canton whatsoever, shall receive pawne or pledge of any other, without consent of the Magistrate: neither shall do, or procure any injury to be done to his neighbour; but hee that doth the contrary, shall be compelled by them of his Canton, to satisfie the other to the vttermost damage.

All these things before recited, were agreed on, and ordained by the fixe cantons of *Zurich, Lucerna, Uri, Schwitz, Underwald, and Zug*. There was another Edict also published, against many Brokers of Benefices, for in regard that such fellows did oftentimes cause much trouble vnto Priests, made by the Ordinaries of the places, and (vnder colour of some purchased Bulles) were so put in possession of vacant Benefices: It was concluded by common consent of all the thirteen cantons, in the year, 1520. that if such people pursued to maintaine the right of such Bulles, they should be imprisoned, where if they did not renounce those Bulles, they should be drowned. I could set downe many other examples, of Edicts & publick lawes, but I thinke it needlesse: and these formerly rehearsed, are to no other end, but to let the Reader perceiue, that the ancient *Switzers*, who were deuoutly affected to their Religion, and euermore gaue great honor to men of the church, did neuer yet (for all that) leaue the bridle so freely to them, or admit them any such licence, as was contrary to publick liberty and tranquillity.

If any Embassages were to bee sent out of *Switzerland*, for the appointing of some difference, contrading of alliance, gratifying some Prince, or exhorting some one to this or that, or else to command or declare some matters of import, or to denounce warre: Say also, that it were in *Switzerland*, to negotiate with some Canton, City, Towne, &c: The councill consults and determines what is to be done in this case: as whether it is necessary to send ambassadours of all the Cantons, or of some few onely.

When there is a question in hand, for contrading alliances or leagues, all the Cantons do then send ambassadours: As when the alliance was made and signed with King *Henry*, not onely the Cantons,

but also the confederates sent their ambassadours to the King. But in many other affaires, they name but foure or five Cantons, who send Embassages in the name of all. As the ambassadours of *Zurich, Lucerna, Uri*, and *Glaris* went to the day at *Ansbourg*, & obtained of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, confirmation of the priuiledges for their owne cantons, and for all the rest likewise. Moreover, this councill hath charge, with reference to the Lords that assist them, to aduise on what is to bee negotiated, or answering ambassadours of Kings and Princes strangers, and also of other common-wealths, as they are oftentimes met withall, in the publick assemblies of the *Switzers*.

Finally, the councill aduiseeth to provide for the Prouinces, which do belong to the Cantons, to the end, they may be gouerned as best becometh. First of all, because that some estates are of great profit, as of Secretaries, Commisaires, Officers, Interpreters, *Landmanns*, & *Landweibel* in the country of *Turgow* (where of the first, to wit, the *Landman* is Iudge criminal, in name of the ten first Cantons, and the other is as ordinary Proctor or Atturney) the councill commits these estates to certaine men, who cannot (in meane while) chuse Officers vnder them, answerable to their appetite. Moreover, if some difficult proceesse or suite happen in a Prouince, and the Gouernors or Bayliffes will not iudge according to their aduice: the whole busines is referred ouer to the councill, where if the sentence of the Bayliffes seeme to bee vnjust to eyther of the parties, they may appeale to the maine Senate or Council of the *Switzers*.

As for causes in the Bayliwicks and Gouernments beyond the Mountaines; the ambassadours (which are yearly sent thither in the Moneth of Iune) doe take knowledge of them, and end them. But for other suites on this side the Mountaines, the councill of *Bada* doth iudge them: And appeale also may be made from the sentence of the ambassadours that haue giuen iudgement beyond the Mountaines, to the councill of *Bada*; because that authority is greater, and their power more ample. Yet some say no, and that the appeale is to be addressed to the Cantons: that each of them may vnder-

In other occasions.

Aduice for negotiations, & answering Ambassadors.

For provision & supporting of the Bayliwicks and Prouinces.

Landmann & Landweibel.

When difficult cases happen in any Prouince.

Order for causes ouer, that side the Mountaine.

The councill of *Bada*.

Distribution of annual revenues.

The capacity and power of the councill, in all matters whatsoever which concern the common-wealth welfare.

To whom the calling & the assembling of the councill appertaineth.

The order & obseruation for calling the generall assembly.

Of Ambassadors from Kings and Princes.

(stand the matter, and by them the difference to be decided. Also the Gouernors and Bayliffes, are to render an account to the councill, of the tolles, reuenues, and fines: the annual reuenues are distributed by equal portion among the Cantons, to whom the Bayliwicks do appertaine. There is the like also of the Abbeyes in those Bayliwicks, the protection and government whereof (in temporal occasions) do belong to the Cantons. In briefe, the councill doth know all things, which concerne the administration of the Prouinces appertaining to the Cantons; they cause the Gouernors to render their accounts; they giue audience to whosoever can accuse them, and they punish them, if they haue deserved it; eyther by depriving them of their dignities, or returning them to the Cantons that established them, to haue some other sent in their stead. To speake all in one word, the councill takes knowledge of all matters that concerne the good and tranquillity of the common-wealth: as well in the Gouernments and Bayliwicks, as also in the Cantons themselves.

Now concerning the authority of calling, and assembling the councill, for the demanding of their aduice: it hath belonged (of ancienttime) to the Canton of *Zurich*; which by a very authenticall priuiledge, holds the cheefest ranke among all the Cantons. Whensoever then there is question made, to hold a generall councill of the nation: the Lords of *Zurich* make knowne by their Letters to each of the Cantons, both the time & the place where they are to meete together. If any one, or more of the cantons, do thinke it necessary, that the councill publick and general should be assembled; first they giue aduertisement to the canton of *Zurich*, and require by their letters, that the Ambassadours of the other cantons may meet together. But if the affairs are pressiue, and require speedy deliberation, then each canton must aduertise his confederates, to be in readinesse for aduising (altogether) on that which is to bee done.

Likewise the Ambassadours from Kings and Princes strangers, do demand leaue of the cantons, to present themselves at those dayes of meetings: & sometimes they make request, that one day (extraor-

dinary) may be held for them. But on the dayes of particular meetings, they proceed otherwise, because *Zurich* signifies the time to foure Townes: and when to five or seuen catholike cantons; they of *Lucerna* do assemble them. There are also daies of and for particular meeting of the cantons allied to the K. of France: whose Ambassador residing at *Solleurre*, calleth the cantons at the Kings charge. I thinke there is permission also, for the ambassadours of the Pope, and of other kings, friends, and allies to the *Switzers*, to demand their dayes: provided, they are at their Masters expences.

The ancient *Switzers* had no perpetuall or certaine place, for holding their daies of generall councill: for I am perswaded, there is no one of the first eight cantons, but they made an assembly at some times, though most often it was done at *Lucerna*, at *Zurich*, *Bremgarten*, and at *Bada*. In our time, the custome hath bene (not by any law or ordinance purposely made for it) that the *Switzers* kept their dayes at *Bada*, in the Towne-house: and so much the rather, because the Towne hath many commodities for such assemblies. First, the place is beautified with goodly buildings, and very apt Innes or houses of lodging. The situation of the place is pleasant and healthfull, and the neerenesse of the Ba hes yeelde wonderfull pleasure, drawing thither great resort of people from farre remote countries. By meanes whereof, the neighbouring people of *Bada*, (feeling they gaines sweetnesse) bring thither all kinds of victuals in great abundance, which causeth the Towne to be well furnished with all good prouision, and at all needfull seasons.

Next, it is feared (almost) in the midst of *Switzerland*, so that the cantons furthest off, may appeare there (by neerenesse of wayes) all at one and at the same time. Also it appertaineth to the eight first cantons, & (by that meanes) the most part of the cantons are Lords thereof, and haue equal authority in the place. Beside, the particular assemblies of the foure Townes, is oftentimes kept in the Towne of *Aron*, appertaining vnto the canton of *Berne*; howbeit (sometimes) it hath bin of *Basle*, when question was made of entering accord with *Luther*, & that for the cause

Dayes of particular assemblies, according to their order, and for whom they are called.

In what place the councill did assemble on their daies of meeting.

The commodious situation of the Towne of *Bada*.

*Bada* belonging to the 8. first cantons.

D d of



The meeting  
of the Catho-  
like Cantons.

of *Strasbourg*, that then sent their Ambassadors thither. The catholike Cantons do oftentimes assemble at *Lucerna*, sometimes at *Basel*, in the territory of *Vri*, or at *Brünen*, which belongeth to them of *Suits*. But when the Ambassador of France demandeth (in his Kings name) a leue of men of the *Switzers*: the day is ofteneft held at *Solenne*, where he entreateth the Cantons to be present: and sometimes also it is at *Lucerna*.

At what times  
the dayes of  
audience for  
suites are  
held.

The custome is, that (euery yeare) dayes of meeting are held at *Bada*, about mid-June. Then the Bayliffes or Governors appertaining to the Cantons, yeeld a reason of their feuerall charges before the councill, and attend to the ending of suites concerning the Prouinces.

At the same time, the Ambassadors of the twelue first Cantons, do meete at *Lugano*, & take an account of the foure Bayliffes for the Prouinces of *Italy*, and iudge the causes of appeal: but yet in such sort as a man may appeale from them, to the Council or Parliament of *Bada*, it being of farre greater authority. The councill so assembled, they sit by ordination of the Cantons, to ende such controuersiall cases, as were not concluded on at the precedent meeting: for oftentimes causes of importance are not ended at the first Session, either because they appeare not of sufficient merit, or want due power of proofe. In regard whereof, they are referred ouer to a further day, and in the meane while, the Ambassadors craue aduice of the Lord of their feuerall Cantons, to know how they shall carry themselves therein. Sometimes also, in an vnexpected accident, or some other such case of consequence: the Canton of *Zurich*, or some other, will assigne the day, especially if it be a matter concerning the common-wealth. Now, although the Council are assemble only for publick affaires; yet notwithstanding, after they haue taken order for them, if any particulars of the Prouinces come, and would haue their causes pleaded, they giue them audience. But the particular dayes of the Cantons, and those that the Ambassador of France causeth to bee held; haue no certainty of time, but according as occasions offer themselves, & as it is pleasing to them that haue power to assemble the councill.

Concerning  
sudden & vn-  
expected ac-  
cidents, and  
suites of parti-  
cular persons  
from the ge-  
nerall bayliffes.

Particular  
dayes for the  
Cantons.

The manner of proceeding on these daies of meeting is thus. At the day assigned by the ordinary councill, or commanded to be kept: the day before, the Ambassador for the canton of *Zurich* sends the Lieutenant of *Bada* to all the innes and houses of receipt, to know what Ambassadors are come, to whom the Lieutenant giueth kinde welcome, and receiueth them honourably, in name of the whole *Switzers* common-wealth, and the morrow after, he calleth the to come to the Town-house. If the Ambassadors of all the cantons are come, they are called, and then they treat on affaires concerning all the Cantons together. But if upon the day named, they for the new Cantons, as for *Saile*, *Schaffouse*, *Solenne*, and *Fribourg*, are not as yet arrived, as oftentimes it comes so to passe: then seu or eight Cantons do assemble, and discourse on matters onely concerning themselves.

The Ambassadors are seated in councill, according to the order & number of the Cantons, so that he of *Zurich* sits in the highest and most eminent place: he of *Berne* next; then he of *Lucerna*, & so consequently the other, according to the order of the Cantons. Being seated, the ambassador of *Zurich* salueth them all, and hauing made some breue preface & excuse, according to custome; he declareth which the Ambassadors had in charge on the last dayes meeting, and referred them to the next dayes deliberation, as oftentimes they are assembled to that effect, and if any thing hath hapned since then, he propoundeth it also. Then he addeth that which his Lords haue giue him in charge, touching the Article whereon he is to deliberate: the other ambassadors do the like in their rankes, & declare whatsoever their Lords commanded them. After that euery one hath made knowe that which they haue in charge to say: the Bayliffe or Governor of *Bada* (of whatsoever Canton it is) demandeth orderly of each counsellor, his aduice concerning the matter that hath bin in question. The he of *Zurich* speaketh first, and the rest after, according to their rankes. Hauing all spoken, the Bayliffe counterth the voyces, according to the number of the Cantons and not of the counsellors: for sometimes one Canton sends two ambassadors, who may well assist in councill, yet they haue

Of the order  
and manner  
of proceeding  
on the dayes  
of meeting.

In what order  
the Ambassadors  
do sit in councill  
according to  
their degree.

Each man  
keeps his coun-  
sell in order  
in councill.

## Chap. 4. Of publick Sentences & Iudgements. 303

but one voyce, as of one man onely.

Thus you see how they proceed in deciding those things, which concerne the publick good: In particular causes also, they follow the same order, giue their aduice, and collect the voyces. But such as haue any causes to pleade on these daies, demand audience first of the Ambassador for *Zurich*, who assigned their day, & put their names vpon the Role. When they appeare before the councill, sometimes the parties themselves will pleade their owne causes: or haue Aduocates, Proctors, or speakers, which they bring with them, or chuse among such as they finde in *Bada*. For at all times, and whensoever these dayes are appointed, there will meet there a great number of such men, belonging to the neighbouring Townes & Burroughs, pensioners of the *Switzers*. Causes are there debated, not according to the ciuill Law, nor by the aduice of Lawyers; but with equity, and according to the lawes & customes of the people, long time obserued among them.

I know, that many will account this forme of pleading to be barbarous, especially such as would haue men follow the Romanes order of pleading, for the ending of suites: without which (they say) the very wisest men do wrong themselves often, in the deciding of difficult causes, and matters of importance. As for my selfe, I thinke well of the Romanes lawes, written by men very wise and skillfull in affaires, and I will not infringe their authority in any manner whatsoever. But yet I say, that the proceeding obserued by the *Switzers*, for ending controuersiall cases, is to be preferred before that which is vsed among other Iudges, that giue sentence according to the Romanes lawes. And I am well assured, that mine opinion cannot be reiected, but by ill-disposed & wrangling spirits. For it cannot be denied, that many Aduocates and Attornies, are much more carefull for maintaining the ciuill law, then eyther equity or right: considering, they do nothing else many times, but tie themselves to sillables, words, and termes of the law, which they expound according to their owne fancy, labouring to circumuent a party, and to take him by the nose, as we vse to say. And surely, they do nothing but for the benefit of their owne purses, troubling themselves

Particular  
causes haue  
the same or-  
der of proceed-  
ing as them  
in generall.

After what  
manner their  
causes are de-  
bated.

The Romanes  
order for plead-  
ing law-ca-  
ses, not to co-  
uenient as  
that of the  
*Switzers*.

The negli-  
gence of many  
Aduocates &  
Attornies do  
oftentimes  
preiudice vo-  
ry iust causes.

ouermuch, to obfure and muffle vp matters; by which means, suites are made immortall, to the incuitable detriment & ruine of both parties, being brought (by them) to extreme povertry and misery.

In which respect, they gaue no very euill language, that teamed such practitioners and brablers, blood-suckers of the people: for they empty their purses, yea, and sucke them to the bare bones. And if among the Iustices of *Switzerland*, an error happen to be committed, in the decision of difficult causes, which cometh very sildome to passe: yet notwithstanding, it causeth no such harme, as doth the length and immortalizing of suites. So I may well say, that the manner of proceeding among the *Switzers*, doth lessen expences, ease the people, cuts vp the rootes of lingering suites and differences: because the sentence doth sooner resolute both the parties, and brings them to agreement: whereas in other places, we see suites encrease day by day, and from one case vnto another, growes a great number of nouel variances.

### CHAP. IIII.

Concerning Sentences and Iudgements, in publick and peculiar differences.



Hauing thus made mention of the councill, and daies of audience among the *Switzers*; we are now to speake, concerning such sentences and iudgements as they vse to giue. If any suite doth happen betwene particular persons in the Bayliffes: the Bayliffs or Governors are Iudges in those places, or else the Canton (from whence the appellation ariseth) taketh knowledge, and iudgeth thereof. But the Iustices of euery Canton do iudge (each one within his iurisdiction) in the causes & differences of the Subiects. Beside this, there is iustice for publick suites, which are variances, happening betwene two or more Cantons, or betwene some particulars against a Canton: and such condition as the Cantons haue, the same also their confederates haue.

Lawyers make  
suites to seem  
immortall.

Errorous sildome  
committed among  
the *Switzers* in  
law causes,  
because the  
suites are  
quickly ended

Concerning  
suites of parti-  
cular persons  
in the Bayliffes.

Publick vari-  
ances be-  
tweene Can-  
tons.

DoD Thus

Two Iudges  
chosen for ei-  
ther side.

Places ap-  
pointed for  
the ending of  
suites & dif-  
ferences ac-  
cording to an-  
cient custome.

They that  
met at one  
place, went  
not to another  
except by e-  
speciall ap-  
pointment.

What matters  
cannot be lo-  
vingly ended,  
what course  
they take then

Thus then, for the deciding of such differences, each of the parties doe chuse two Iudges for either side, who are ab-  
solved of the oath which they have taken to their Canton: and promise to iudge according to right and equity, and labour that the suite may bee lovingly and very speedily accorded, or iudicially ended.

By the ancient alliances, there were certain places appointed, for the ending of such suites. The seven first Cantons sent their ambassadors and arbitrators to the Abbey of the Hermitage, to end their such suites as happened among them. By an article of very ancient alliance with them of *Glaris*, it is expressly said: that if they had any suite with them of *Vri*, the assembly should be at *Merch*. If against the canton of *Switz*, the arbitrators should meet at *Bergeraz*: and at *Brinnen*, if against them of *Vnderwald*. And then the other Cantons, having had knowledge of the cause, pronounced the sentence. The *Bernians*, and the three Cantons of *Vri*, *Switz*, and *Vnderwald*, assembled at a place named *Daskenholz*. They of *Zurich* and *Berne*, at *Lofing*. The *Fribourgers* & they of *Solleurre*, having a suite against the eight first Cantons, or some of them, sent their Iudges to *Zofinge*; and if they were defendants, to *Wilschow*. As for the causes of them of *Basile*, *Schaffouse*, and *Appenzell*, they pleaded them at *Bada*, together with them of these Cantons, allied with them of *Rotwille* and of *Mulhouse*. But the differences of them of *S.Gall*, were determined in the Abbey of the Hermitage: and them of the *Grisons*, at *Waltenstadt*, which is a Towne at the ende of the Lake of *Rine*, in the Bayliwick of *Sargans*.

When then some difference happeneth, which cannot bee kindly accorded, and that the enmity of the Cantons seeth to no purpose: the arbitrators and ambassadors of the Cantons that are in suite, do meete at the place appointed, & (with them) the ambassadors of the other Cantons confederates, who come thither to atone the parties, and to make some amiable composition. The Iudges and Arbitrators being assembled, after that the parties have pleaded their causes: if the Iudges take resolution, & give sentence, the parties must (of necessity) be contented. But if they be of diuers opi-

nions (as many times it happeneth) and that there are as many voyces on the one side, as on the other, then a fifth Iudge or arbitrator is chosen, whom they call *Ein obmann*, or *Ein gmein mann*. He giueth no sentence at all, but only approveth one of those, which the arbitrators have pronounced. Sometimes the Iudges themselves do chuse the odde arbitrator: yet in such sort notwithstanding, that he is a man of one of the Cantons, no medler with eyther party, nor having any interest in the cause.

The alliance of the seven first Cantons, makes mention of this election and chioise: as that of *Fribourg*, that of *Solleurre*, that of *Appenzell*, and them of *S.Gall* and of *Mulhouse*. It is added to the articles of the alliance of *Schaffouse*, that if the Iudges cannot accord, by chioise of another arbitrator, taken from one of the Cantons; they shall then take one of the Lords of the council of *S.Gall*. And in the alliance of *Rotwille*, command is given to the Iudges, to chuse for an odde arbitrator, one of the Lords of the council of *S.Gall* or of *Mulhouse*. Sometimes also the complainant chioiseth. As if the *Bernians* have a suite against the three first Cantons, or any one of them; the Cantons that name sixteen men, out of which number, the *Bernians* are to chuse a sub-arbitrator. But if they bee defendants, the Cantons will then (for sub-arbitrator) chuse one of the Lords of the lesser council of *Berne*. If some difference fall betweene them of *Zurich*, and of *Berne*; the complainants chuse for an odde arbitrator, one of the defendants Lords of the council. The same is observed in suites for them of *Basile*, against the other cantons; and so in the *Grisons* causes.

Thus you see how the *Switzers* gouerne themselves, in the deciding of controuersiall suites betweene the common-wealths. I know very well, that some may dispute subtilly, both for, and against this order there observed: but I will leave that discourse to the Readers. For mine own part, I admire the simplicity and integrity of our ancestors, who by such manner of proceeding, have often brought to end very great variances, and carefully conferred publike peace and concord. But they did not regard their owne particular profit, neither desired any thing

When voyces  
are alike on  
either side:  
then a fifth  
Iudge or ar-  
bitrator is  
chosen.

The addition  
to the Article  
of *Schaffouse*

The complain-  
ant is allowed  
to chioise the  
odde Arbitra-  
tor.

There is no-  
thing to be  
done among  
our place, but  
a may come  
into for  
dier.

Their ends &  
ours are quite  
contrary.

more, then to see their country peaceable and flourishing. If now each man had no other meaning, but would aime at that mark: so many suites would not be seene, and easily might those be appealed, that are the hottest attempted.

## CHAP. V.

Of those Common-wealths, which are in each of the several Cantons.  
And first, of the Common-wealths of Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse.



Having then we already how the whole Commonwealth of the *Switzers* is gouerned in common: it behoueth now to make mention, of the Common-wealth in each distinct Canton. Now it seemeth to me, that the common-wealths of the thirteene Cantons, may be referred to three formes. For as there are three names of souerain Magistrates and Cantons, so haue they likewise as many formes of common-wealths; differing not only in name, but also in the things themselves.

In some certaine Cantons, the cheefe Commanders or Heads of the council, are called *Ammans*. This is observed in the Cantons that haue no Cities or Townes, but Villages onely, hauing a popular estate, and the foueraignty appertaining to the people; by whose aduice, the very greatest affaires of importance are decided. Of this number are *Vri*, *Switz*, *Vnderwald*, *Lug*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzell*.

The other Cantons haue their cities and townes, which haue the foueraignty: yet in such manner, as there are two formes of common-wealths. For the cities and townes, especially such as haue bene built by some Princes, or some

times haue bene subiected to them: are gouerned by an *Auer*, whom they call, *Schultheiss*, (who is cheefe of the council) and by some number of councillors chosen by free election, from and by the whole number of citizens. The forme of this common-wealth is *Aristocraticall* among all the other: and in this manner are gouerned the common-wealths of *Berne*, *Lucerns*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*.

There are other cities and townes diuided by certaine companies, by each whereof, and by voyce of such men as are in euery of them, the Lords of the council are elected, and the soueraine Magistrate or cheefe of the council, who by them is termed *Burgermeister*, that is to say, Master of the *Bourgeois*, which we in a shorter word call *Bourgmesser*. Such are the common-wealths of *Zurich*, *Basile*, and *Schaffouse*. Now we are to speake of these diuers formes of common-wealths in order, beginning with the last, first.

First then, all the people of these Townes free and Imperiall, were diuided into two ranks: the one of Noblemen, the other of Yeomen. The Noblemen had a Society by themselves, apart, which the *Allemaignes* or *Germans* did call, *Ein Geselechaft*, and they of *Zurich*, *Ein Constaell*.

In elder times, in the city of *Basile*, which is very spacious, and for the multitude of Noblemen, they were diuided into two societies, bandes, or companies of Noblemen. Oftentimes they were in quarrels, and had the foueraignty: so that out of the one company they chose the Confull, and out of the other, the Tribune or Captain of the city, which is the estate of greatest authority, next vnto that of Confull or Bourgmesser.

Neuerthelesse, afterward the Noblemen lost this foueraignty, or else forsook their right voluntarily. For at the time of the council of *Basile*, when *Lewis*, then Dolphin of France, brought (very neere to *Basile*) an Army of *Armignacks*, in fauour of Pope *Eugenius*, and the Duke of *Austria*; many Gentlemen of *Basile*, went and ioynd with that Army, in regard whereof, they were all banished, and their posterity deprived & excluded from all publike honours.

In towns or cities, the cheefe man is called the *Auer*, the cheefe man of the council.

Election of the Lords of the council, and the soueraine Magistrate, called a *Burgermeister*.

Townes diuided into two ranks, Noblemen and Yeomen.

Two bandes of Noblemen in *Basile*. The Confull and the Tribune or Captain of the City, the two cheefe officers

The Noblemen banished and their posterity excluded.

Afterward, when the Burgesse (by common consent) made alliance with the ten Cantons of the Switzers, in the year, 1501. the most part of the Noble-men, who hated the Switzers: dislodged from the city, and withdrew themselves to Castles heere and there, so that their authority diminished greatly then, and all the rest was lost in the year, 1529. For by the Sermons & exhortations of *Oecolampadius*, the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church were reformed, by order sent from the council, against which, many Noblemen opposed themselves. And although they could not hinder the change of Religion, yet they abandoned and left the city, and would not abide in it.

After which time, the two companies whereof we spake, entered in againe, and got possession of some private houses, & as yet they keepe those houses to themselves, and they belong to the whole body of the Nobility. And those houses are called in their language *Zun Amst* & *zum Brunnen*, but yet none of this is of the council. For although the council do meete together (almost) every day, and the Gentlemen (having forsaken the city) dwell most part of the time in their Castles: by common aduice of the Burgesse, they were excluded from governing in the common-wealth, which they had renounced voluntarily. Neuerthelesse, some noble Families that dwell in the city, & haue had care of the common-wealth with the other Bourgesse, are in ranke of the foure first companies or supporters of the city, and (in them) are chosen to be of the council. And therefore, to do them honour, in regard of their condition; these Tribes or companies are called *Berrensunst*, that is to say, the companies of Lords.

Therefore, there are no more companies of these Noblemen in *Basile*, but those that are distinguished with the other Bourgesse. But at *Zurich* and at *Schaffouse*, the Noblemen haue their companies apart by themselves. And they of *Zurich* haue this priuiledge beside, above the tribes and companies of Tradefmen, to take the moiety, that is, the most part of the Lords of the council, from forth the company of these Noblemen: so that they are as a counterpoise to the other companies. Notwithstanding, there is

some difference among these Noblemen, for the Families of race, that are very noble and ancient: they do make a band by themselves, and they are called *Die Stubler*, by reason of the place where they assemble apart by themselves, by right & especiall priuiledge. To the whole body of these tribes or companies, are ioyned many citizens, which are not of any trade nor traffick: in which respect, they may haue place in one company, rather then in another. Porters, Labourers, Burden-bearers, and other such like manner of people, who when warre hapneth, are held and reputed to be of this body of companies, which they call *Sun Cawstall*, and receive wages: they haue a voice in electing the Master of the whole body of companies, and he is of the Seigneries council, in regard of his place.

Beside the Society and Company of Noblemen, the people of those cities & townes there, are parted into certaine tribes or companies, which the Germans call *Sunst*. The word (it may be) taken name or original, of *Samenkunst*, which signifieth to meete and assemble themselves in company. Some interpret them to be Tribes, others, Courts, and others, Colledges or Abbeys: but wee will call them Tribes or Companies. The number of them is not equall in the forenamed Cities and Townes. For there are fifteene at *Basile*: whereof the foure first are esteemed more noble then the other, and are called the companies of Lords, as already hath bene said. The first tribe or company, is that of Merchants. The second of Gold-smiths, Goldfiners, Founders, and Pewterers. The third is of Merchants dealing onely in wines: with whom the Notaries, Masters of Hospitals, Spitzles, and other such like communities are ioyned. The fourth is of Merchants dealing in Silkes, and of Factors for all States: This company is the very greatest of them all. The other eleuen, are of all sorts of trades and handycrafts men.

Now there is a dozen or twelue tribes or companies at *Zurich*: heerefore they were thirteene in number, when many Drapers & workers in wooll dwelt there: for that was one company by itselfe. But now adaies, the weauers of woollen cloth, and other things, are ioyned into one com-

Oecolampadius his preaching & the alteration of Religion.

Some of the Noblemen got entrance again into the City, but were excluded from governing in the State.

The companies of Lords so called to do them honour.

The priuiledge of them of Zurich in choosing their Lords of council.

Porters, Labourers, and tryingmen are of the body of the city.

Of other Tribes and Companies beside the Noblemen.

Fifteene companies at Basile, and how they are distinguished from the Noblemen.

Twelue tribes or companies at Zurich.

Eleuen tribes or companies are at Schaffouse.

Chief trades and artificers are distinguished by themselves.

Concerning the election of the council.

The great council.

The lesser council.

The great councils of Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse.

Of the lesser councils severally.

Of Consuls and Bourgmasters in each City.

pany with the Fullers and Diars. At *Schaffouse* there are eleuen companies onely: neuerthelesse, it falleth out many times, that diuers trades are ioyned together in one company. They haue their meetings by themselves: as at *Zurich*, the Millers and Bakers, the Barbers and Chirurgions, the Smiths and Metall men. So at *Basile*, the Fishermen and Marriers or Barquers, the Cordwainers and Curriers, the Taylors & Skinners. These companies are diuided, and they are called *Spaltue Sunst*. For when there is question of cheefe Trades, and especially workmen in them, their houses of meetings and assemblies are by themselves. But in things that concern the common-wealth, and when, and where all ought to be present, to elect Lords of the council, or the *Sunst* Masters, who must be also in the council; euery man speaks his minde, and giues his voyce.

Out of each of these companies, some men are chosen, as many of one company as of another, to be Lords of council. In euery city there are two publike councils, which haue the principall authority: as namely, the great council, when as a good number of councillors meete together, in name of all the people: as is vied in the affaires of greatest importance, and which do appertaine to the whole common-wealth. Next, the lesser council, who meete together euery day, about the common-wealths businesse, and take knowledge of differences happening among the citizens. The great council of *Zurich*, consisteth of two hundred me: That of *Basile*, is of two hundred forty foure: and that of *Schaffouse*, is of foure-score and sixe.

As concerning the lesser council of *Zurich*, it is of fifty: that of *Basile* hath threescore and foure: and that of *Schaffouse*, hath but twenty sixe. For out of each tribe or company, twelue are taken for the great council: except at *Zurich*, where they elect eightene of the Nobility. At *Zurich* also each company giueth three men for the lesser council: at *Basile*, foure; at *Schaffouse*, two. Next, in euery of these cities, there are two Consuls or Bourgmasters, who are the cheefe and Presidents of council.ouer and beside these two, at *Basile* there are two Tribunes, who are cheefe in council with

the Bourgmasters. Moreover, at *Zurich* the Noblemen send sixe from among them, to the lesser council: the other companies doe send each one but three. By the plurality of voyces, choise is made of sixe other men, out of such companies as the council do propose, to fill vp the number.

As concerning the election of councillors (for to will wee heereafter call the Lords of the lesser council) it is done in manner following. Euery year, about mid-Iune, and mid-December, all the citizens of *Zurich* assemble themselves together, euery man in his tribe and company: and the elect a cheefe man, whom they call, *Sunstmeister*, that is to say, Master of the tribe or company. The custome of these three cities, is, that the companies haue two Masters: but one of them is in estate but sixe Moneths, at the end whereof, the other succeedeth him. Neuerthelesse, it often comes to passe, that hee who was *Sunstmeister* the halfe year before, is chosen againe. By this meane, the lesser council is diuided in two parts, to wit, the old & new. Such as haue bene in charge the first sixe Moneths, we tearme them of the olde council; for although they be called whe the council is helde, yet notwithstanding, it is not alwayes so done, and there are many matters which passe in the new council onely.

The great council of *Basile* is diuided in the same manner, and of twelue which is taken from each company, there are sixe of the new council, and sixe of the olde. Beside the *Sunstmeisters*, the lesser council of *Zurich* chuseth one councillor from each of the companies: but the lesser council of *Basile* chuseth two. These councillors thus elected, with the other which we haue said to be chosen extraordinarily at *Zurich*, are diuided into two bands: whereof the one is the olde council, and the other the new. These two councils are changed euery sixe Moneths at *Zurich*; so that at their ending, the olde council electeth the new. At *Basile*, and at *Schaffouse*, they continue in the estate a whole year together.

The election of the council at *Schaffouse*, is made on the morrow after Pentecoste: and that of *Basile*, on Saturday be-

How many are sent from each company

The election of councillors for the lesser council, and after what order they elect the *Sunstmeister*.

Of the old & new councils.

The great council of Basile diuided in like manner.

The changing of the old and new councils.

The times of their elections, & their approbation.

before the foure and twentieth day of June. At Zurich, the **Zunftmeisters** are elected by the companies in their houses of meeting: then the councill of two hundred confirmeth this election; but at Basile this confirmation belongeth to the olde councill. The voyce is given openly at Zurich, and secretly at Schaffouse. For in each tribe or company, charge is given to particular persons, to collect the voyce, whereupon they all come to them in order, and tell them closely in the eare, for whom they give voyce to be **Zunftmeister**. The lesser councill assemble at the ofteneft, three times every weeke, and some whiles (vpon earnest occasion) four times. The olde and new councillors of Zurich, are seated one by another, & sometimes one among another: but at Basile, the old councillors are above the younger. They haue also this custome, to withdraw often into another Hall, to consult together. After resolution is taken, a councillor of the first company, reporteth the aduice to the new councill: and they call the reporter **Den Officer**.

The Bourgmaster, whom they call **Burgermeister**, as much to say, as Master of the Bourgeses, is President of the old and new counells. The great councill electeth him by open voyce at Zurich; at Schaffouse by secret voyce: and at Basile, the olde councill first electeth the Bourgmaster, and the new councill the yeare following. The Bourgmaster is in state at Zurich, like Monerhs: but at Basile and Schaffouse, a whole yeare together, and turne by turne, the Bourgmasters and Councillers olde and new are changed. They whom at Basile they terme **Zunftmeisters**, and **Oberstermeisters** at Zurich (as much to say, as Masters of companies and communities) doe second the Bourgmasters in their authority.

At Zurich there are three, and at Basile two, who with the two Bourgmasters are called the foure chiefe & principal Lords of the city. Nine other Lords of the lesser councill at Basile, are ioyned to these four in cheefe, and by reason of the number, they are called the councill of thirteene. They heare the causes of very greates importance, and deliberate on them first, before they propound any thing to the lesser councill: and therefore they may be called Preconsulters, or first council-

lers. Moreover, there is a particular councill at Zurich, whom wee may name the Chamber of accounts, for it manageth publike affaires: and is composed of eight councillors, and haue the Bourgmaster of the olde councill for their President. Then is there two Purse-bearers or Treasurers, and the Superintendents for Ecclesiastical goods do assist them, together with foure other councillors, two of the olde, and two of the new councill. They take knowledge not onely of monies employed for the common-wealth: but oftentimes also, the younger councill demandeth their aduice in cases of importance, whereon they consult a while, and then give their report to the younger councill.

To these publike counells, there are alwayes two Secretaries assisting, with their committees, when necessity requireth. The first and chiefeft is called **Stattschreyber**, that is to say, Secretary of the city. At Zurich, the other is called **Andersschreyber**, that is to say, sub-Secretary: but they of Basile call him **Raatschreyber**, that is, Secretary to the councill. There is a particular Secretary for the Chamber of Accounts, whom they of Zurich call **Rechnenschreyber**. The estate of Secretary in these cities is honorable, and of great gaine. In regard whereof, the Gentlemen strue to keepe it in their owne power, as sildome is it giuen to any other. These men are they (among all other) that know the lawes, customes, priuiledges, and all the secrets of the common-wealth.

Next to the counells publike, are Iustices of the city. There are two at Zurich, one for ciuill causes, **Das Statgricht**, which was in ancient times vnder power of the Nunnes, and the Abbesse elected the Lieutenant, or cheefe man in that kinde of iustice, whom they called **Den Schultheissen**, and his assessors or assistants: but now the election belongeth to the lesser or younger councill. Their number is of eight, and they haue their Lieutenant, Secondary, and Serient. To them appertaineth the knowledge of ciuill causes, Debtes, Hires, Lendings, Borrowings, Sales, and as the **Smazers** vse to say, they iudge **Umb erbynd eigen**. There is no appeale from their sentence: but if there happen any difficult

The chamber of accounts, the officers thereof.

Two Secretaries assisting to the counsell.

The office of Secretary, is honorable.

A Iustice for dealing in ciuill causes.

What causes they take knowledge of.

No appeale from the Iustices sentence.

Of giuing the voyce it is not in all places alike.

The sitting of the olde and new councillors.

Of the Bourgmasters or Consuls, the manner of their election.

Masters of companies & communities, Tribunes of the people.

The councill of thirteene men.

difficult cause, they send it to the Councill.

The other Iustice, whom they call **Das Zunftgricht**, is a Iudgement of proccesse and suites, which happen for rents and yearely reuenues. The Secretary of the other Iustice, and two Lords of the younger councill, it seemes doe daily assist for the ending of all such differences. In the bigger Basile there are two such kinds of Iustices, and a third in the lesser Basile. That Law or Iustice of greatest authority, which they terme also **Das Statgricht**, is composed of ten Iudges; one part whereof is of the councill, and the other, such as the people do name. They take knowledge of all causes, ciuill and criminall: but when there is question of testaments, wils, contracts, monies borrowed, and other such like things: the Prouost or Lieutenant of the city sitteth in Iudgement. As for causes criminall, the Prouost of the Empire iudgeth them. And there are three Lords of the councill, who do pursue criminall causes, by the sollicitation of one, who is an ordinary Attorney, named by them, **Oberstenknecht**, and keepeth company with the Iudges, having an advocate waiting on him.

These Iudgements are done publickly, and haue eight open audiences, where by all are permitted to be there present, to heare and see whatsoeuer is done. But at Zurich and at Schaffouse, the new councill doth iudge the criminall causes. Neuerthelesse, the Bourgmaster doth not then sit: but it is the Prouost of the Empire, whom **Rechtsvogt**, or **Blutrichter**, who presideth and collecteth the voyces. Every yeare the councill chuseth some one of that body, to exercise that charge, Proccesse and suites criminall are handled at Zurich, with the doores fast shut: but at Schaffouse in open Court, so that all men may vnderstand the accusations and defences. But the councill commandeth all to be absent, when there is question of pronouncing sentence. The second order of Iustice at great Basile, iudgeth not but in cases of small importance, which hardly exceedeth the summe of ten pounds. But the Iustice of smaller Basile, hath a Iudge apart, & taketh knowledge of all causes, except of criminall.

There are two Courts, or kinds of

Iustices at Schaffouse. The one which they call **Das Schuldgricht**, is law or iustice for debts: for therein onely is ended differences of contracts, debtes, and such like things. And if the summe whereof question is made, doe amount aboue an hundred crownes, the councill then takes knowledge of it. In this Court are twenty assessors or assistants, to wit, one of each Tribe: moreover, eight other persons, chosen by the councill. The other order of Iustice is named **Loggricht**, or **Pfussgricht**, that is to say, Iustice for fines and amercements: because the Prouost of the empire, or Iudge in causes criminall, presideth there, and condemneth all such forfeitures & fines. There are twelue assessours out of the twelue Tribes, and who are of the great councill. Causes criminall of lesser importance, are debated and ended in this Iustice there; as light injuries, vulgar outrages, and such like. But when wordes do wound honour, and the wrong is not easie to bee dissembled or digested; the knowledge of such cases appertaineth to the lesser councill.

Beside what hath bene said, these three cities haue each one their particular councill, which they terme **Ein Chorgricht**, or **Begricht**, where they discourse on causes of matrimony. For after that the religion was changed, the counells of the three cities established one councill: wherein were a certaine number of assistants, elected by publique suffrages, and taken out of the olde and new counells, and among whom were some Diuines or Theologians as they call them. Neuerthelesse, at Schaffouse none of the Ministers were assistants, but onely some learned men admitted to councill, who had each one as his adiunct, some Doctour of the Law. These Iudges take knowledge of all matrimoniall causes: punish whoredomes and adulteries; and haue cause to obserue the lines & manners of euery one.

Beside, in these common-wealths, bastards are deprived of all honours and dignity: nor is it lawfull for them to bee seene at the councill, nor in the Courts of Iustice. True it is, they are not guilty of that stain to their birth, neither can it bee denied, but that (oftentimes) bastards haue wonne more commendations for

Two kinds of Iustice at Schaffouse.

The second kinde of Iustice at Schaffouse.

Criminall offences of lesser importance.

The three cities haue peculiar counells beside the other.

Diuines admitted to be of the councill.

Of such as are exempted & prohibited, not to be seen in the councill, or in any Court of Iustice.

The office & authority of the other Iustice.

The Iustice of greatest power and authority.

Law and Iustice for criminall causes.

Criminall Iudgements are openly performed.

Criminall causes at Zurich not openly heard.

The other orders of Iustice in great and lesser Basile.

for their virtues, then euer could their legitimate brethren: as we have an example of *Iephia*, Iudge of Gods owne people. But to bridle the leud concupiscences of many, and to conferre the dignity of sacred marriage: Bastards stand as branded with infamy, and yke some eye-fores to well ordered common-wealths.

Next, hee that hath not dwelt tenne years within the city of *Zurich*, cannot be chosen to be one of the publike counsell.

Such as are borne out of *Switzerland* cannot be of the lesser counsell at *Schaffouse*: But if they be Bourgeses of twenty years standing, they may be brought into the great counsell, & into the number of the Iudges.

I will not tell you that strangers are unworthy of these honours: but it is requisite first of all, that hee who ought to haue charge in a common-wealth, should be particularly affectioned and obliged thereto, and afterward be well skilde and sene, in the lawes and customes of the country.

And me-thinks, citizens, and such as (from their youth) haue bene bred in a common-wealth; should haue more advantage therein, then strangers.

Moreover, there is nothing more pernicious to common-wealths, then enuies and despights, proceeding from such advancements to high degrees: as draw on partialities and factions, the danger whereof cannot be auoyded, when naturall borne subiects are left despised, and ancient Families contemned, and charge of publike Officers giuen to strangers, & men of no merit.

Beside bastards and strangers, adulterers, murderers, and men made infamous for any crime: are (by a common law) excluded from counsell in these common-wealths.

Publike estates and conditions are of diuers kinds in these common-wealths, and in great number, according as the cities are peopled: we will make mention of the principals onely.

The highest degree, next after the Bourg-masters and *Zunft*-Masters, are such as haue charge of the publike monies: who are called in many places of *Switzerland*, *Seckelmeister*, as much to say, as Treasurers or Purse-bearers. At

*Basile* there are three, named *Dreyherren*, that haue the keeping of the cities treasures. Besides them, there are three other, named *Ladenherren*, who manage the monies of the Imposits, Customes, and yearly reuenues of the common-wealth: They also pursue criminall causes, making themselves parties, by meanes of the ordinary Attorneys. At *Zurich* there are men (almost) in the selfe-same charge, whom they call *Die Ambgelter*; who manageth the tolle-monies of Corne and Wine, which they cause to be gathered by their committees. This tolle or taxation is not but on the Wine publicly sold, and on the Corne brought in from abroad: but for the wine & corne which the Bourgeses eate and drinke in their houses, they pay not any thing.

Beside these two Treasurers of the common-wealth, there is a third at *Zurich*, for the reuenues of the Church, & he is called *Der Bloetereu obman*: he gathereth certaine reuenues of the Abbeyes; wherewith the Ministers wages are payed, the Churches maintained, and the poore cherished or releued, and the ouerplus remaining, is referred to ease the people in times of publike necessities. Some yeares past, the country of *Zurich* hauing bene afflicted with an extreme dearth of victuals: the receiver sold toorne at a meane price to them of the city, and to most part of the Villages round about, bought with the referred money at the best rate, and thereby the Subiects of the Seigneury were greatly releued.

Next to these, there are other Officers, as they that take care of publike buildings, whom the French call *Foyers*, the Germans *Putzherren*, and they of *Basile*, *Lontherren*, because they pay the works & workmen that serue in publike. These Sunayers haue charge of the waies, Gates, Towers, Rampiers, Bridges, Couduits, and other publike Edifices: taking order that they shall bee maintained and kept in their best ability. Moreover, they iudge with three Lords of the counsell (who are their adiuncts) such differences as happen for the confines, Gutters, Channels, Windowes, Walles, and such like things, & wherein the neighbours are to be guided by their direction in their building. At *Basile* there are five Seigneurs, that take knowledge of these matters.

There

Diers Officers appoint to take charge of victuals. For bread. For flesh.

For fish.

For butter & cheese. Other Officers noted by their names.

Of Schooles & vniuersities

The vniuersity at Basile, founded by Aeneas Syluius, who was after Pope, called Pius.

The reason why so few Schollers are, in the Vniuersity of Basile.

There is another degree of them that take charge of victuals. Of this number are the viliters for bread, to consider if the Loose carry his full weight, or no. Others view the Fish in the Butchery, and aduisedly observe, that they kill not any Beale, the flesh whereof is bad, and dangerous to be eaten; they also set a price vpon the pound, to sell it by. Then there are some that take charge of Fish, and heedfully forecke, that none be taken whē they are spawning, and haue an eye, beside to the goodnesse of all other Fish in the Market. Others looke to salt Fish, and to the Market of Butter and Cheese, how it is reasonably sold. There are some other Officers, whose names are sufficient to be noted: as the Patrons of Widowes and Orphanes, *Schirmwerg*, and at *Basile*, *Aussenherren*: The Almoners; Viliters for weights and measures; Deputies for questioning of matters; Comptrolers of Ecclesiasticall goods; and Viliters of Schooles.

Moreover, in these cities there are Schooles very well ordered. At *Basile* is a Vniuersity greatly renowned, established by *Aeneas Syluius*, afterward Pope, named *Pius* the second, who gaue it all the same priuiledges, rights, and immunities, which the Vniuersities of *Boulogne*, *Colongne*, *Heidelberg*, *Erford*, *Lipsa* & *Vienne* haue. *Aeneas Syluius* was lodged at *Basile*, during the time as the counsell was kept there. He found the city so pleasaunt, the ayre so sweete, with such commodity and abundance of all things; that he reputed the place apt and worthy to haue a Vniuersity founded in it. In the times of our ancestors, and our owne also, this Vniuersity hath yielded many wise men, professors of the tongues, in Philosophy and all Sciences, who are needlesse here to be named. Neuertheless, considering the greatnesse of the city, and the fame of the Doctors there abiding, there are but few Schollers. *Beatus Rhenanus* rendereth the reason, and saith: It is occasioned by the smallnesse of reuenues belonging to this Vniuersity, and to many Schooles in Germany. As thinking, that if there were fewer Schooles and Vniuersities, they would bee much more frequented than they are. There is not any Vniuersity at *Zurich*; notwithstanding, cūen to this present day, the tongues haue

bee come so faithfully taught there, and all good Sciences and Diuinity, that it is very famous, and highly esteemed among all them that study Diuinity.

Finally, these three cities whereof we speake, haue power to stampe and coyne monie: and therefore there are forging Mints, and Masters of the monies, whose charge is to take order that the money coyned with the stamp of the city, should beare full weight, and be of a good alloy. Each of these cities hath her money apart by herselfe. They of *Basile* do coyne the same money with them of *Halstatt* and of *Bourgogne*, and call it a *Kappmunzt*, in regard of a Raven, which serueth for Armes to many peeces of their money. Five & twenty Sols of this money, makes a Florin of gold, which is thought to value threecore cruzers. At *Schaffouse* the money is of the same alloy & price, as that of the Empire. They of *Zurich* do coyne Dallers, and halfe Dallers, of equall price with them of the Empire: but they haue a kinde of money, which is their owne in particular, whereof forty Sols makes a Florin of gold. They stampe also another sort of money, which they call *Baches*, whereof sixteen make a Florin.

In ranke of these publike charges and offices, we may set downe the Watch, & such as take care for prouision against the accidents of fire. There are two sortes of watch, besides the Sentinels in the clock-houses, and the Porters. First the perpetual guardes at the cities cost, who keepe watch every night, and diligently search through all parts of the city, crying at all houres of the night. Out and beside these, out of each company are taken a certaine number of Bourgeses, who likewise watch (according to their turnes) with their Armes. This double guard is not done for any feare they haue of enemies: but to auoid the inconveniences of fire, and to take order also, that (during the time of night) all matters may be peaceable and quiet.

They that are Committees, to take care of dangers concerning fire, when any such happeneth in the city, may command the Carpenters, and other men of like quality, to runne for quenching the fire, taking order that all may bee done without confusion, and for the best safety of them that haue the misfortune of the fire.

Mints for the coyning of money in these three cities.

The money of Basile.

The monie of Schaffouse.

The monie of Zurich.

The watch may not be forgot among other officers in publike, & tending to the generall good

The office of them that are guardes for accidents of fire

What the order is in times of fire.

The city distinguished into diuers bands in martial order.

When fire taketh a village out of the city.

What care the Switzers haue of the poore.

A collection of charitable almes for the poore.

fire. Moreouer, they carry an eye ouer the watch at the Gates, and on the wals; leste any tumult should happen in the city. For it is ordained, that when the fire is in any one place, a certaine number of the Bourgeses (chosen out of each company) make their sudden appearance at the Gates or Ports, and vpon the walles in Armes. Moreouer, the whole city is distributed into certaine bandes, eury one of them hauing his Capitaine & Ensigne to it selfe, vnder whom they go marching in excellent order. The Bourgmaster betakes himselfe to the Town-house, with some of the principall councillors and officers of the Seignury, to aduise on what is good for the weale publike. And not only Carpenters, Mafons, and their seruants, but likewise most of the Bourgeses meete together, all labouring industriously to quench the fire: and oftentimes the women thew themselves of no meane courage, in bringing and casting on the water. Beside, if the fire happen in some Village out of the city, the lustiest disposed of eury Tribe (whereof election is made for the purpose) do meete, and issue forth together, to quench the fire. They are conducted by one of the councill Seigneurs, who is sent to helpe and aduise what is meetest to bee done, but most especially, to comfort them that haue the losse.

We haue already told you, that the Switzers take great care for the poore. At Zurich, and in some other Townes, there is a daily distribution of almes to all the poore there, as of Bread and Pulse-pottage. There are a great number of poore Schollers in Zurich, sometimes forty, othervhiles fourescore, that are thus releeued; some bestowing garments, and other needfull things on them also, vsing the poore in no worse manner, then they of the Abbeyes and Couents in the Seignury of Zurich are. Vpon the Sundayes and festiual dayes, an almes collection is made of the people: which Monethly, or at eury two Moneths, by men chosen & deputed to the office, is distributed equally to the poore in the city, and such as lie abroad in the fields. Beside, in the Cities there are great Hospitals, wherein needy citizens, aged, impotent, sicke persons, orphans, and many other are releeued. The Seignury appointeth diuers

honest people, to haue care of the poores necessities: such as are the Master of Hospitals, Proctors, Receiues, & their Committees and Comptrollers.

Hitherto wee haue shewne you the forme and state government obserued in the cities; but ouer and beside these, they haue authority in the neighboring countries, and (among the rest) the canton of Zurich hath more country iurisdiction, and larger Bayliwicks, then eyther Basile or Schaffouse. But in all the Lands and Seigneuries belonging vnto these three cantons, there is one and the selfe-same order of government. For certaine Bayliwicks are governed by the councill of the city, in such manner, as the Bayliffes dwell in the city, and are councillors of the common-wealth, and yet go to keepe Courts in the Villages. And if there happen any criminall suite, and whereof there is desert of punishment capital, the councill taketh knowledge thereof. There are other Bayliwicks of farre larger extent, and thether Bayliffes are sent with ample power: so that they iudge not only in ciuill causes, but oftentimes in criminall occasions, and chastise malefactors, according to the cheapnesse of the delicts. These Bayliwicks haue their priuiledges and ancient customes: some alio haue law and iustice apart by themselves, and are administred by Iudges chosen out of the same places.

The Bayliffes make no change or alteration (of any thing) in these places; but they leaue to the inhabitants, all their rights safe and sound: contenting themselves onely to preside in iustice, and giue sentence according to the lawes and customes of each Bayliwicke. The canton of Zurich hath nine great Bayliwicks, to wit, the country of Kybourg, the Bailiwicks of Groningen, Andelfingen, Grisenste, Eglishow, the free Province, Regenbourg, Vadswile, and Laufen, neere to the fall of Rhein. There are two and twenty small Bayliwicks or Castle-tships beside: in some of which, there is as large extent of ground, and as great number of men, as in some of the greater Bayliwicks. Moreouer, beside these Bayliwicks, two pleasant Townes, namely Winteran and Stein, are vnder the protection of Zurich's canton. The Officers of iustice are in the same Townes; but the inhabitants are tyed

The cities extend into great and a broad fourth of the cities limits.

All the Bayliwicks are cut alike in their extent & authority.

No changed lawes, proleues, or customs, by the Bayliffes in any of their iuridictions.

What Bayliwicks do belong to Zurich, & what Townes be side.

The Bayliwicks belonging to Basile.

ed in obedience to the Seignury of Zurich, to obey their lawes, and to go to war for that Canton; in which respect, the two Townes haue their severall Ensignes by themselves.

The Bayliwicks belonging to the Canton of Basile, are the Castle of Farnsburg, seated on the top of a Mountaine above Rhipfeld; Walbourg, a small towne on the Mount Iura, which they tearme *Der Hohenstein*, in regard of the Rock there cut in funder; Hombourg, Munchenslein, and Ramstein.

Schaffouse hath the most part of the country of Cleggoew, all about basile, and sendeth Bayliffes and Chastellaines into the Bourroghs and Villages on it depending.

## CHAP. VI.

Of the publike estate and gouernment, of the Townes of Berne, Lucerna, Fribourg, and Solleurre: which are not diuided into Tribes and Companies, as Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse are.

Of the second kinde of gouernment without tribes or companies.

Schuldheff: The deuision of the word.

The words as they are written in the Lombards lawes.

WE haue already said, that the second kinde of publike gouernment, is considered in such Townes, as are not distributed into certaine Tribes or Companies, out of which are equally chosen, the Lord & Seigneurs appointed for Councill and Iustice. In these towne they that are soueraigne Magistrates, or Heads of publike councill, are called *Schuldheffen*. The old *Alleman* word is found in the Lawes of the Lombards, where it is written, *Schuldabis*. It seemeth that the word came of debt, which the Switzers tearme *Schuld*, and of commanding: as much to say, that the *Schuldabis* commands the debtors to satisfie them of whom they borrowed. And in this sense it is found written in the Lombards lawes, vnder the title of debts and wages, in these words.

*If a free man who is a debtor, hath nothing else wherewith to make satisfaction, but his owne priuate Cattell, as Horses and Oxen for labour, or Kine to the pail: then he that chalengeth or demandeth the debt, shall go to the*

*Schuldabis, and intimate the cause, giuing him to vnderstand, that his debtor hath nothing else to make repayment withall, but the matters about rehearsed. Then the Schuldabis is to make seizure on the said Cattell, &c.*

The same word is found also in the twentieth title of King *Luipran's* lawes in significant tearmes, as followeth. *If any man haue a cause or suite, and do appeare before his Schuldabis to demand iustice: if in case that the Schuldabis do him not iustice within foure houres after following (if both the parties stand bound, to answer before him) himselfe shall pay to the demander fixe Sols, and to his iudge fixe Sols.*

We may perceiue heereby, that the word *Schuldabis* signified (among our graue Ancients) a Iudge, that gaue sentence vpon differences concerning debts, made leuicy on the debtors goods, and compelled them to pay their creditors. Neuerthelesse, there was no iustice so high, but hee stood in subiection to the county. At this day, the name is in frequent vse among the Princes of Germany: so that the Iudges of Townes and Villages haue no other name. Among the Switzers it is more honourable, for in the forenamed townes, the *Schuldabis* is lord ouer all. The soueraigne Magistrates of Townes among the Switzers, some haue thought were called Consuls, in imitation of the Romans: others hold opinion, that Bourgmasters and *Schuldabis* ought to be called Prefstors. For mine owne part, I call them Consuls, that are Presidents in publike council. The French call him an *Auyer*, whom we tearme *Schuldheff*.

Now as concerning the Towns wherof we speak, they are not diuided by companies and trades, because there are lawes which prohibit them from so doing. But although the forme of the Commonwealths of Zurich and Berne are different: yet the one stands bound to succour the other reciprocally, to maintaine and conserue the estate, such as is established in eythers common-wealth. In the meane while, the trades that are at Berne, Lucerna, Fribourg, and Solleurre, haue houses established for meeting, for knowledge of the best and cheefest workmen, but not for the election of Magistrates. They tearme those Officers by the name of *Schulschafften*, and not *Zunftten*.

The words out of King Luipran's lawes to the same effect.

A Iudge that sentenced causes of debts onely.

The cheefe Magistrate of any Towne among the Switzers.

No Trades or companies in these Townes after such manner as at Zurich.



Two public  
councils in  
those Towns:  
the great and  
the lesser.

In these Townes there are two public councils, as at *Zurich, Basle, & Schaffhouse*; to wit, the great and the lesser. The great council of *Berne*, is of two hundred men, as at *Zurich*, although it hath more than two hundred councillors. The lesser council of *Berne*, is of fixe and twenty. At *Lucerna*, eighteen councillors do governe the estate, during the space of fixe Moneths, and eightene other fixe Moneths, or the rest of the yeare. To elect the council of *Berne*, the proceeding is in this manner.

Banderet is  
the Capitaine  
of a quarter  
in any good  
Towne.

The third Feries before Easter day, the foure Banderets of the Towne, do chuse, and take with them sixteen Bourgeses, the worthiest and best esteemed men of all: then these twenty, with the *Auyers*, do elect the great council, wherefore we may well call them Electors. First of all, they consider and examine exactly, the lues and manners of all them that are to be of the council of two hundred: and if any one of them hath soyled his dignity and reputation, with any bad or villainous acte; they depose him, and in the place, as well of the deposted, as of the ded, they chuse another, whom they do better like and allow of. In meane while, their election remaineth secret, untill the evening of the day before Easter, & then the Officers goe, and signifie to all them that are elected for the great and lesser councils: that they are to meete on the morrow morning in the Towne-houfe.

The Seigneurs  
of the great  
council meete  
in the  
Towne-houfe

The first Feries after Easter, the Seigneurs of the council do assemble in their houses of meeting, and afterward they conduct them to the Towne-houfe, that are newly set downe, to be in number of the two hundred, and then all the Magistrates are elected. The election ended, the Bourgeses go to feast in their houses, and after dinner, walke forth into the fields: exercising themselves there in leaping, running, throwing the Barre, Stone, and other pastimes. But the *Auyers* goes againe to the towne-houfe, accompanied with the twenty Electors, and there they elect the councillors, that are to be of the lesser council. On the morrow, they are named to the council of two hundred, and after that their election is approued, they goe and sitte downe in their places. Now in regard that the council of *Lucerna* doth command no longer time the

fixe Moneths onely: the election of the Seigneurs both for the lesse and greater council, is made twice yearly, if there be any vacante places, and that is done about mid-Iune, and mid-December. The new councillors are taken from the lesser council, that governed during the fixe precedent Moneths.

The *Auyers* or Consuls, who are about the other Seigneurs, are elected by the lesse and greater councils, & by common voyces. The authority of the *Auyers* at *Lucerna*, lasteth but a yeare, and 2. yeares at *Berne*: but yet in such manner that the voyces are yearly taken for him, and hee againe elected. Next to the *Auyers* of *Berne*, the principall men in the commonwealth, are the foure Banderets, chosen out of foure companies of trades-men onely, or men of handy-crafts, to wit, Carpenters, Curryers, or Leather-dressers (who are distributed in three parts) Bakers, and Butchers.

The Towne of *Berne* is diuided into foure parts, which are committed (each one of them) to these foure Banderets: who view and ouer-see the Armes of all the Bourgeses, and prouide for the affairs of warre. They continue in their charge the space of foure yeares: but every yeare on the same day as the *Auyers* is elected, they resigne their estates, and deliver in to the hands of the cheefe Visier of the Seigneury, their Ensignes, and all the other markes of their dignity, which are laide on a Table before the *Auyers* and the council: and then the great and lesser council giues their voyces, concerning the Banderets. If one of them haue continued in his charge fully foure yeares, or is preuented by death, another is planted in his place: but yet it is thus conditionally done, that if the dead did not finish his foure yeares, his successor must accomplish them in the nature of a substitute, and afterward, execute the same charge foure other yeares.

In all the Townes of the *Switzers*, the dignity of Purse-bearers or Treasurers is great. Some whiles, the time of their charge is not limited at all; but they continue in that estate, so long as pleaseth the council, and themselves also. There are two of them at *Berne*, the one receiue the reuennues of the Towne, and of the *Allemaigne* country: the

The council  
of *Lucerna*  
chosen twice  
yearly.

The election  
of the *Auyers*  
or Consuls.

The chusing  
of the foure  
Banderets out  
of foure com-  
panies.

The diuision  
of *Berne* into  
the foure dis-  
tricts.

The time of  
the Banderets  
continuing  
in their  
office.

The dignity  
of Purse-bear-  
ers or Treasurers.

The election  
of the lesser  
council.

Two Treasurers  
at *Berne*,  
and their  
charge.

the other is for the Romane country, because he receiue the reuennues which the Seigneury deriueth from the countries of *Vant*, and of *Sauoye*. Those men which we haue so lately named *Auyers*, Banderets, and Treasurers, with one councillor of the two hundred, are called at *Berne*, *Die heintlichen Rath*, which is as much to say, as the secret or priuy council. For to them (before all other) matters of most secrecy, of consequence, and which concerne the whole Common-wealth, are reported and trusted.

After that the abouenamed Magistrates haue bene elected, and confirmed by the lesse and greater councils; aduice is vied, concerning other publique Offices, which is done in some of those Townes the very same day, and on the morrow in others.

As for those estates that haue not any dignity, as Sericants, Executors of iustice, Messengers, Watches, and other such like charges: ordinarily, the lesser council bestowes them of such, as they know meetest for them.

The Bernians hold this properly to themselves, as concerning election of their councillors, that they will not receiue any person into the lesser council, if he be not borne within the Towne. In elder times, if the sonnes of councillors were borne out of the Towne, they could not attaine to the fathers dignity. Now adayes, when some councillors are absent, about occasions of the weale-publike, and for the gouerning of some Bayliwicke: if they happen to haue any children, they are reputed as borne in the Towne. For the great council, they may be elected that are borne out of *Berne*: provided that they be Bourgeses, haue houses in the Towne, and are issued of the *Switzers* country, or of the confederates of the Cantons. For no man is receiued into the council of the two hundred, if he be borne out of *Switzerland*: and the same is in practise at *Zurich*, as we haue already declared. In like manner, bastards, and people of infamous note, are quite excluded from council.

There are three Courts or Benches of iustice at *Berne*, all the Iudges whereof, are elected by the Banderets & Treasurers, and are confirmed by the lesser council.

The first Court of iustice is called, *Das Alerrecht*. The *Auyers* preside there, but the cheefe Visier, whom they call *Der grofz Weibel*, doth (almost) daily keepe the place, and hath 12. Assitants, to wit, the last man elected of the foure Banderets, one of the Seigneurs of the lesser council, and tenne of the great, with one Secretary, and two Officers. They take knowledge of debts, injuries & outrages of slender consequence, as if one man giue another a box on the eare, or giue some words to his disgrace. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesser council, and from them, to the sixty men, which is a council composed of Seigneurs of the lesser council, and of fixe and thirty councillors of the great council. From the sixty, appeale may be made vnto the generall. The Iudges doe assemble every day to conclude causes, onely Tuesday excepted, which is the Market day.

The second Court of iustice, iudgeth the appellations of the country of *Sauoye*: and therefore it is commonly called, the Court for strange Appellations; *Das veltich Appellatz gericht*. The Purse-bearer or Treasurer of the country, sitteth in iudgement there, & hath ten assitants, to wit, two Seigneurs of the lesser council, and eight of the great, with one Secretarie and an Officer. They end all the appeales for the country of *Sauoye*, and giue audience to parties at all times, and as oft as they desire it. Notwithstanding, their ordinary vie is to meete after the day of *S. Martin* in Nouember, vntill the Moneth of December. All they of *Sauoye* come thither to the appellations, they onely of *Lausanna* excepted: but at every two yeares, the Treasurer cometh to *Lausanna* with some assitants, and there decideth the causes of appeale.

The third Court or iurisdiction, takes knowledge of matrimoniall causes. It is the Confitory, where there are eight Iudges; two of the lesser council, who preside or giue sentence there (turne by turne) two Moneths to two Moneths; two Ministers of the Church; four of the great council, and they haue a Secretary or Clarke, and an Officer. They assemble three times in the weeke, namely,

The first  
Court of  
Iustice, how and  
what causes  
are therein  
determined.

The second  
Court is cal-  
led the Court  
of appellations,  
or appel-  
les.

The ordinary  
meeting of  
the Court.

The third  
Court, the  
Confitory  
for marriage-  
matters.

The limitation  
on their  
authority.

Two Courts  
of iustice at  
Lucerna, and  
what causes  
are con-  
sidered in them.

Criminal  
causes con-  
cerning life  
and death.

How they  
proceed in cas-  
es of death.

In the Bayl-  
wicks of Berne

Of the Bayl-  
wicks belong-  
ing to them  
of Berne.

namely, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, then they consider not onely on matrimoniall causes, but also censure such as give scandal, and put in practise the discipline of the Church. Moreover, these men and the Iudges of the first court of iustice, doe hold in estate but halfe the year, and are changed about Easter, and likewise about the end of September.

They of *Lucerna* haue two courts of iustice, the one they call *Das vuchengricht*, because the Iudges do meeete euery weeke, and decide al suites proceeding of debts and contracts. The other is called *Das nuer gricht*, the iustice of nine: for nine Iudges take knowledge of iniuries and outrages, and accordingly inflict punishment. There is not any Consistory at *Lucerna*, neither at *Fribourg*, or *Solleurre*: because they are Catholiques, and subiect to the iurisdiction of Bishops. by whose Officials the causes concerning matrimony are debated.

As for criminall matters capitall, there are not any particular Iudges thereto appointed, neyther at *Berne*, nor *Lucerna*. But when question is made concerning any ones life, the great and smaller counsels take knowledge thereof, and iudge it. The *Auoyer* sit in cheefest authority, and censure on the matters. After sentence is refused on at *Berne*, the *Auoyer* goes and sits in a seate of iustice, appointed in some eminent part of the Towne, enuironed with Officers of the Seignury. Then the Cleare or Secretary readeth out aloud the confession of the offender, & the sentence giuen against him. Afterward the *Auoyer* enioyneth the hangman to execute the sentence, and commandeth the condemned person to bee deliuered to him. At *Lucerna*, the counsell do iudge in criminall causes, of all the Bayliwicks, and all the Malefactors are punished within the Towne. But in all the Bayliwicks of *Berne*, there is iustice apart by it selfe, which they call *Landtgricht*, and thether the Iudges of all the bayliwicks are called, and giue their aduice in presence of the Bayliwicks, who presideth: and yet in such sort, as the counsell of *Berne* may approve, or change the sentence, if they thinke good.

The *Bernians* haue many Bayliwicks, & are the most powerfull Seigneurs of the Leagues. In some they speak the *Alleman*

or *Germane* tongue; in other the *Romane* or *Sauoyan*. Among the *Alleman* Bayliwicks, there are foure depending on the Towne, and are euen as Subburbs thereto: whereof the foure Banderets are Bayliwicks, and if they were to go to war, those Bayliwicks march vnder the Ensignes of the foure Banderets. Moreover, there are seuen and twenty other beside, to wit, the vale of *Hafell*, which hath an *Anman*, out of the body of the inhabitants, but hee is elected by the counsell of *Berne*, & there rendereth an account of his charge. *Vndersee* is a Towne so named, because it is at the end of a Lake: whether it is an *Auoyer* seat, but he is of the Towne of *Berne*, the vale of *Simma*, both high and low, do call their Bayliwicks *Schachtlande*, that is to say, Castilians. *Fruingen*, *Sane*, and *Aelen*, do name their Bayliwicks, *Gouernour*. *Luppen* and *Thun* are in the same condition as *Vndersee*.

Next to these, are *Signow*, *Trachselwald*, and the Rivers of the vale of *Emme*. *Brandis*, that receiues her Bayliffe from the Lord of the place: but he is numbred among the Bourgeses of *Berne*. *Sumswald*, where the Masters of the *Tentouricke* Order established a Bayliffe. *Burgdorf* and *Pyrmstein* are gouerned all alike, as *Vndersee*, *Landhont*, *Arberg*, *Nidow*, *Erlach*, *Bippin*, *Wange*, *Arwange*, *Arboug*, *Eberstein*, *Schenkenberg*, and *Leimboug*. Moreover, there are three free Townes in the country of *Ergow*, vnder the Seignury of *Berne*, to wit, *Zofinge*, *Arow*, and *Brug*. There are eight Roman Bayliwicks, as namely, *Anancies*, *Modon*, *Tuerdun*, *Laufanna*, *Morget*, *Nyon*, *Orbe*, *Aille*, and *Venay*. Beside, they of *Berne* and of *Fribourg* haue foure Bayliwicks in common; as *Mort*, *Schwarzenbourg*, *Granfon*, & *Chalans*, whether they send a Bayliffe successively at euery 5. yeares end: so that if the Bayliffe be of *Berne*, his causes of appeale goe to *Fribourg*, where the reasons of the Bayliffe are examined. There are Provoosts beside, for the gouernment of Abbeys. The *Bernians* had nine in the *Allemanne* country, sixe wherof held iurisdiction, and three in the *Romane* country.

They of *Lucerna* haue onely two out of the Towne, as at *Wiken*, and at *Sempach*: but hee of *Sempach* hath no other authority in the place, but only the superintendency of the Lake, and of the Fish.

The Anman  
of the Vale  
of Hafell.

The Auoyer  
of Vndersee.

The Bayliffe  
of the Vale  
of Emme.

\* The compa-  
ny of the  
Hunt-Wer-  
gians.

Eight Roman  
Bayliwicks.

Foure Bayl-  
wicks in com-  
mon.

Of the Bayl-  
wicks that be-  
long to Lu-  
cerna.

As

The priuilege  
of Merisun-  
do, and of o-  
ther places  
belide.

Lex Talionis  
is yet in  
some vics at  
Lucerna.

Cornets of  
Brasse vied in  
stead of trum-  
pets at Lu-  
cerna.

Cornettes.

Rowland who  
the Italians  
call Orlando.

Monies coyn-  
ed by all  
these townes.

As for their other Bayliwicks, they are gouerned by some of the Seigneurs of the counsell. Those Bayliwicks are *Willison*, the Vale of *Entlebuch*, *Rotenbourg*, *Halspourg*, *Berone*, and the neighbouring countrie, which they call, *Chelump*: *Merisunde*, that hath this priuilege, to chuse for Bayliffe, one of the Seigneurs of counsell in *Lucerna*, euen whom they list, except the *Auoyer*: *Weggis*, *Elbon*, *Horbe* and *Krientz*. Moreover, the two Townes of *Sursey* and *Sempach*, are in the protection of the *Lucernians*: Neuerthelesse, they haue their counsell apart by themselves, who iudge in causes both ciuill and criminall. But the *Auoyer* of *Sursey*, giueth his oath to them of *Lucerna*. He of *Sempach* is elected by the counsell at *Lucerna*: but he is in number among the citizens of *Sempach*.

The law of likenesse or equality, which the Latines termed *Lex Talionis*, is as yet vied (in some sort) at *Lucerna*. For if any man kill a citizen of the place, although he did it vpon iust occasion, hauing beene prouoked thereto by the other, and in defence of his owne body: yet if hee be taken, they smite off his head; or if he flye, he is banished for euer. But if he make satisfaction to the children or kindred of the dead, and cause them to giue ouerall pursuite: hee may obtaine leaue of the counsell to come againe into the town.

Among all the *Switzers*, there is not any but them of *Lucerna*, that make vfe of Brasse Cornets, instead of Trumpets. The crooked Cornets, which they call *Parth-boenck*, giues a frightfull found. The *Romans* also made vfe of Cornets in warre: and thereupon, they that founded or winded those Cornets, were called *Cornettes*. The men of *Lucerna* say, that *Charlemagne* gaue those Cornets to the; because they carried themselves valiantly in a warre which hee had against the *Sarrazins*, and that *Rowland*, a Lord very highly beloued of *Charlemagne* in those times, serued himselfe with those kindes of Cornets long before.

These forenamed Townes do coyne monies, but *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, haue one particular kind of coyne: wherof two and forty Sols, and two thirds of a Sol, makes a Florin of *Rheime*. Moreover, they stampe another more great fort

of money, which the *Switzers* call *Bin Dickenpfennig*, and the French a *Le-fon*. These *Testons* are minted at *Solleurre* for the most part; and yet notwithstanding, are counted of lesse value, by a tenth part, then them of *France*. They of *Berne* coyned first certaine money, which the *Switzers* termed *Baches*: in regard of the figure of a Beare, which was stamped on the one side, for they called a Beare *Bacern* and *Bactzen*. Afterward, the other Cities and Townes of *Switzerland* and of *Suabia*, coyned the same money: sixteene peeces whereof, valued a Florin of gold. The money of *Lucerna* cometh not neere to the value and price of that of *Basile*, which is more hard and strong: for the Sol of *Lucerna* valueth but the moity of that of *Basile*, and fifty Sols of *Lucerna*, will make one Florin.

Now we come to speake of *Fribourg*, which is diuided into foure parts, like vnto *Berne*: the first is called the Borough, the second, the Island, or the Meadow; the third, the new Towne; and the fourth, the Hospitall. The counsellors of the common-wealth are chosen out of these quarters. As in the other Townes, so in this there are two publicke counsels; to wit, the great counsell, consisting of 2. hundred, and the lesser of foure and twenty. The election is made on the Sunday before *S. Iohn Baptist* day. The lesser counsell manageth the affaires of the Towne, deciding the causes of appeales: except of the Bayliwicks of *Sauoye*, conquered in warre. As for the matters which concerne the whole State, and are of maine importance, the counsell of two hundred takes knowledge of them. The *Auoyer*, who presideth both in the lesser & great counsels, is elected on *S. Iohns* day by all the people, and continueth in his charge the space of two yeares.

Next vnto the *Auoyer*, are the foure Banderets, who are Captaines of severall quarters in the city or town, & although they are not of the ordinary number of Seigneurs of the lesser counsell: yet notwithstanding, they assist there in name of all the people, and deliuer their aduice, except in appellations. If something be propounded which seemeth to belong to the counsell of two hundred; they may ther make their report of it. Furthermore they remaine in authority, three yeares:

E c 3

Worth eight-  
teene price  
sterling.

Money with a  
Beare stamp-  
ed on it.

The valuation  
of the  
coines.

The estate &  
condition of  
Fribourg, and  
how it is di-  
uided into foure  
parts.

The two coun-  
cils.

The office of  
the lesser coun-  
cell and of  
the greater.

The Auoyer  
in his place  
of charge.

The foure  
Banderets  
next to the  
Auoyer.

The office of the Treasurer.

and are chosen by the great & lesse coun-  
cels, as many other Officers are. Then  
followeth the office of the Treasurer,  
who manageth the monies, and all the  
reuenues of the Towne: he hath (as his  
coadiuter) the Secretary or Clarke of  
the Towne, or his Committees, who re-  
gister downe all those summes, which the  
Treasurer receiue, or employeth. His  
charge also is, to haue an eye on all the  
publike buildings. Twice euery yeare he  
renders an account to the lesse counsell,  
and remaineth in his charge, the space of  
three yeares.

Four principal Secretaries in Fri-  
bourg.

In *Fribourg* there are foure principall  
Secretaries: the first is called Secretary  
of the Towne; the second, Secretary of  
the counsell; the third, Secretary of the  
country; and the fourth, Secretary of law  
or iustice. In like manner, the estate of  
*Saulnier*, or cheefe Visier, is honourable  
both in *Berne* and *Fribourg*, where it is na-  
med, *Großweibels*. He is very often neere  
to the *Auyer*, and when the Seigneurs  
are set in counsell, he is at the door,  
counteth voyces, calleth the parties, and  
takes care of prisoners. His charge conti-  
nueth three yeares.

The Courts of law and ius-  
tice at Fri-  
bourg.

As concerning Law and Iustice at  
*Fribourg*, they are established in manner  
following. First, the Court of Iustice be-  
longing to the Towne, called, *Das  
Stattgericht*, is a particular assembly of  
certaine Iudges, to know and decide dif-  
ferences among the Bourgeses. And if  
there be any criminal proceffe or suite;  
their charge is to interrogate the priso-  
ners, to present & deliuer the case in que-  
stion, and then to relate all to the lesse  
counsell. The other assembly of Iud-  
ges, is termed *Das Landgericht*, judg-  
ing the causes of dwellers in the coun-  
try. In each of these iurisdiccions, there  
are two Seigneurs of the lesse counsell,  
and two of the great, and they meet three  
times euery week. Appeale may be made  
from their sentence, to the lesse counsell.  
Moreover, there are twelue Iudges, cho-  
sen out of the great and lesse counsels,  
for the appellations of the Bayliwicks,  
conquered in the last warre against the  
Duke of *Sauoye*. They meete together  
once in euery Moneth, and there is no  
appealing from their sentence.

Twelue Iud-  
ges for the  
conquered  
Bayliwicks.

At *Fribourg* there are two Kindes of  
Bayliwicks, as in the other Townes: the

one of Bayliwicks neigbouring to the  
Towne, which are gouerned by certaine  
Seigneurs of the counsell, who dwell in  
the Towne, and come dayly to counsell,  
and of such Bayliwicks there are five. The  
other is, when the Bayliwicks are sent to  
dwell on distinct places with ample au-  
thority: and they of *Fribourg* haue four-  
teene such Bayliwicks, and foure in com-  
mon with the *Bernians*. The Bayliwicks are  
elected by the great and lesse counsels,  
the morrow after *S. Iohn Baptists* day, and  
hold in office the space of five yeares: but  
euery yeare they render an account of  
their charge, before the lesse counsell.  
They instruct also, and deale in criminal  
suites: but them they send to the lesse  
counsell with their sentence, which the  
counsell hath power to approue, change,  
or moderate.

That which at *Fribourg* is called *Tro-  
stungen*, and in the vulgar, *Leitungen*,  
is carefully maintained at *Fribourg*. By  
these words is understood a remission or  
raucance for certain time, and the charges  
to be on his owne head; when the debtor  
doth not pay his debt, at or on the day of  
assignement, as in this manner. When  
the debtor maketh not satisfaction, on  
the day appointed for repayment, the  
creditor sendeth one, two, three, or more  
seruants (on horse-backe) to an Inne or  
Hollery, whose expences there the debtor  
is constrained to pay (tarry they there ne-  
cess so long) vntill hee hath made satisfac-  
tion to the creditor. Some say, that the  
Duke of *Zeringen* established this Law.  
Such as infringe or breake it, are punished  
by imprisonment, banishment, or by the  
purse. And there is a certaine Iudge, who  
they call *Bourgmastier*, that holdeth a  
strick hand in this case. Moreover, if ac-  
tion or suite is moued, and a man demand  
the *Trostung* three times, if it is not gra-  
ted to the demander, it is present banish-  
ment. Such as breake the peace, where-  
in they are enioyned to lue one with a-  
nother, are banished likewise: and they  
that (without iust cause) will meddle, or  
take part on eyther side, when a cause is in  
pleading.

Finally, the *Fribourgers* make feasting  
yearly, with solemne procession of all es-  
tates through the Towne, on the second  
day of March, and on the eight and twen-  
tieth day of Iune, which are dayes of bat-  
tailes

Two Kindes  
of Bayliwicks  
belonging  
to Fribourg.

Four Bayli-  
wicks in com-  
mon with the  
of Berne.

Dealing in  
criminal cau-  
ses.

A day or so  
beating a de-  
btor with the  
stick & charge  
of the debt.

An inn is  
held at a  
Major or  
Bourgmastier  
among the  
Switzers.

A law made  
by the Duke  
of Zeringen,  
the payment  
of debts.

Banishment  
for the breach  
of peace.

Dayes of fe-  
sting for  
victories  
obtained.

tailes giuen, and victories wonne by the  
Switzers, against the Duke of *Bourgonne*,  
at *Granson*, and at *Moran*.

## CHAP. VII.

Of the Commonwealth of those Cantons that  
haue neither Cities nor Towns, but dwell  
only in Villages.

Hitherto we haue discoursed on two  
formes of Common-wealths, con-  
cerned in the Cantons of *Switzerland*,  
that haue Cities and Townes. There re-  
maineth now a third, which is of those  
Cantons that haue no Townes, but make  
their abode in Villages, and for that cause  
are called, *Die Laender*. There are fixe  
of them, to wit, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*,  
*Glaris*, and *Appenzell*. *Zug* indeede is a  
towne, & hath her Officers in the townie,  
but the souerainty of the Canton apper-  
taineth to them that dwell in the lands of  
the Canton, with them of the townie, and  
are Lords as well the one as other. In  
all these Cantons, the cheefe of the pub-  
like counsell, is termed *Aumman*, which  
signifieth a man in office and authority,  
and that name is attributed to all publike  
Officers. So that Abbots, and other Ec-  
clesiasticall persons, do call their Iudges,  
Receiueurs, and other such like Officers,  
*Aummans*.

As the Townes are diuided or parted,  
by Companies and Colledges of *Arte-  
zans* or *Tradefmen*; so the Cantons are  
distributed into certaine parts and por-  
tions.

## CHAP. VIII.

Of all the fixe Cantons forenamed, which in  
this ensuing Chapter we will handle to-  
gether, according to their severall rights &  
iurisdiccions.

THE whole country of *Vri* is diuided  
into ten parts, which by them are  
called *Gnoshaminen*, as if a man  
would say, Participations. It may be in

this respect, because they are all partakers  
in pasturages, goods, honours, and pub-  
like charges, and that from those ten parts  
only, they are summoned and called, to  
be present at those assemblies which are  
yearly made.

The Country of *Suits* is diuided into  
fixe parts, which they call quarters. Be-  
cause the country (herebefore) was di-  
stributed into foure portions: but the  
people coming to encrease greatly, they  
made a new partage into fixe portions,  
which neuerthelesse do retaine the an-  
cient name.

As for the Country of *Vnderwald*,  
there is a Forest that diuideth it in the  
middle: and therefore the diuision is thus  
made to them that dwell about and be-  
neathe the Forest. The whole Country  
taketh name of that part which is beneath  
the Forest: for *Vnderwalden* is as much  
to say, as beneath or vnder the wood. In  
eldertimes, *Stans*, a principall Village  
beneathe the Forest, and neere to the  
Lake, was the prime and cheefe place of  
the country, and the people were called,  
inhabitants of the Valley of *Stans*. But  
now adayes, because the word *Vnderwald*  
is taken for the whole country, the *Swit-  
zers* haue added these words, above and  
beneathe the wood, *Vnderwalden ob  
vnd nider dem kernwald*.

Now as concerning them of *Zug*, we  
haue said already, that they are diuided in  
two parts; the one is the Towne it selfe,  
the other the Villages round about, com-  
prehended vnder three assemblies, to wit,  
the Mountaine, the Vale *Egeria*, and *Barh*,  
a Parish very neere to the Towne.

*Glaris* is diuided into fifteene parts,  
which they terme *Eagwan*. The word  
signifieth the work of a day, and as much  
distant or spacioulnesse of ground, as a  
man can plow in a day. It may be, that  
these parts were called *Iournals*, or day-  
labours: because euery one prepareth &  
ordereth the way in his quarter, and each  
one knoweth where he is to labour.

The country of *Appenzell* is parted in-  
to twelue orders or portions, which they  
call *Raden*, whereof those fixe conioyn-  
ed to the Village of *Appenzell*, they  
name them the orders within, and an-  
ciently were subiects to the Abbot of *S.  
Gall*. The other fixe are called the or-  
ders without: to wit; out of the Abbots  
Seigneury,

The diuision  
of Suits.

Vnderwald di-  
uided in the  
middle.

Of the name.

Stans a princi-  
pall village.

The partition  
of Zug, the  
Towne & the  
Villages.

The diuision  
of Glaris.

The orders or  
portions  
belonging to  
Appenzell.

Election of the council.

The general council of Appenzell.

Publication of a council to be holden on a day appointed.

None but natives can be councilers

The Switzers loving and kinde to strangers living among them.

The council generally of all the people, &amp; their appointed places of meeting.

Seignury; heereofore partly free, and partly in the iurisdiction of Gentlemen. Out of these parts (by equall number) are chosen certaine men, for the council of the Canton: in many of them there are threecore councilers, beside such as (having bene in office) continue perpetuall councilers. At Zug there are five and forty councilers, nine of each assembly, for the Towne is counted for two.

The council generall of Appenzell, consisteth of an hundred forty foure, to wit, twelve of each order. And if matters of importance are to be treated on, and it appeareth needfull to assemble the council of all the people: then they will double or treble the council in this manner. Each of the councilers takes a man or two with him, if they be to hold a councill of three times as many persons, as ordinarily they use to do: and one of the councilers, on Sunday, in the Church after Service is done, hath a custome to signifie, that on such a day as he nameth, all the councilers are to meete in the Towne-house of the Canton, and each man is to bring with him such a one, as he holdeth to bee an honest and wise man, who shall also bee there bound to obedience, vnder the oath whereby all are obligated to the common-wealth. Beside, no man is elected to be a counciler, neither can he assist in the generall council, if he be not borne in the country. **Ein Landman**: And it is much more easie to obtaine the degree of Bourgeshippe, in the Townes of the Switzers, then in these Villages. Which proceedeth not of any inhumanity, for there are great store of strangers among them, towards whom they shew themselves very kinde and humane. But rather by a certaine order of aduised iudgement, and according to the custome of their predecessors: being neuer willing to mingle new commers among olde inhabitants of the country, both to preuent charges, and to preserve the common-wealth (the more easly) in one and the same estate and condition.

The soueraignty in these fixe Cantons, belongeth to the assembly of all the people. All they of the country, from the age of fourteene, or fixteene, or vpwards, do meete eyther at the principall Village of the Canton, or else at some other place in the midst of the country. As they of

*Vri* meete at *Betzelingen*, distant halfe a dayes journey from *Altorf*, the cheefest Village of that Canton. The people of *Glaris* meete at *Suanda*. The ordinary and annuall assemblies of these Cantons, is made euery yeare about the beginning of May. They of *Sans*, of *Vnderwald* vnder the wood, of *Glaris* and of *Appenzell*, do meete the last Sunday of Aprill. They of *Vri* and of *Zug*, the first Sunday of May. In elder times, they of *Zug* held their generall council the 24. day of Iune, being *S. Iohn Baptists* day. They of *Vnderwald* about the wood, meete the first day of May.

In these assemblies, first of all he is elected whom they call the *Amman*, in which office hee continueth the space of two yeares. Heereofore there was no terme of time assigned, but (oftentimes) the same *Amman* gouerned for many yeares together. He is permitted to be chosen among all the people, as a man that (for his vertue and wisdom) shall be thought most worthy of that dignity and charge, without regard at all, in what place or Village of the Canton hee dwelleth. Notwithstanding, in certaine Cantons, as at *Appenzell*, while the *Amman* is in his office of authority, hee goeth to remaine in the principall Village, where the publike council keepeth most.

At *Zug* there are three assemblies of them without the Towne. Next, the Towne hath the power of two assemblies and the *ammans* are chosen by order of each assembly. They that are elected of the assemblies without, doe dwell in the Towne, during the two yeares that they are *ammans*. In the same assembly where the *amman* is elected, his Lieutenant also is chosen, whom they terme *Schatthalter*: and so are the Treasurers & Purse-bearers, called by them *Schelmeysters*. Next, the Secretaries & Bayliffes which gouerne the Bayliffes of the Canton: or those which the Canton holds apart with other Cantons. Moreover, Edicts are there read & confirmed, or abrogated yearly, by the voyces of all the people: so likewise sports, and playing at cardes, dice, dancing, excessive drinking, fore-stalling Markets of victuals, and such like things.

When the council is thus held yeare by yeare, councilers are elected and confirmed:

The yearly assembling of these cantons.

The Amman is the chief officer chosen in the assembly.

Of the assemblies at Zug, both without and within.

The election of the Lieutenant.

Secretaries &amp; Bayliffes.

The electing and continuing of councilers.

An extraordinary council holden.

Council more secret and priuate.

The council of feuen at Suits.

The 1. Courts of iustice. The first of nine.

The second of feuen.

The order at Vri.

The Court of fifteen there.

Two Courts of law &amp; iustice at Vnderwald.

firm'd: but yet this is not done by euery assembly, but each of them ordered by the subiects of the Canton, and by the companies among whom they dwell. Finally, if at some other times of the yeare, there happen affaires that concerne the estate of the common-wealth, an extraordinary council is held. As if need require, to send Ambassadors to the dayes at *Bada*, or to some other Kings and Princes; or if there be question of making alliances, be they eyther for peace or warre, &c.

Beside the lesser council and the generall, composed of all the people, some of the cantons haue a council more strict and priuate, and courses of iustice for discussion of suites. In the Canton of *Suits*, which is diuided in fixe parts, the principall counciler of each part is taken: and these fixe, with the *Amman*, make the council of feuen, called secret. These feuen do manage and order all the reuenues of the country, and furnish all that is laid out for publike expences. Moreover, there are two Courts of iustice, the one being called the order of nine, in regard of the number of Iudges, and there the *Amman* sits as President. In this Court are decided the causes of greatest importance: as of inheritances, outrages, and terrible iniuries, hard to be endured.

The Court of feuen, (so is the other order of iustice called) where the Lieutenant to the *Amman* sits as President: and those feuen are Iudges in causes concerning contracts, debts, and such like. They of *Vri* haue (almost) the same gouernment: for there the Court of feuen, with the Lieutenant to the *Amman*, doe censure and iudge of debts, which exceede not the sum of threecore pounds. There is another iudicial Court of fifteen, where the *Amman* sits as President, and concludeth causes ciuill of greatest consequence.

At *Vnderwald* also there are 2. Courts of iustice, the one at *Stans* vnder the wood, and the other at *Sarna* about the wood, and each of them hath an *Amman*. It is saide, that the country was parted, in the yeare one thousand, one hundred and fifti; when some debate fell among them for paying of a certaine tribute. And whereas before that time, they had but one council, and one Standard, bearing

a double key for the whole country: this partition caused each of the sides to take onekey onely, and they that were about the wood, retained still their olde Standard, white and redde, because they were the greater part of the Canton. Then they vnder or beneath the wood, received from Popes another Ensigne, which had two keyes in it: for in regard that *Stans* (long before) had bene the principall Village of the Canton, they therfore kept still the Ensigne, which in those times they had at *Stans*.

The Towne of *Zug*, beside the council generall of the whole country, hath a council apart, order of iustice, Magistrats, a Lieutenant to the *Amman*, Treasurer, Voyer, &c. who iudge the causes of the Bourgessees, and manage all the publike affaires.

At *Glaris* there are two Courts of iustice, one of nine, the other of five Iudges, which the council generall of the Canton do elect euery yeare. They decide law-suites in the Moneths of May, and of December onely. The nine take knowledge of differences concerning inheritances, and dangerous iniuries. The five do censure suites of debts and payments, after that the nine (who keepe Court the space of fixe dayes) haue ended.

They of *Appenzell* haue two courts of iustice also, the first is kept in a publike place of the streete; in regard whereof, they call it *Das gassen gericht*. Therein are foure and twenty Iudges, two of each order of the canton, and their President is the Vher of the canton, *Dre Landtweibell*, and they meete together weekly euery Thursday: they condemne men in fines, and chastise such as wrong one another. The other court is called *Das geschworen gericht*, iustice of oath: because twelue Iudges sitte there, and take knowledge of differences, which are ended, by giuing oath to one of the parties. Moreover, from each order of the canton, a counciler is chosen, & many from the orders that are greater. These men make obseruation of such as breake publike ordinances, and deliberate on matters which are to bee propounded to the council generall. In which respect, they are as Guardians of the lawes, and tearmed cheefest councilers: their charge is perpetuall, and they are called in this canton,

But one council and one Standard till the diuision.

The Popes gave them another Ensigne.

The obseruation at Zug.

Two Courts of iustice at Glaris, and their severall authorities.

The Courts of iustice at Appenzell.

The first Court.

The second Court.

Another order of councilers, and their power.

Of the catho- like Cantons.	ton Landthelick. <i>Suits, Uri, Vnderwald, Zug, Glaris, and Appenzel</i> , are Catholicke, and vnder the Dioecesse of <i>Constance</i> . And if there happen any difference concerning marriages, they goe to the Officialtie of the sayde place, but they of the other opinion goe to <i>Zurich</i> .	four Bayliwicks, to wit, the <i>Marche</i> , the <i>Hermitage</i> , <i>Cusnach</i> , and certaine small Villages or great Farmes, neere to the lake of <i>Zurich</i> : but the two former haue obtained municipall right, and doe elect a councell and triall of suites in their owne bodye. Notwithstanding, euery yeare, when a councell generall is held at <i>Suits</i> , ordinarily they send their Ambassadors thither, and require, that they may haue leaue to elect their Magistrates; which is granted them, as in verie great fauour, with this exception, that they are to bee modest and obedient, for otherwise it remaineth in the peoples power of <i>Suits</i> , to send a Gouvernour thither, whensoever they thinke meet.	Four Bayliwicks be- longe to <i>Suits</i> , but two of them altered.
Punishment for adultery.	As for adulteries, they are chastised in each Canton: some, by confiscation of goods; others (sometime by the fine of ten Dallers. I haue heard likewise, that (diuers times) the councell general of the whole Canton, doth decide some differences concerning marriages.	<i>Cusnach</i> hath the same condition, but because, within some few yeares certaine strangers (customers for carriage of salt and other things that way) made their complaint, that they of <i>Cusnach</i> did them wrong, and vsed them harshlie vpon no occasion: the men of <i>Suits</i> knowing the accusation to bee true, sent a Bayliffe thither againe, and appointed new ordinations for <i>Cusnach</i> . Besides, they haue two Bayliwicks in common with them of <i>Glaris</i> , to wit, <i>Venzac</i> , which is a Towne, and <i>Gastal</i> . Thether they send Bayliffes, turne by turne, and alwaies there is one of <i>Suits</i> in one of the Bayliwicks, and one of <i>Glaris</i> in the other.	What priu- leges be- long to <i>Cus- nach</i> , but through their owne neglect.
Iustice in cri- minall causes.	Iustice in causes criminall, is administred (almost in all the Cantons) by the publike councell, and oftentimes doubled or multiplied by the ordinary counsellors; the <i>Amman</i> sitting President, or his Lieutenant. At <i>Zug</i> , in criminal matters, other assistants are ioyned with the councell or Iudges, chosen out of each diuision or assembly of the Canton. Suites of Law are discuss in an open publike place, where all may heare that which is said, and know the merite of the sentence giuen by the Iudges.	In like manner, they haue three other Bayliwicks in common, beyonde the Mountaines, in the valley of <i>Liuner</i> , with the Cantons of <i>Uri</i> , <i>Suits</i> , and <i>Vnderwald</i> . The charge and office of all their Bayliffes lasteth two yeeres, except in the Bayliwicks beyonde the Mountaines, where they holde for the space of three yeeres; and they goe not to the other but at certaine times, and to decide law controuersies.	What Bay- wicks they employ in com- mon with o- ther.
The order & disposition of the Bayli- wicks in these Cantons.	Now to speake of the Bayliwicks or Gouvernements appertaining vnto these Cantons, they are carried and disposed in manner following. They of <i>Uri</i> send a Bayliffe into the valley of <i>Liuner</i> beyond the Mountaines: who hath one of the same valley for his Lieutenant and. Assistants also; with whom he iudgeth causes both ciuill and criminall, and continueth in his charge the space of three yeeres. Beyond the same Mountaines, they send Bayliffes also to <i>Bellizona</i> , and to two other places. They of <i>Bellizona</i> haue three Bayliwicks, to wit, <i>Bellizona</i> , the Vale <i>Brune</i> , and <i>Rimera</i> , where the three Cantons doe command in such manner, that each of them hath alwaies a Bayliwicke. Moreover, the inhabitants of Mount <i>S. Godardo</i> , are subiects to the Canton of <i>Uri</i> ; neuertheless, they haue their Councell and their <i>Amman</i> , who are confirmed by them of <i>Uri</i> , & when there are criminal suites, two of the councell of <i>Uri</i> do meet there. They haue their Standard likewise: but when they of <i>Uri</i> do display that belonging to the Canton, the other hold vp theirs.		What time their Bayliffes continue in authority of gouerning.
Bellizona hath 3. Bayli- wicks belong- ing to it.	They of <i>Suits</i> haue sometimes hadde	They of <i>Toggenbourg</i> are not subiects but Bourgeses of <i>Suits</i> and <i>Glaris</i> , and go to warre for them successiue. They of <i>Zug</i> send Bayliffes to <i>Cham</i> , a very little Towne neere vnto their lake. To Saint <i>Andrew</i> , sometimes a Towne. To <i>Huneberg</i> , <i>Walchenwill</i> , <i>Stein-houfe</i> . To Saint <i>Wolfgang</i> , and to other Villages. They bought this Countie in the yeare 1557. Next, with them of <i>Suits</i> , they send (turne by turne) Bayliffes to	The order and manner of sending their Bayliffes, to their seuerall places of iurisdiction.

	<i>Venzac</i> and <i>Gastal</i> . They of <i>Toggenbourg</i> are their Bourgeses, as we haue sayde already; and go to warre for them, and for the Canton of <i>Suits</i> . Finally, the five first Cantons are Lordes with the other Cantons, of the Bayliwicks gouerned by them in common: except the men of <i>Appenzel</i> , who send a Bayliffe onely to <i>Kunthal</i> , with the seuen first Cantons, & in the same manner.	of <i>Glaris</i> do yearly celebrate the memoriall of the victory which they wonne against the <i>Austrians</i> , in the yeare 1387. and in the month of April, I will declare at large, the ceremonies obserued by them in this festiually to the end, the better iudgment may be made of such feasts as are vied by others.	Reads in the former parts.
Of customes belonging to these six Can- tons.	Now follow some particular customs of these six Cantons, and which are not common to all the Switzers. Whosoever shall haue committed a murther, although it was done in the defence of his owne body, hee is constrained to forsake the Canton, and it is not lawfull for the lesser councell to repeale him; but hee may demand and obtaine leaue of the councell generall to returne againe.	The order of the solemne Feast and Procession, performed by the men of <i>Glaris</i> , in honor of their victory against the <i>Austrians</i> .	
In case of murther.	They doe not permit, that Landes and foundations of iustitiances should be pawned or ingaged vnto any one that is not of the Canton; for they holde them to be no longer Lords of their countrey, if once they will become bound for debts and mortgage in such manner their inheritances to strangers. Likewise in the Canton of <i>Uri</i> , it is not lawfull for strangers, that haue bene receyued there as inhabitants, to buy any inheritances, but a house and a small garden for Pot-herbes onely.	IN the moneth of April, euery yeare, on the Thursday of the first weeke (except Easter day fall on the Sunday following, for then it is deferred til Thursday in the weeke after) the Feast is celebrated. On the Sunday before, it is a lowde and openly published in the church, in behalf of the Seignery, that on Thursday following, the most honourable persons of euerie Family, especially the men, are to meete and go in solemne Procession to <i>Mulhoufere</i> , by those waies, places, and passages, where their Ancestors were in great danger, euen so far as the Fountain, and to be ware of descending to the Village of <i>Hawes</i> , til first they haue past the other way. Moreover, that all keepe silence while the Sermon is done, and to carrie themselves (that day) so modestly in their refection, that no disorder may be noted, because the Seignery will chastise them seuerely that do otherwise, and because the whole Canton of <i>Glaris</i> doth solemnly feast that day. Forbidding also, that no man shall mount on Horsebacke out of the Village of <i>Glaris</i> , sicke & aged men onely excepted, who are not (being so mounted) to goe anie further then <i>Scheneffinge</i> .	The great Feast of <i>Glaris</i> .
Against mor- gaging of lands, and in- heritances to strangers.	If any man being drunke, doe commit some scandalous action, hee is punished by imprisonment; and beside, hee is forbidden to drinke wine for the space of a certaine time, and vntill the Councell generall haue pardoned him.	Rememberce of their Ance- stors great po- ril.	
Against drun- kenness.	In publike assemblies, and in the distribution of honourable charges and Offices: hee that is put in election, is present, and his parents, brethren, and sons may giue him their voyces. They giue their voyces by lifting vp their hands on high, and some are set in an eminent place to count them. If they stand in doubt, and cannot so decide it, then they haue another course. There are two men, who hold two Halberds touching together at the points; they that giue their voyces, do passe vnder them, and two other men count them as they passe.		
For voyces gi- uen at the ele- ction of pub- like officers.	Finally, they vse Feasts and Processions, on such dayes as their Ancestors obtained any remarkable victory. As they	After they are all assembled together, and rounded in a ring as it were, the <i>Amman</i> , who is in the midst, makes a kinde welcome (in name of the whole Canton) vnto such strangers as are come thither. First, to the Ambassador of <i>Suits</i> , who is yearly sent for celebration of the Feast: because thirtie Souldiers of <i>Suits</i> were present in the battell for which this Feast is kept. Likewise, he salueth the Abbots, Priests, & neighbors of <i>Gastal</i> , the <i>Marche</i> , <i>Rapervill</i> and <i>Toggenbourg</i> , giuing them hearty thanks, for comming to celebrate this	Obseruation after their meeting to- gether.

this ſolemne Proceſſion, and to thanke & ſing praifes to almighty God, the Virgin *Marie*, and their Patrones, *S. Fridolin*, and *S. Hilary*.

First, one beareth a red Standard, wherein is the Image of *S. Fridolin*, then follow a men, bearing a gilded Toomb, whereon are many faire and holy reliques enchaſed. Then come the Croſſe-bearers, carrying the Croſſes of *Glaris*, *Haures*, of the Vale of *Linth*, and of the churches neighboring to the Canton of *Glaris*, as of *Schenniff*, *Wefen*, and others. The Croſſes are followed with Banners of all the Churches, and the Priests come after them, ſinging according to their order. The Curate of *Glaris* is the first, accosted by an Abbot, or else some other man of the Church. Among the strangers the other Priests follow. Then the councell of *Glaris*, to witte, the *Amman*, with the Ambaſſadour of *Suits*; then the Lieutenant to the *Amman*, and the other Officers in their order, each guiding or leading one of the most honourable strangers. The women (in great number) follow, to make vp the end and conclusion of the Proceſſion.

Being come to the place where the battail was fought, there are eleven ſtones ſet down in thoſe ſeveral parts of ground where they began and held on fight with the enemy: for they had partings & meetings againe at hand-blows, eleven ſeverall times, and at each of thoſe ſtones the Standards and Banners ſtay, and all fall upon their knees in prayer to God. Vñ he they are come to the ſixt ſtone, they caſt themſelves round in a ring, and then the Secretarie of the Canton readeth in a paper, the cauſe and originall of this Proceſſion, the ſummary whereof is this. War being moued betweene *Leopold*, Duke of *Austria*, and them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Sollewre*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*; *Leopold* led his Army to *Sempach*, where he was ouercome, and ſlaine by the *Switzers*, the ninth day of June, one thouſand, three hundred, foureſcore and fix, beſide ſixteene Earles and Barons, and a great number of Gentlemen.

Afterward, in mid-August following, they of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Glaris*, beſieged and tooke the towne of *Wefen*, & the inhabitants promiſed perpetuall fidelity to the *Switzers*. Truce was made, till

the beginning of Lent in the yeare following, which being ended, and war beginning againe, they of *Glaris* ſent a Garriſon to *Wefen*, where the Souldiers thinking themſelves to be in ſafety, and conſiding on the oath of the townſemen, were ſlaine (for the moſt part) in a night by them of *Austria*, who entred in the dead of night, by intelligence which they had with certaine of the inhabitants, that machinated this villany againſt the garriſon, and opened the gates to their enemies.

Furthermore, that the very ſame yeare, and the ninth day of Aprill, they of *Austria* brought on Army of ſixteene thouſand men towards *Haures*, and wonne the Fortreſſe of the Country. But three hundred and fifty Souldiers of *Glaris*, & thirty which the Canton of *Suits* ſent to aſſiſt them, ſlayed the enemy, and (Gods helps furthering, the Virgin *Marie*, and their Patrones, *S. Fridolin* and *S. Hilary*) they became conquerors, wonne eleven of their cheefeſt Enſignes, and left two thouſand five hundred enemies ſlaine in the field, beſide them that were drowned in the Lake, and among the reſt, many of *Wefen* were there ſlaine, that formerly had betrayed the Garriſon of *Glaris*. And therefore, in duſtiſull thankſpines to God almighty, the glorious Virgin *Mary*, and *S. Fridolin*, and *S. Hilary* their Patrones, and to all the Saints and Sainteſſes of Paradiſe, & in euerlaſting remembrance of ſo great a helpe and deliuerance, this annuall Proceſſion was ordained vpon thoſe limits, where their Anceſtours had ſuffered many inconueniences.

After the reading of theſe ſeueral letters, a Sermon is made in the ſame place; the Priests of *Glaris* performe their Aniuersary, and followeth the Miniſter of the new opinion. All their prayers being ended, they go againe to the ſame ſtones, in the ſame ranke and ceremony as they began, vntill they come to the eleuenth, which is placed neere to the Village of *Haures*, towards *Wefen*, where they ſlayed the enemy at the laſt time. Then they take their way to the Church of *Haures*; but they of the new opinion return home to their houſes. The reſt go to the church, where they ſing a Maſſe for the *Switzers* that were ſlaine in the battaile: and one reciteth all the names of them of *Glaris*, that periſhed there. Soone after this, a banquet

A thankſon of coming with an Army againſt *Haures*.

Gods iudgement for breach of faith.

Performance of the ſmall ceremonies.

The concluding of the ceremonies the ſame.

The order of the Proceſſion in marching, as they paſſe along to the place where the battaile was fought.

The ceremonies in the Proceſſion of *Glaris*, being come to the field where the eleven ſtones are fixed in the ground.

The reaſon and originall of the Proceſſion, read in particular by the Secretary.

A ſecond reaſon, vpon the beſieging & taking of *Wefen*.

A Banquet made at the Cantons coult.

banquet is made (at the Cantons expences) for the Priests, and all the ſtrangers that came in the Proceſſion. After dinner, the Priests ſinging, bring backe againe to *Glaris* the gilded Toombe, the Banners and Croſſes.

This is the manner of the annuall Proceſſion and Feaſt of them of *Glaris*, in remembrance of ſo famous and remarkable victory. The other Cantons alſo haue their Feaſts, to celebrate the victories obtained at *Morgarten*, *Sempach*, and elſewhere.

## CHAP. IX.

Of the Common-wealths belonging to the Confederates. And firſt of all, Of the Abbey of S. Gall.

AFTER we haue ſpoken of the thirteene Cantons, and of their ſeueral Common-wealths; me-thinks now (according to the ſame order) we ſhould make mention of their Confederates, among whom, the Abbot and Abbey of S. Gall holdeth the prime place. The Abbots of S. Gall, haue bin great Lords for the ſpace of many ages poſſeſſed of great meanes, and numbred with the Princes of the Empire: but I know not well, from what Emperour they received this honour and title. *Stumpfius* noeth, that *Conrad de Pfawerts*, Annaliſt of *Switzerland* writeth, that Abbot *Haldrich*, of the houſe of *Alſace*, was made Prince by the Emperour *Philipp*, in the city of *Baſile*. Now albeit theſe Abbots are not of ſuch power as heretofore; yet notwithstanding, they continue ſtill great Lords, and haue their dominion in large extendure.

In the country of *Turgow* they are Lords of *Wile*, and haue a Pallace and a Vicar in the Towne. Moreover, in the high country of *Turgow*, they haue a great Territory, and well peopled, who are all ſubiect to them. The inhabitants are called *Die Gottshuſzler*, the Subiects of the houſe of God, or of the Abbey, and are parties in certaine Regions. Their names are *Rofac*, *Thumbech*, *Gold*, *Vnderer*, *Mosſwill*, *Tablate*, *Goſow*, *Wald-*

*kilch*, *Romſhorn*, *Summery*, *Mule*, *Fiotſchwill*, *Bernattzell*, *Lumſſwill*, *berg*, *Wittenbach*, *Rodmott*, *Strubenzell*, *Geſſerwald*, *Helbach*, *Bergknecht*, *Luzwill*, *Ziberrangen*, and *Wiger*. Theſe places are diuided into Caſtle-wicks or Preſident-ſhips, and the Abbot ſendeth Prouiſts thither. Moreover, he hath his *Ammans* and Officers, that hold meane Courts of Juſtice in many places. Beſide, he hath a higher Court of Juſtice, whether reſort all appellations, and where cauſes of importance are decided. All kinde of duties, and ſuch as are rendered to Princes, in theſe places are conſidm vpon him.

Beſide this country, the county of *Toggenbourg* acknowledgeth (as Lord) the Abbot of S. Gall, who ſendeth a Gonerour into the country, and a Iudge in criminall cauſes, which admitteth no further appeale. And yet they of *Toggenbourg* are Bourgeſſes of *Suits*, and of *Glaris*, & haue their priuiledges & franchiſes; by meanes whereof (among other things) they enioy the freedom of Religion. Alſo in the Bayliwick of *Rhinthal* which belongeth to the cantons: the Abbot holdeth law courts of Juſtice in many Villages, & keepeth Officers there for that purpoſe.

## CHAP. X.

Of the Common-wealth in the Towne or City of S. Gall.

Saint Gall, *Mulhouſe*, and *Rotuille*, are numbred among the Imperiall townes, and therefore haue (almoſt) the ſame manner of gouernement, as we haue already deſcribed vnto you. But becauſe the citizens of S. Gall, do hold ſomething in particular; I will here ſet downe a ſummary deſcription of their common-wealth.

In the firſt place then, the Towne of S. Gall is diuided into fixe Tribes or Companies, & the Society of Noblemen. The firſt & principal of theſe Tribes, is of weauers, becauſe of the linnen cloth there wouen, which is made very faire, and in abounding quantity: which afterward is ſold in *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, *Spaine*, *Eoemia*, and *Poland*, greatly enriching the inhabitants that dwell in S. Gall, and making

The Abbots power in the county of Toggenbourg.

Imperiall Townes.

Sixe Tribes or Companies in S. Gall.

The firſt tribe is of weauers.



king the Towne much renowned. It hath two counsell, according to other townes, to wit, the great and the lesse. The lesse is composed of foure and twenty, and namely first of all, twelue *Zunftmesters*. Each Tribe, Colledge, or Company, hath three Masters, which gouerne the company a yeare, turne by turne: but there are no more then two, which enter into the lesse council; the first is of the new, the second of the olde. The thirteenth *Zunftmeister*, is the first of the eleuen, which are elected out of each Tribe, to be of the great council.

The *Zunftmesters* are elected by secret voyce in their Tribes, and are confirmed by the lesse council. Euery yeare, the council and officers of iustice, are elected about mid-Iune, and mid-December. Beside the *Zunftmesters*, nine other Senators do assist in the lesse council, and are chosen as well in the company of Noblemen, as in the other companies. The three Consuls (with them) make the number of foure and twenty councillors: For there are three Consuls in S. Gall, the first is in charge; the second is called olde Consul, for hauing gouerned in the very neereft yeare before; and the third preiudeth in iudgement for criminall causes, and in other places he is called, Prouost of the Empire, *Reychvogt*. The council is elected the first Sunday of Aduent, not in the lesse council, but in the generall, by secret voyce, *Mis derraun*: the Sub-consull and the *Zunftmesters*, going then out of office, do collect the voyces.

The great council is composed of threescore and sixe, to wit, twelue of each company: whereby there are ninety persons in the great and lesse councils. After the election of the Consuls and the council, the ordinances of the Towne are read in this assembly: whereon the Consull and the new council do deliberate. Then they go (by two and two together) to the great Temple or Church, named S. Lawrence, where all the citizens meete, and after reading of the lawes and ordinances, the Consull sweareth first to obserue them, and afterward, receiue of the council and whole assembly, the same oath. This done, the morrow after christmas day, and the day following the *Zunftmesters*, and the other eleuen Seigneurs of the lesse council, do meete to-

gether in the Towne-house, and elect the Sub-consull, whom they call *Vnderburgmeister*. His charge is to take order for the watch of the Towne, and to appoint Tutors and Ousefiers for Widdowes & Orphanes, and also to examine their accounts.

Euery weeke, the lesse council do ordinarily meete together twice, on Tuesday and Thursday; except those dayes be Festiuals, or haue Fayres. Also the Thursday before Lent, which they call the mad Thursday, *Den Unsinnigen donstag*: because once, and on that day, the people mutined against the council, by means whereof it was ordained, that (fro thence forward) there should be no more assemblies held, as on 8 day. The lesse council manageth the Townes affaires, decideth ciuill causes, and giueth sentence concerning inheritances and willes: but medleth with no criminall suites, nor differences about Secdules, Obligations and injuries.

The great council meeteth together five times euery yeare. First, the morrow after christmas day, when they elect and confirme the new Magistrates. Secondly, in mid-Lent, to elect and confirme the Master of the Hospitall. Thirdly, the Friday before S. Bartholomewes day, being the foure and twentieth day of August, whē they establish the Masters of Halles, and consider on the tolles and taxes at the Gates. Fourthly, and fifthly, before the Fayres which they keepe, on the morrow after Ascension day, and the day of S. Gall; and then they consult on the conseruation, and course of Courts for the Fayre.

The great council also doth sometimes extraordinarily meete when they are to discourse on matters, whereof the council ought to haue knowledge, as concerning sentences in criminall suites. Then the Prouost of the Empire sitteth President, and demandeth each case: this is done in the Towne-house, and the doores kept close. The lesse council electeth the Prouost, and giueth him power to iudge. Afterward, the great council decideth the appellations made vnto him, and receiue such strangers as desire to be Bourgeois.

But this is done more often, in the ordinary assemblies of the great council, and

The election of the Sub-consull or Vnderburgmeister.

When the lesse council do assemble together.

The mad Thursday.

The office of the lesse council.

The five times a yeare of the great Council.

Extraordinary meeting of the great Council.

Election of the Prouost by the lesse Council.

and then also they conclude there on many appeales. Sometimes the lesse council fendeth affaires of importance to the great council, to be considered on.

Euery yeare, the council generall of all the people, is assembled three times, about publicke affaires. First, to elect the Consull. Secondly, the morrow after Christmas day, to take oath of the new Consull, and to binde him to obey the Magistrates. And thirdly, in the Moneth of August, about S. Bartholomewes day, after that the ordinance for tolles and taxes is agreed vpon, to heare the Lecture, which is made before all. Moreover, the lawes and statutes of the Towne are distributed into three parts; one part whereof is deliuered to the people, in each of these three assemblies.

The principall and cheefest Court of iustice, is that of five; who are the Consull, the Sub Consull or Lieutenant, one of the new *Zunftmesters*, and two of the new council. They iudge in differences concerning borrowed monies, things laid to pawne, debts that haue no certaine time prefixed, wages that are due, suites concerning virtuales, injuries, and fines. They sit on the Wednesday, or Friday, and there is no appeale from their sentence; neuertheless, they may send backe difficult causes, and of importance, to the lesse council.

Next to this, there is the Towne court of iustice, *Das Stattdricht*, composed of twelue Assistants, chosen out of the Noble mens companie, and out of the other companies: so that the one is of *Zunftmesters*, and the other of the people. The cheefe Officer of this court is called *Statamman*, Maier of the city, and is elected with the other Magistrates, about Christmas day, and is confirmed by the great council. As for the Assistants, they are changed twice euery yeare, and elected by the great council, on one of the feast dayes of christmas, & by the lesse council, about S. John Baptists day, in the Moneth of Iune. These Iudges take knowledge of debtes, barrerings, and yearly rents, although the summes bee great. They are called together by tolling the Bell, and assemble in the Towne-house on Monday in euery weeke, except it bee a Feast day, or that

all the council doe meete together, for then they referre those causes till Wednesday. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesse council, provided, that the suite be of no lesse moment then an hundred Sols, or Shillings: and if the appellat lofeth his cause, he is condemned in a fine to the Iudges.

The consistory court is composed of eight Iudges, whereof foure are Ministers of the Church, or some other men of learning: next, two councillors of the lesse council, and two of the great. There sitteth another Seigneur of the lesse council, as President, who questioneth the causes: and if there be as many voices on the one side, as on the other, hee rediceth both parties to such a cause, as hee conceiue to be iust, and then sentence is giuen accordingly. The consistory censureth matters of marriage, and of diuorces, and no appealing is permitted from sentence. But if there happen any inuolued or entangled variance, or if some colour of pollicie be mixed with the case of marriage; then cause and all, is sent to the council, where the deciding is suspended, vntill the council, and some other learned men, haue aduisedly considered thereon.

As for publicke Offices, estates, and charges, this common-wealth is therein gouerned, as the other are; hauing Treasurers, Masters of Halles, Receiueurs, and Administrators at the Gates, for customs, tolles, and taxations, *Vogts*, &c. Such as hold these places, do render their accounts first to the *Zunftmesters*, next to the lesse, and lastly to the great council, on the morrow after christmas day. Hauing giuen vp their accounts, the lesse and great council do elect new officers, or reconfirm the olde: and it is openly read, what the charge is of each one of them in particular, and afterward, in presence of the council, they sweare to discharge their duty faithfully. But when many are established in one, and the same charge, then such rules as they are to follow, are giuen them in writing.

And because the very greatest trading of S. Gall, consisteth in linnen cloth, and that not onely the people of the towne, but them also in most part of the Villages round about, doe maintaine their liues thereby, the council is diligent and

Of the Consistory Court, and Iudges thereto belonging.

Concerning intricate and cumbersome cases.

Of publicke estates, charges & offices.

New Officers chosen, or the olde admitted againe.

Linnen cloth the only main trading of S. Gall.

The three meetings of the Council generall of all the people, and their appointed times.

The cheefest Court of Iustice and authority thereof.

The Court of Iustice, called the Towne or City Court, and what Officers belong thereto.

What causes they deale with when they sit in Court.

carefull, for well ordering all things in that respect, and for the auoyding of fraud and deceit. First, therefore, so soone as the weauer hath finished a peece of cloth, there are three expert sworne Visitors or Ouerseers, that come to looke vpon it, and according as it is good, or indifferent, they set on such and such marks. If it appeare to be bad and naught, they send it to the **Zunftmeister** of the weauers, and to the other eleuen **Zunftmasters**, who condemne the workman in a fine, or cut the whole peece into some portions, of eight Elles in length each one, or else through the midst, or if it bee worth nothing, they burne it openly. This view and visitation is done daily, and there is a Market of linnen cloth, which hath certaine Lawes, for the obseruation whereof, they that deale in such Merchandize are strictly bound.

After that the cloth hath bene seene and approued, the sworne Measurers do both Ell it, and marke it. The Measurers haue some other sworne men of the Mystery, to be their adiuncts; and the Merchants haue with them the Ouer-seers of the measuring. They call them **Dirreiff**, measurers of linnen cloth, which are of diuers lengths: but a whole peece consisteth of 134 Elles, and may not be of any greater length. There is another view made at the whistlers, when the cloth is thickened and whited. These Viewers are called **Dirreiffen Schotter**. They looke that the clothes haue their requisite whitenesse, and whether they sustaine any harme in the thickning: and according as they finde, they marke, or condemne the whistler in a fine. Likewise there are certaine Merchants and Weauers, that visite the whistlers houses and grounds, to see if all things bee fitting and conuenient there: whether they haue sufficiency of wood and ashes, that none may be wronged by delay. Every yeare the Masters whistlers take newly their oaths, to doe their duties as becommeth them.

As for the clothes which the Viewers (whom they usually tearme **Blaw und Schwartze gschotter**) thinke fit to send to the Diars: the cutters of linnen cloth, named **Lintwaichschnyder**, do cut them just in the midst, and there are other committees, to regard that they haue their just measure. After they are dyed into colours blew or blacke, if the Ouerseers

finde the dying to bee well taken, they marke the peece, and when they haue plained and smoothed it with a Rowler; others come to approue it valuable, and they set on the Seale. Contrariwise, if it be spoyle and viciate in the dying: they cut it, or dip it againe, if it may bee done, and the Plainer and Diar are condemned in some fine. All these things aboue named, are very carefully obserued, and if any dare do otherwise, hee is severely punished. For the Towne or City of S. Gall hath this priuiledge, to condemne in criminall suite, to fetch men out of places of refuge, and to punish them that vse any fraud, in weauing, marking, sealing, dying, plaining, or misusing any Linnen clothes.

Something likewise must needs bee said, what order they of S. Gall take, to auoid the inconueniences of fire: because they hauing bene heretofore much endamaged thereby, it hath made them (sustaining) to be the more prouident. Every evening, for the space of a quarter of an houre, there is a Bell rung, and it is called **Die feurglocken**, the Fire-Bell: which admonisheth every one, to looke to the hearths of their Chimnies, for feare lest fire shold take in any part. Then are there two **Zunftmasters**, that fourte times yearely do visite the hearths, furnaces, & chimnies in all the houses; and thereupon are called **Die feurgschotter**, Visitors for fire. They regard also, what Armes and prouision of foode the Bourgeses haue: and whether they be provided and furnished, according to the ordinances of the Seigneury.

Beside, if there rise any impetuous windes, or any rough stormes or tempests happen (beside the ordinary Captaines of the watch, whom they call **Die Wachtbitter**) there are two other, named Masters of the watch, **Die wachtmaster**, who take with them two men of every Tribe, well appointed, and goe with the Captaines of the watch, to walke the round through all the streetes of the City, to prevent the dangerous accidents of fire.

Every night, two and thirty men keepe watch on the Towers and Walles, and in other places of the City, being appointed as Sentinels, by the cheefe **Zunftmaster**, with the Captaines of the watch.

When fire takes in any place.

Four Captaines of the lesser council.

Schools, Almshouses, Hospitals, repaired to be spoken of.

What ground, on they make against the inconueniences of fire.

Visitors for fire.

Concerning the Grisons in elder time.

If fire take in any part, some of the Citizens runne to the Gates, some on the Towers and Walles, some into the cheefest streetes; some keepe company with the Confull, and others labour to quench the fire. There are four Captaines of the lesser council, that haue a care of all this businesse, commanding every one to that which is to be done, and punishing greuously the disobedient. If the fire be without, and neere the city, they send forth a certaine number of men with their Captaines, to prouide against the inconuenience. Others keepe watch at the Portes, upon the Walles, and in other places, where they are by them appointed.

I spare to speake heere of Schooles, Almshouses, and Hospitals, because they of S. Gall gouerne themselves therein, as other well pollicied cities do, and carry a faire and comely order among them. Likewise, I will not speake of the election of the Ministers of the Church, nor of their establishing and charge, neither what order they hold in their assemblies: because in this worke, we treat on the matters of policy onely, referring to discourse on the other, at some after time and place.

## CHAP. XI.

The Common-wealth of the Grisons.



the French and Italians haue named Grisons, and the Switzers Graupundter. In ancient times, they inhabited Rhattia in the Alpes, neere to the source or head of Rhine, and of Inn.

The Grisons are diuided into three Leagues. The first is called the League

Grise, and hath ten Comminalties, to wit, the Abbey of **Dissentz**, which the ancient Cardes or Mappes called **Dijertin**. To this Abbey are ioyned **Tumetich**, **Trumb**, and some other places. 2. **Walterpourg**, 3. **Oberfachs**, 4. **Lazmitz**, 5. **Fals**, 6. **Thantz**, 7. **Schlewis**, 8. They of **Lanz**, **Siaiss**, and them enuironing about the wood, 9. **Thannen**. The Grisons call these nine Communitites; the part about the wood, **Die obberwald**; and the other ten, they call, vnder the wood. 10. **Flims**, 11. **Trimon**, 12. **Saften**, 13. **Ratzuns**, the ancient abiding of the noble Family of the Barons of **Ratzuns**, 14. **Hentzenberg**, and **Tafis**, 15. **Schopine**, 16. **Schamps**, 17. **Spugen**, 18. **Mafax**, 19. **Rufflee**.

In each of these Comminalties, they yearly elect a soueraigne Magistrate, which many of them do call **Amman**, who with the Iudges or Assitants, elected by the same comminallity, doth iudge suites in law, and condemneth delinquents, according to the exigence of the case. Beside these **Amman**, there is a great Prouoost of the whole League, whom they call **Den Landtrichter**, who is chosen by every one in the general assembly of all the comminalties, and sitteth President in the dayes meetings for all the League.

These meeting dayes for this **Grise** League, is in the Village of **Trumb**, which is the cheefe comminallity, and there also meet the Seigneurs of the Iusticial court, wherein the **Landtrichter** sitteth President, who hath fiftene Assitants, one Clarke or Secretary, and one Officer. The Lord of the Castle, and of the Barony of **Ratzuns**, is yet aboue the **Landtrichter**, by an ancient prerogative, belonging to the race of the Barons of **Ratzuns**, in whose rights, the Lords of the places haue euermore succeeded.

The second League is called **Der Gottthubpundt**, The League of **Gods Household**, or of the **Cade** or League **Cathedral**, because of the Bishoppricke and Colledge of **Coire**: and it hath one and twenty Comminalties, which sometimes were reduced into eleuen much greater. The Towne or City of **Coire** is numbered in the first place, as the cheefe of the League: and alone (among the eleuen Comminalties) is compounded of two lesser. But as the citizens

Three leagues diuided into the Grisons.

The first league, using all these Comminalties belonging to it.

A soueraigne Magistrate in each of the Comminalties.

The Grand Prouoost of the whole League, and his order in Court of Justice.

The League of the Cade, or of Gods House.

Viewers and Ouerseers for the goodnesse or badnesse of linnen cloth.

A Market of linnen cloth onely.

What is done after approbation on off the cloths goodnesse.

Viewers of the whitening of cloth, & how they are thickened.

Linnen cloth reputed fit to be dyed in colours, & how they deale therein.

Penalty for cloth spoyle in dying.

The priuiledge belonging to S. Gall.

Visitors for fire.

Against transgression when and tempests.

Captaines of the Watch.

The estate & condition of the common wealth of Coire.

The great council of feventy.

The lesser council of thirty.

Two Consuls.

The Governor or Provoost President.

The Lieutenants Court of Justice, and his Assistants.

Of the second Comminality.

These Comminalities are here counted as they stand in the Record.

are enclosed in the same walles: euen so are they counted but for one Comminality, and the other twenty reduced into ten, make vp ten great Comminalities. The city (for so we will call it) of Coire, hath a common-wealth apart by it selfe, like (waiting but little) to that of Zurich, and to other governments of the same condition. For first of all, the citizens are wholly diuided into five companies, from each of which are chosen fourteene men, who are of the great council publicke: so that the great council and generally, is composed of feventy. From these feventy men, are chosen five of each company, for the lesser council: to whom are ioyned the five *Zunftmeisters* of the precedent year, whereby the lesser council hath thirty councillors, whereof fifteene called Senators, gouerne the common-wealth.

In the council there are two Consuls, who are Presidents (turne by turne) a whole year. The council and the Officers of iustice, are yearly elected on the eleuenth of Nouember, being the day of *S. Martin*. The thirty of the lesser council do iudge in criminal causes, and the Governor or Provoost sitteth then as President, remaining in that charge a year: at the ende whereof, another taketh his place, and they two are (in this Office) as two Consuls. Next, there is a Court of iustice belonging to the Lieutenant, who hath fifteene Assistants, to witte, the five *Zunftmeisters*, and ten from the thirty of the lesser council. This Court taketh knowledge of ciuill causes, and pecuniary actions concerning debtes: there is appeale from them to the lesser council, who doe decide also matrimoniall matters.

The second Comminality, which wee should count for the third, because Coire takes it selfe for two, is named *Die vier doerter*, the foure Villages. 4. *Bergon*. 5. *Tiefencastlen*. 6. *Stalla*. 7. *Trincken*, with *Reamps* and other Villages, which with *Tiefencastlen*, make one iurisdiction, where the Bayliffe of *Reamps* iudgeth ciuill and criminall causes. 8. *Fatz* the high, where sometimes dwelt the Barons of *Fatz*: this Comminality is ioyned with the fourth. 9. *Furzhorn*. 10. *Ortenstein* in *Tumlesch*. 11. *Sinnada*. 12. *Zutz*: these two are in *Engadine* the high, and make one of the great comminalities. 13. *Arlette*. 14. *Sculaine*. 15.

*Reamps*: which with two other small comminalities, maketh one of the great. 1. *Bergell* about the Port. 17. *Bergell* vnder the Port. 18. *Pesilaw*, or *Postlaaf*. 19. *Brusch*, which is ioyned with *Postlaaf*, and maketh one of the eleven great Comminalities. 20. *Munsterthal*. 21. *Mals*. Each Comminality hath his *Ammans*, *Podestats*, and vnder Officers as they teame them in least authority, vnder whom they are maintained in liberty.

The third League tearmeth it selfe the League of Iurisdctions, or the League of Rights. The first and principall of the ten, is called *Tsafas*, in regard of a Village so named, where the house of the League is, and where the dayes meetings for the ten Comminalities are held. 2. *Beelfort*, or *Alunaw*. 3. *Churwalden*. 4. *Langwyl*. 5. *S. Peter de Schanik*. 6. The little Abbey in *Bretzgow*. 7. *Lenais*, or *Caifers*. 8. *Schiers*. These eight iurisdctions doe acknowledge the Arch-Duke of *Austria* to be their Soueraigne. Anciently, the Barons of *Fatz* were Lords thereof: but all their race sayling, the Counts of *Toggenbourg* succeeded them. And after them, the Counts of *Amst*, whereof one being named *Gaudenius*, dying in the year one thousand, foure hundred, eighty nine, left these eight iurisdctions to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*.

The Arch-Duke established a Governor there, which to this day is chosen among the *Grifons*. The Governor dwelleth at *Caifers*, and presideth in sentence of criminall causes: he manageth and conserveth the other rights of the Arch-Duke, who hath not the same right and equal authority over the eight iurisdctions: but each of them enioyeth his priuiledges & particular customes, the instruments and charters whereof are kept at *Tsafas*. The first and fourth iurisdiction have great priuiledges and immunities, farre beyond the other.

The ninth Iurisdiction is called *Mals*, by reason of a Village so named, betweene the Riuer of *Langwyl*, & Mount *Rhetica* towards the South.

The tenth is named *Myenfeld*. These two last did belong sometimes to the Barons of *Fatz*, afterward to the Counts of *Toggenbourg*; then they fell vnto *Wolfhard de Brandis*, in respect of his Wife, who was of the house of *Werdenberg*. They

The League of Iurisdiction, or of Rights.

The house of the League for their meetings.

How they came to the Duke of Austria.

The Arch-Duke's authority not absolute there in every part.

A high Hill by Rhodan.

The addition of the third league to the two other.

The Iurisdiction to be bought by the three Leagues.

The ten Iurisdctions ally themselves together faithfully.

The three leagues vnto all together govern a perpetual alliance.

The Author proceedeth to a more right briefe explication of the Comminalities, in their due places and order.

they became ioyned (with the other eight Iurisdctions) to the two Leagues of *Grifons*, and made the third; referring to the Lords of *Brandis*, the right iustly to them appertaining. Afterwards, these three leagues together bought these Iurisdctions, and sent a Governor thither, who dwelt in the castle of *Myenfeld*, and fare President to iudge in criminall suites: he condemned men in fines, and to death, & gathered the tolles, and other publicke reuenewes. The ten Iurisdctions allyed themselves together, in the year one thousand, foure hundred, thirty six, conditionally, to succour one another, & be abiding in all things (iust and reasonable) against enemies, repelling all wrongs that should be offered to any of them, & procure the peaceable enioying of their liberties. Also, all rights and duties appertaining to the Lords, they should be duly rendered, they permitting them to possess their franchises and priuiledges: all the rest beeing careful and proud to preferre the good and benefit of one another.

In the same year, or the next following, these Iurisdctions made perpetuall alliance with the two other Leagues, and so the three leagues became ioyned as in one body, the particular parts whereof haue bene already mentioned. But in our numbering and setting them downe, we haue rather followed the situation of the place, then the ranke which they holde in the dayes of assemblies, wherein notwithstanding are many opinions: & therefore I will describe them heere, according to the comminalities of the two first leagues, & as they are comprized in their alliance with the Switzers. The Comminalities of the *Grife* league, are the valley of *Luginz*, *Ylanis*, *Oberische*, *Waltersburg*, *Laax*, *Sinisch*, and other places about the Woods, *Flims*, *Schewis*, *Trimmis*, *Reizwas*, *Hemtenberg* and *Tufis*, *Schamps*, *Rhinwald*, *Mals* and *Ruffee*, *Saffen*, *Thannen*, *Schopine*, *Fals*. The Comminalities of the league of *Cade*, are in order as they followe, *Coire*, *Furzhorn*, the foure villages descending on *Alpremont*, *Fatz* the high, *Reamps*, *Tiefencastlen*, *Grifonstein*, *Beulo* or *Stalla*, *Auers*, *Bergel* about and belowe the Port, *Zutz*, *Sinnada*, *Postlaaf*, *Steinberg*, *Schuls*, *Remiff*, *Munsterthal*, *Mals*, *Galsen*, and *Schantzen*. As for the ten Iurisdctions, I

vnderstand their order thus. *Tafas*, the three Iurisdctions of *Bretzgow*, *Beelfort* or *Alunaw*, *Churwalden*, *S. Pierre*, *Langwyl*, *Mals* and *Myenfeld*. I know very well, that some doe name these Comminalities otherwise, but that importeth nothing, because in each Comminality there are many times notable villages, so that the Comminality sometime takes his name of one, and sometimes of another. For mine owne part, I haue named the principall places of the Comminalities.

Thus then there are three leagues of the *Grifons*, containing fifty Comminalities, which (neuertheless) doe make but one Common-wealth. For, although many of the Comminality haue their Iudges lawes, customes, & iustice, as well ciuill as criminall; yet notwithstanding, the Soueraignty is with the council of the three leagues (which they name in their Language, *Ein purdt tag*): dayes of meeting or assemblies of Ambassadors, from each comminality of the *Grifons*: whether some of them send two Ambassadors, others but one only. If the council be ordinary, the *Grife* League sendeth there 28. Ambassadors or councillors; that of *Cade* 2. And from the Iurisdctions, 12. If either one or other doe send a great number, they haue no voyces there, but according to the aboue-named account. Sometimes also, the council general of the whole Nation (which was made no long time since) doe meet together: but that is very rarely.

The fore-mentioned council, manageth the affaires of the common-wealth: yet in such sort, that the councillors or Ambassadors deale not according vnto their owne best seeming, but as the commands and remembrances from their comminalities, and which they bring with them in writing on the dayes do direct them, and whereto they conforme their resolutions, which passeth by plurality of voices. The council of the *Grifons* is (almost) like to that of the Switzer: for there they treat on the selfesame things which concerne the good of the whole country: of peace, of warre, of alliances, of Ambassages, lawes and ordinances, & causes of appeales from the Baylywickes. There are three places appointed for the to sitte in council, to wit, *Ylanis* in the *Grife* league, *Coire* in the league of *Cade*, and

He teacheth us how to be conid rain.

Fifty Comminalities in the 3 leagues

The Council of the three Leagues: if the Grifons, and ten Ang, hear Ambassadors thither.

The Ambassadors are to be guided by their duties on.

& *Tafas* in that of the ten Iurisdiccions. But oftentime the dayes are held at *Coire* at times of their affaires, which happeneth three times in the year: about the fixe and twenty day of Ianuary, the beginning of Iune, and the eleventh day of Nouember.

They haue another Councell or Senate, which they name *Ein bytag*: where the principal Magistrates onely, and, as being the cheefe of the three Leagues, do assemble themselves together. These men, are the Iudge-Princiiall for the Grise-League; the Councell of *Coire* for the League of *Cade*, and the *Amman* of *Tafas*, for the League of the tenne Iurisdiccions. At all times, and as often as neede requireth, to provide for the publique affayres; and it appeareth not convenient, to call all the Deputies of the country together; then those 3. Principals do meete, with some of the cheefest of the three Leagues. But they cannot determine absolutely, onely they referre separately vnto the Comminalities of the three Leagues, whatsoeuer hath bene difficult among the Councillers, and that which is approued by plurality of voyces, is receyued of all. There is appeal also from the councell, to the Comminalities, and then matters are propounded in the Comminalities, whose sentences are set downe in writing: and being conferred on, they are gathered to a resolution and an arrest, by the pluralitie of Voyces.

As concerning iudgements in criminal causes: the Grisons doe therein proceede like the Switzers. If there happen any difference among the three Leagues, three or foure Iudges must bee choien on eyther side, and discharged of the Oathe which bindeth them to their league. They are to accord the difference by kind composition, or iudge according to their consciences. If the voyces fall out equal: an Arbitratour must bee chosen by voyces and common suffrages of the three Leagues. If two Leagues bee in suite, they must referre themselves to the third, who shall deliuer vnto both the parties, the right whereby they are to bee quieted. If it chauce betweene two Comminalities of one and the same League: they must take (as Iudge) the verie nearest comminallity or Iurisdiction belonging to

the same League. But when the Comminalities of diuers Leagues are at difference: the councell of the three Leagues, namely the Iudges, are to provide therefore.

When one Comminallity, or some particular person therein, hath proceesse and suite against the three Leagues, or any one of them; two or three Iudges of each League are then to be choien for it. And when two Leagues are at difference against the other, fixe Iudges of the two Leagues, and fixe of the other alone, are to bee appointed. If they cannot conclude the finis; an arbitratour must bee choien, by plurality of voyces of the three Leagues. These iudgements are to be deliuered first at Ylantz, nexte at *Coire*: a second time againe at Ylantz, then againe at *Coire*, and at *Tafas* the last of all.

It would much weary mee, if I should describe at large the Statutes & customes of the *Grisons*: notwithstanding, I shall not greatly displease or offend the Reader if here I glance at a worde or two. First then, it is agreed vpon betwene them, by the consent and aduice of the whole councell, that neither the Byshoppe of *Coire*, or any of the Ecclesiastical Order: shall elect or establish any ciuile Magistrate, nor aduance a Governour or *Amman*, for any Comminallity or Iurisdiction whatsoeuer; but that the people of the Grisons (by their suffrages onely) shall elect and choose their owne Magistrates.

Such as haue obtrayned any Offices of the Byshoppe, may not be accepted into councell, so long as they do remaine in his seruice.

As concerning the Ministers of the Church, every Parish electeth their owne: may depose them, pay them their Wages, which are too little in many places.

Thoroughout the country of the *Grisons*, no small Tythes are payed, and as for the great, they pay but the fifteenth part, and giue nothing in the field, but they giue it in the house, and alwayes after the haruest both for their Grapes and corne.

All they that are of a comminallity, may fish in all the Riuers and Pondes, and hunt both Beasts, and fye Fowles freely, within

Another principal Councell or Senate for them all.

The Principals meete together when the other need not.

Appeals from the Councell to the Comminalities.

Concerning iudgements in publique causes

When variances happen amongst the Leagues, how they are then to behave themselves.

When one Comminallity hath suite against the 3. Leagues.

The places appointed for iudgements.

Concerning sum statutes & customes among the Grisons.

For election of Magistrates

For Ministers of the church.

For admission to Councell

For paying of Tythes.

For Fishing, hunting, and Fowling.

For weight and measure.

Of their Governments & Bayliwickes, and how they stand in the Grisons country.

Coales called stone or rock-coales in wondrous plenty.

The Towne and Countie of *Cluenna*.

The vale of *Telma*, & the Bayliwickes belonging thereto.

1. *Bormia*.

1. *Tiran*.  
3. *Tel*.

within their sayd Comminality.

Thoroughout all the countries, one weight and measure of things liquid and dry, is to be vsed, to wit, the weight and measure of *Coire*. And it is not lawfull for the Bourgeses of *Coire* to alter any thing therein, without the consent of the other Leagues.

For our conclusion, we are to speak of Governments and Bayliwickes, wherein the three Leagues of the *Grisons* do command equally. On this side the Alps nere to *Coire*, they send a Governour to *Meyensfeld* and to *Melaniz*. On the other side the Alps beneath *Bergel*, toward the riuer of *Maire*, the Governour or Bayliwick of *Plurs* first presenteth it self, which is a great village in the field neighbouring to the Alpes and on the banks of *Maire* riuer, and euen as sightly to bee lookt on, as if it were a good Towne. In this place, there are digged infinite Chauderons of Rocke stone coales, which serue as fewell for the kitching; and it is faithfully reported, that the nature of this stone-coale is such, as when Fish commeth to boyling, they make them mount and leape out of the kettle into the fire; these coales are very abundantly sold in *Italy*. All the villages round about, are answerable and like to *Plurs*, where the Governour (whom they terme *Podstat*) decideth causes, & is soveraigne in that place in name of the *Grisons*, and depured by them.

Next is the Towne and county of *Cluenna*, whereon *Plurs* in elder times depended. *Cluenna* is a Towne about the Lake of *Coma*, about fivie miles, as *Antonius* obserueth it also, in his booke of the wayes. The *Grisons* call the Governour of *Cluenna*, Commissary: & he is the most apparant, next to him of *Sondria*. The third more spacious and noble gouernement is that of the vale *Telma*, famous for the excellent wine, which there is made in extraordinary plenty, and is thence transported into Switzerland and Germanie. The whole vale of *Telma*, is diuided into fixe Bayliwickes. The first is that of *Bormia* a Towne about the valley, towards the Mountaine of *Braull*: this Bayliwick hath many priuiledges and franchises, farre beyond the other. The second is the townie of *Tiran*. The third is *Tel*, whereof (as some thinke) the vale *Telma* first tooke name. It is a Towne seated in a very high place, &

appearing to be so naturally: & it is counted to be the best fortresse of all the Province. *Sondria*, the most renowned town of all the vale *Telma*, maketh the fourth Bayliwick. It is the most rich & powerful among all the rest, and he that is Governour thereof, is called Captain, because our and beside the Bayliwick, hee hath an eye to the whole valley when it is chief in Armes. He hath his Lieutenant, who iudgeth with him the ciuill causes of the the Bayliwick. Hee iudgeth also the criminal matters of all the vally, hauing lawyers and learned men to his councell, and giuing sentence according to the Lawes and Statutes of the vale *Telma*, which ne (uerthelesse) may be moderated & made milder in the Bayliwick by the *Podestats*. Beside all this, all causes may be appealed to the councell of the *Grisons* Seigneuries, or to them that they haue ordained comminallities, and sent to iudge: or finally, to the councell of the Comminalities, who haue the soveraigne power. The fixt Bayliwick is called *Morben*, and the fixt *Trahon*, which is last of all.

This is the order of the Bayliwickes of the vale *Telma*, yet some doe not set the Bayliwick of *Bormia* in this ranke, but diuide the whole vale into three partes; whereof the first comprehendeth *Tiran* and *Tel*; *Sondria* maketh the second; and *Morben* and *Trahon* are the third. In electing the Bayliffes, they follow the order of the Leagues and Comminalities. As for example: if the Grise League establish a Capitaine at *Sondria* for two yeeres, the League of *Cade* sends one thether for the two following yeeres: at the end whereof, the League of the Iurisdiccions sends one for two other yeeres, this order is obserued in each League of the Comminalities. And sometimes the Comminalities, who should send a Bayliffe by their turn, would elect him only: but now the councell of the *Grisons* makes the election. The byshop of *Coire*, and the City, do stampe money. The Abbot of *Dissentiff* hath the same priuiledge also, amongst many other.

4. *Sondria*.

The Governour of *Sondria* is called Capitaine, and iudgeth in causes both ciuill and criminal for the whole vale.

Appeal to the Seigneurs of the Grisons Councell.

6. *Morben*.  
6. *Trahon*.

Another order of diuiding the vale.

The manner of electing their Bayliffes

Coyning of money.

## CHAP. XII.

The Commonwealth of the Valaisians, or people of Valois.

The division of the country of Valois, or Valais, the higher, & the lower.



THE whole country of Valois is divided into two parts. The higher Valois from the source or spring of the river of Rhone, so farre as the river of Morfia, which vniteth it selfe with Rhone, somewhat beneath Sion. This was the dwelling of the ancient Viberines and Sedusians. The lower Valois, is from the river of Morfia, so farre as Saint Mauris, and this was the country of the Peragians.

Suen Jurisdiction in the higher Valois.

The higher Valois is diuided into 7 Jurisdicions, which they call *Dixaines*, wards, and *Zenden* in the *Alleman* tongue. I know not whence this worde is deriued, for it cannot produce the number often, because there are no more Jurisdicions. A friend of mine told me, that the worde intended so much, as Diocesses, because that every Ward hath his Diocesse or Jurisdiction, his Common-wealth, and priuiledges apart by it selfe. Others do hold that the word *Zenden* cometh of another word, signifying, an Hundred: as in the Lawes of France, the Offices of the Earldomes or Counties, the Vicariates and Hundreds are number; and in some places of Germany, they are called *Zendgrauen*, the Iudges of some certaine Jurisdiction. But without standing so strictly on the words originall: wee may verie easily reame them Diocesses or Comminalties. So then, there are seuen Comminalties in the higher Valois, to wit, *Goms*, *Brighe*, *Vespie*, *Raron*, *Leuck*, *Siders*, and *Syon*. These seuen Comminalties haue thirty parishes. The lower Valois hath fixe Comminalties, which they call *Banneries*: because each one hath his particular standard, and foure and twenty Parishes so numbered.

Hundreds or Baronies, or the account of so much land.

The names of the seuen Comminalties.

Six Banneries in the lower Valois.

Long warres betwene the Peragians & Viberines.

The Peragians or lower Valaisians, had (in times past) long warre against the Sedusians and Viberines. In the end, after fourescore and thirteen yeares, they were overcome and subiected; so that the Sedusians and Viberines ruined sixteene Castles, the old pitifull foundations whereof, are yet to be seene, and it is not lawfull for any to builde them againe, for feare they should prouee hurtfull to the countrie liberty. And therefore the higher Valois ouer-rueth the lower, and sendeth Gouernors thither to iudge in causes, & manage the affaires of the State. The Byshop of Syon (whom some call Count & Gouernor of Valois) is Prince of the countrie. Hee is elected by common suffrages of the Chapter of Syon, and of the 7 *Dixaines* of higher Valois.

The Annals of Valois do declare, that Charlemaigne gaue the County and Gouernment of Valois, to Theodofius, Bishop of Syon, and to his successors with power to beare a sword, in signe of ciuill Iurisdiction, and other priuiledges of Princes of the Empire. Because that Byshop (by reuelation of an Angel) had declared to Charlemaigne, that some secret sinne (I know not what) was forgiven him. Howbeit, there are sufficient circumstances to call the county into suspicion, as we haue already made more ample mention in our description of the country of Valois. Notwithstanding, it is certaine, that the Emperors which came after Charlemaigne, accorded & confirmed the fore-named priuiledges to the byshops of Syon: namely, the Emperour Charles the fourth, then Charles the sixt renewed & increated them willingly, at the request of Mathew Shiner Byshop and Cardinal of Sion, from whom he had deriued many good and gracefull seruices.

Afterward, the Byshop had another grace granted, that the next most excellent estate to his, should bee that of the captaine or Bayliffe of the whole country whom they vse to call *Landts haupman*. He iudgeth in ciuill causes, and continueth in his charge the space of two yeeres: being elected by the Byshop, and by the Ambassadors of the *Dixaines* or comminalties. Afterward, he is confirmed by publike approbation and consent of all the comminalties, which haue each one his Magistrate, whom they of *Goms*, *Raron*, and *Leuck*, call *Maire*, the others *Castellan*. He iudgeth all suites, especially them criminall, with the counsellors which the comminalties giue him as assistants. There be *Amman*s also (who are

so-

Higher Valois hath more the lower.

The Byshop of Sion Prince of Valois.

Charlemaigne gaue the Gouernment of Valois to the Bishop of Syon.

The priuiledges of Valois confirmed by the Emperors.

The Captaine or Bayliffe of Valois, and his authority.

The Council of Valois, and disannecting and how farre they power extendeth.

The Barons of Raron, and their successors.

Of the Maze.

Of the Comminalties that are in the lower Valois.

The manner of the situation of Valois.

Saint Mauris is only figured.

soveraigne Magistrates in the Cantons of Switzerland, but they of Valois are iudged inferiours, and haue *Maires* as theyr superiors.

Appeale may bee made from the sentence, which is giuen by the Iudges of a comminality, to the counsell of Valois, who are called *Den landts rath*; and according to the custome of theyr Ancestors, they assembled twice a yeare, in the months of March, and of December. At which times, two or three Deputies of each Village, do meete at Syon, in a Castle named *Maiterin*. The Byshop assisteth there, and the Bayliffe calls for the causes, and then they treat on affaires of the Common-wealth, election of gouernors and publike Officers, & such as shal iudge in the last power, of causes that concerne appeale.

The Barons of Raron, were sometimes great Lordes in the country of Valois. Their successors were the Lords of *Chinron*, who are Marshallles of the Bishoppricke of Syon, Vicount of Syon, and Stewards of Valois.

As for the Maze, which they tearme *Mutzen*, it is a particular inuention of the people of Valois, to oppose theselues against the power of great and rich men. We haue made ample mention in our description of the country of Valois, and there declared, wherefore it was putte in practise, and how it began.

We haue told you, that the Byshop & the seuen *Dixaines* of the higher Valois, hold the souerainety of the whole country in their hands. The lower Valois is subiect to them, and is parted into fixe Comminalties, viz. *Gundes* nere to Syon, is the chiefe Castlewicke or comminality of lower Valois. Heretofore it appertayned to the Canton of Berne, but in thewar which the Switzers made on the Duke of Savoy, in the yeare 1536. the Valaisians did there recover it, in exchange of another country. 2. *Ardon*, 3. *Sallion*, 4. *Entre-mont*, 5. *Martinach*, 6. the Towne of Saint Mauris in *Chablais*, where the mountains seeme as if they ioyned together. So that all *Valois*, is shut or lockt vp by a Tower, & two gates (as it were) at both the endes of a bridge, vnder which the Rhone glydeth. In the yeare, 1475. the *Valaisians* brake down the wals and fortresses of the fore-named places, except that of Saint

Mauris. Without the country of Valois, the *Valaisians* possessed themselues of 3. Baylwickes, during the warre of *Savoie*: as namely, *Montey*, *Tuian*, and *Hochwall*. Neuerthelesse, some few yeares after that they surrendered *Tuian* to *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, and retained both the other.

3. Baylwickes without Valois.

## CHAP. XIII.

The Commonwealth of Bienna.



THE Towne of Bienna made perpetuall alliance with the Bernians, as wee haue already sayde: and it happened in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, fifty two. Thirty yeares after, it contracted perpetuall Alliance with *Solleurre*; and in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and seuen, with *Fribourg*, so it became allyed with three cantons of the Switzers. It acknowledgege as temporall Lord, the Byshop of *Basile*, because concerning the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, it is the Diocesse of *Lansanna*; but it is a long time, since it was no more subiect to the spirituall gouernement of the Bishop, as in like manner were the citizens of *Zurich* and *Berne*.

Bienna made alliance with the Bernians.

The Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction of Bienna.

Afterward, when it came to passe, that the Bernians got the possession of the Bishoppricke of *Lansanna*, they enfranchised Bienna of the Ecclesiasticall subiection. The Byshop of *Basile* is Lord thereof very peaceably in temporall power, and establisheth the soueraign Magistrate, whom they call *Maire*: but hee is chosen out of the number of the Townes counsellors, and the *Maire* giues oath to the counsell, and they to him. Hee taketh knowledge (with the counsell) of criminall causes; & sitteth as President in censuring them. The moitie of fines, amounting to about 3. *Liures Tournois*, appertaineth to the Byshop, with some tenths, and other reuenewes: but the ports, tolles, customs, and such like, belong to the Towne only, and not to the Bishop. For hee is not permitted to impose any charge whatsoever vpon the Bourgeses, nor to engage the Towne: but the Bourgeses are bound to

The soueraign Magistrate of Bienna, & his authority in criminall causes.

The Byshop imposeth no charges on the Bourgeses.

go in warre for the Byshop, and at their owne expences, yet no further then a dayes journey from the Towne. If hee would haue them march any further, hee is bound to pay their wages. Yearely, there is repetition made to the Councell, what priuiledges Byshop *Immer Ramstein* gaue to the Town, in the year one thousand, three hundred, fourecore, & three. They of *Bienna* haue as ample priuiledges as in the greater *Basile*.

The Common-wealth of *Bienna* is gouerned in maner following. All the Bourgeses are diuided into fixe companies or brother-hoods: yet in such order & carriage, as no one man whatsoeuer may ioyn himselfe with two or more of the companies, who haue each one two Masters, & a seruant attending. The Councell publicke is chosen out of the number of these Bourgeses. The lesser councell is composed of foure and twenty: and the greater, of thirty councellers. The election is made at the yeares ending, and at the beginning of the year following, their names are openly published in the church. There is choise made of some Electours, out of the great and lesser councell: who (in presence of the cheefe Secretarie) do confirme the ancient Councellers, or elect new, if there be any such need.

He that fitteth President in the councell generall, is called Bourgmaster, and is elected by the great and lesser councell. He is next in office to the *Maire*, & when they deliberate on affaires of the Common-wealth, and question is vrged concerning ciuill cases: the *Maire* and Officers to the Byshop depart, and leaue the Bourgmaster President. Next to him are the Treasurers, *Banderets*, *vojers*, or Surueyers, the Iudges of the Consistory, the Hospitalliers, and others elected in publicke charges, by the great and lesser councell, who are not aduanced to such Degrees, but as they are knowne apt and able. The *Banderet* onely, is chosen by all the people. Hee hath charge not onely of bearing the Towns banner; but also (with the Bourgmaster) is protector of Schollers, taking care that they may haue diligent and faithfull Teachers and Overseers, and to take their accounts. The lesser councell assemblh three times every weeke, to wit, on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday; but if any man doe desire

to haue a cause extraordinarily decided, paying a Florin to the *Maire*, the councell shall be then assembled. *Bienna* hath no other particular Iurisdiction, but the Councell iudgeth all causes ciuill and criminall.

They of *Bienna*, are Lords of the Valley of Saint *Immer*, for so likewise is the Seigneury of *Argua* called; and is diuided into many Comminalties, which haue (each one) their *Maire* or *Amman* elected and confirmed every yeare, in the moneths of May and September. But they of *Bienna* haue not any bayliffe, for the Comminalties haue their courtes of Iustice, and when the parties cannot bee agreed, the cause is sent to the councell of the Towne, who send sometimes assistants to helpe in the country pleadings, and to end their suits: but appeale may be made from their sentences to the councell of the Towne. The inhabitants of this valley, do march in warre vnder the Standartes of *Bienna*.

## CHAP. XIII.

*The Common-wealthes of such people as are gouerned in common by the Cantones of Switzerland. And first of all of stipendary Townes.*



Our former booke, we haue distributed the people gouerned in common, by the Cantons of Switzerland, into fixe stipendary Townes, and nine bayliwickes or Gouernements. Those Townes haue their Magistrats & Councell by themselves, to wit, a lesser Councell composed of twelue, and a great, of forty Councellers, comprehending the twelue of the lesser in the number. The cheefe of the councell is called: *Schultheiss*, or *Auyger*: hee is elected at *Bada*, by the lesser and great councell.

At *Bremgarten*, the fixe first Cantons establish one of the two *Auygers*: who (notwithstanding) is in number of the Bourgeses, onely of whom the other is elected.

He

The valley of S Immer, and Seigneury of Argua.

Bienna hath no Bayliff.

The diuision of the Stipendary Townes.

Eight named at Bada.

At Bremgarten.

At Frawenfeld.

The priuiledges of the Townes.

The custome at Bada is the Townes, but not the Tolles.

Concerning the Towne of Bremgarten.

Long amitie between Zurich &amp; Bremgarten.

The reformation of Zurich.

The ordination of the seven Cantons.

Hee of *Frawenfeld*, is elected by the Councell generall but in secret voyce. The Councell of these Townes doe elect Treasurers, *vojers*, and other Magistrats: for the Townes haue priuiledges, to provide for publicke charges, and haue likewise treasuries, and good round sums of ready gathered monies in them, for their condition and extensure, because the customes, tolles, and taxes do belong vnto them. Neuerthelesse, in the town of *Bada*, which is the passage of Germany into France, the custome belongeth to the town; but the tolle for Merchandizes transported that way, appertaineth to the Cantons. The lesser councell of these townes, provide not onely for the townes affaires, but also do decide suites: for they haue no other Courts of iustice, except at *Frawenfeld*, & they haue likewise both ciuill and criminall iurisdiction.

*Bremgarten* commandeth ouer some Villages neighboring to the town, which they call the Bayliwicke of *Cella*. This country is in the gouernment of the free Prouince, appertaining to the Cantons: but it was engaged sometimes to them of *Bremgarten*. When the Emperour *Sigismund* did put them of *Zurich* in possession of the free Prouince, he gaue them priuiledge, to disengage the country: but they of *Bremgarten* entreated them, that in regard of the amity, which had til then continued betweene the two townes, they would leaue the country to them, which was easily granted them. Wherefore at that time, by the liberality of them of *Zurich*, who gaue it them by Letters: they of *Bremgarten* were put and confirmed in possession of the country, in the year one thousand, foure hundred, and eighteene.

Neuerthelesse, they of *Zurich* referred to themselves the foweragntie, & the punishment of Malefactours deserting death. The year one thousand, fise hundred, twenty eight, a difference happened betweene them of *Zurich* and *Bremgarten*; to wit, about the causes of appeale, and to whom it belonged. The seven Cantons ordained thereupon, that the Bayliwicke of *Cella*, might appeale to the councell of *Bremgarten*, and from them to *Zurich*: but as concerning suites mooued at *Bremgarten*, the appeale was to bee brought before the eight Can-

tons.

The town of *Frawenfeld*, beside the councell apart by it selfe, hath an assembly of twelue Iudges, who decide suites among the Bourgeses, and country people in the Villages, that are vnder the townes iurisdiction. But as for criminall causes, and variances touching inheritances, and such like things; the knowledge of them belongeth vnto the councell. These Iudges execute their arrests, in condemning of certaine fines, and making seizure on the goods of condemned persons. Appeale may bee made from them, to the seauen Cantons: but there is no appeale from the councels sentence.

For the present, by permission of the councell, the *Amman* of the country is cheefe of those Iudges; but anciently, and about an hundred yeares since, it was to the Apparatur of the town, and afterward to the Agent or Prouost of the Empire.

Vhen any Malefactour is to be condemned to death, the Iudges make choise (as pleaseth themselves) of twelue other men of the town, or of the villages referring thither; and then these foure and twenty men may condemne to death. *Frawenfeld* obtained this priuiledge of the Emperour *Sigismund*; and therefore they haue prisons purposely. From the time of the *Austrian* Princes, they hadde power to put criminall persons to death; now adayes the Cantons conferre and maintaine the rights to *Frawenfeld*: and although condemnation of death appertaineth to tenne Cantons, yet *Frawenfeld* stands excepted, which dependeth not, neither is subiect but to the seauen first Cantons, the priuiledges referred.

Moreouer, this Towne hath some particular rights, touching testaments and inheritances, and the Bourgeses may exact their debtes thorough all the country of *Turgow* (annuall reuenues excepted) according to the rights of Iustice of the Prouince, and may (without punishment) lodge such as haue bene banished by the lawes; but they cannot bee drawne into any strange iustice, but the demander must come and pleade at *Frawenfeld*.

The Abbey of *Auge* the rich, hath some

An assembly of six Iudges at Frawenfeld.

No Appeale from the councels sentence.

When any one is sentenced to death.

Frawenfeld subiect to the seven first Cantons.

Particular rights belonging to Frawenfeld.



The Abbey of Augue the rich and privileged it hath at Frawenfeld

some rightes at *Frawenfeld*, whereto the Bourgesles stand obliged, and (anciently) the most part of them wer subiects to the Abbey: but afterward, they enfranchised themselves from all charges of seruitude, and now adayes, before giuing any Oath vnto the Abbot, they receyue Letters from him, whereby hee promisseth them, not to sel, engage, nor alienate the rightes which he hath at *Frawenfeld*, by reason of the Abbey; and besides, that hee will conferre and keepe all their ancient Priuiledges, Franchises, rights, and good customes.

The ancient power in time of warre.

Finally, in the times of war, anciently, the Seignurie of *Frawenfeld* elected the Capitaine, the Ambassador, the Ensigne, and other cheefe offices of warre: which all the countrey of *Turgow* followed, and tooke Oath to them. Also, the Standard of the Towne is adorned with Images of Saints, like to the Standares of the Catholique Cantons, to wit, with a Crucifixe, and two crossed Keyes; and on the other side, is the picture of Iesus Christes face, as in a Linnen handkercher. But within some fewe yeares they of the Prouince of *Turgow* obayned leaue, to haue their particular captaines and Standards. In meane while the Towne of *Frawenfeld*, and the places that are of other Iurisdiction, haue theyr Capitaines, Ensigne-bearers, and their auncient Standards.

Turgow at liberty by it self

## CHAP. XV.

### Of the Bayliwicks or Gouvernments.

The custome obserued in most part of the Cantons for their Bayliwicks.

**W**E haue already formerly set downe, how many Bayliwicks or Gouvernments the Switzers haue, to what Cantons they appertaine, and how they became Lords of them. The Cantons do send their Bayliffes turne by turne, and in the most part of the Cantons, the custome is; that the charge is giuen vnto one of the Councillers of the lesser councill. The Bayliffe continueth in his charge two yeares, and then giueth place to him that is sent by another Can-

ton. They gouerne the Bayliwicks according vnto the Lawes and customes of the people: neuertheless, in the Bayliwicks on this side the mountaines, the Bayliffe doth not iudge alone in criminal causes; but hath (as adiuncts or assistants) the Iudges of the Prouince, in regard whereof, they do call this course of Iustice, *Ein Landgericht*. They take knowledge of all suites of importance, and especially, those criminall, and giue sentence; notwithstanding, the Bayliffe is soueraigne, for he sitteth President, and hath power to moderate the sentence.

But in the Bayliwicks of *Italy*, or beyond the Mountaines, the bayliffes onely condemne to death: they may vvell call some learned men for counsell, but those Councillers haue no power in the sentence. Finally, euery yeare about middelune, they render an account of theyr administration; they on this side the mountaines, at *Bada*, they beyond, at *Lugano*; before the Deputies, which the twelue Cantons then send thither, and then they iudge the subiects causes of Appeale. If some strange enemy make warre on the Switzers: all the Bayliwicks send theyr people, who march vnder their particular Standards, and euery bayliwicke ioyneth with the Canton, vnder whose power it is that yeare. As in the warre of *Bourgonne*, they of the bayliwicke of *Turgow* serued the Canton of *Zurich*. But if there happen any ciuill warre in Switzerland, because the bayliwicks do stand as much obliged to one Canton, as another: they are not bound to giue succor, if the most part of the Cantons do not commaund them.

## CHAP. XVI.

### Of Bada.

**W**HE Gouvernment or Bayliwicke of *Bada*, is much more magnificent then the other, because the dayes meetings and assemblies of the Cantons are held there: for the bayliffe of *Bada* euermore helpeth there, demanding for the causes in order, and sea-

The custome on this side the mountaine.

The custome in the Bayliwicks beyond the mountaine.

When some strange enemy warre on the Switzer.

In time of ciuill warre in Switzerland.

Many Villages and Iurisdiction commannded by the Bayliffe.

In cases concerning life & death.

The Secretary of the whole Prouince.

Two little Townes, belonging to Bada, Clingenow, and Keyserthoul.

Zurzach a great Village.

lealeth with his Signer, such things as are written in the name of all the Councill. Moreover, if the voyces be equall vpon either side: hee maketh that auayleable, where he ranketh himselfe, and by that means endeth all variance. This Bayliffe hath no authorities ouer the Towne of *Bada*, but ouer the Countie, which is diuided into many Villages and small Iurisdctions: where hee hath his Lieutenants and Officers, who hold their pleadings with Iudges of the Village in name of the Bayliffe; exact the Fines, and render him an account, and sometimes also himselfe is present in those Iurisdctions. But when there is question of condemning a Malefactor vnto death, foure and twenty Iudges of the whole Countie of *Bada*, meete together, and the Bayliffe electeth them: but the custome is, that after they haue bene once thus elected, they continue all their life time afterward in that charge, if some lawfull impeachment doe not preuent it: and when any one of them dyeth, or is dismissed, then the Bayliffe putteth another in his place. These Iudges, giue sentence according to the Lawes: neuertheless, the Bayliffe (who hath the soueraignty in his hand) may mitigate their sentence. Next to this estate of the Bayliffe, is hee that is called Secretary of all the Prouince: for, beside the dignity, hee hath profite, because all the Cantons serue him, so long as the dayes are kept. Moreover and beside, hee hath a Lieutenant, who is cheefe of all the Officers belonging to the Bayliffe.

The Bayliwicke and Countie of *Bada*, hath two small Townes vnder it, the one named *Clingenow*, and the other, *Keyserthoul*; but the Byshop of *Constance* sendeth Bayliffes thither, and hee of *Bada* hath nothing to looke to there, save onely, the acknowledgement of causes criminall appertaining to him, and the people of those places, are comprehended with the rest of the County of *Bada*, when they goe to warre, with, or for the Switzers. Betwene these two little Townes, is a great Village, neere vnto the *Rhine*, named *Zurzach*, inhabited as if it were a good great Towne, subiect vnto the Byshoppe of *Constance*, and depending on the Bayliwicks of *Clingenow*. I must needs say somewhat concerning the po-

licy thereof, because it is a place greatly renowned, in regard of two great Fayres very goodly and commendable, which are there kept euery yeare. Many Merchants, not only of *Switzerland* and *Germany*, but also of *France* and *Italy*, meete there, albeit each Fayre lasteth but one day.

Many do hold opinion, that this village is the place, which *Platony* calleth *Forum Tiberij*; and that on this occasion, these Fayres are very ancient, as hauing bene ordained by *Tiberius*. It seemeth to haue taken this name of *M. Iulius Cæsar*, a famous Romane Souldier, buried in that place, as is testified by an ancient inscription. The Iurisdiction of this village is one of the dependances of *Clingenow*: the Bayliffe electeth an officer yearly, in the Moneth of Ianuarie, and cyght Senatours, foure whereof, are in seruice a whole yeare, and they are called sworne Senatours; and then the other foure doe succede them, hauing foure Iudges giuen them as assistants. These twelue, with the Bayliffe of *Clingenow*, who presideth, iudge the causes, and meere once in xv. dayes; but if any man requirith (in the meane time) that the Iudges should meet together, they doe; the party paying thirteene Shillings of the Money of *Lucerne*.

Moreover, the Bayliffe to the byshop of *Constance*, cannot condemn any greater fine, then the summe of tenne pounds; but if the crime appeare to deserue more rigorous chastisements, to witte, corporally; then the Officer to the Bayliffe of *Bada*, executeth the sentence, and punisheth the faultie. But out of the Fayre times, Malefactors are examined, first, at *Clingenow*; after they haue confessed theyr fault, and are conuicted of capital crime, they are deliuered into the handes of the Bayliffe of *Bada*. At the times of the Fayres, to witte, the first day of September, and the first Holyday of the Weeke, after Pentecost, the day before the Faire, all the Iurisdiction of the Byshoppe ceaseth, and belongeth vnto the bayliffe of *Bada*, who hath sole power and authority of commanding and forbidding, euen vntil the end of the Faire. For in regard that a great number of people doe assemble there, our Auncestors were desirous, that these Fayres might be in the safegard and

Two great Fayres yearly at Zurzach.

Forum Tiberij.

Sworne Senatours.

The Bayliffe of Clingenow.

Power of condemning fines or otherwise.

Concerning the times wher the Fayres are kept.

The government of Zurzach.

protection of such as were souveraignes, and had meanes to bee strongest in these places then. In former times, the Princes of *Austria*, were Lords of the Countie of *Bada*; but now it belongeth to the eight first Cantons. As for the government of *Zurzach*, it is managed by sixteene counsellors, to wit, the twelve before mentioned, and foure assistants. But if there be any businesse of importance, it is referred to the councill generall.

# CHAP. XVII.

## Of Turgow.

Turgow the greatest of all the Bayliwicks



Mong all the Bayliwicks of the Cantons, there is not any more plentifully peopled nor of larger extendure then *Turgow*, which hath more then fifty Parishes. The seven most ancient Cantons send thither a Bayliffe, & to them appertaineth the Seigneury and ciuill Iurisdiction of the countrey. If Switzerland be assaulted by a stranger enemy, they of *Turgow* ranke themselves with the seven Cantons : but the knowledge of criminall causes, and such as are capital, belong to the tenne Cantons.

Mean Courts of Iustice in the villages of Turgow.

Beside, there are many Noblemen, & Ecclesiasticall persons, that haue meane courts of Iustice in diuers villages of *Turgow*, yet in such sort notwithstanding, that all the villages are subiects to the Bayliffe of the whole countrey. The inferior Seigneurs may condemne fines of twentie shillings, and sometimes so farre as tenne poundes : but the moity of the fines belongeth to the Bayliffe, according to the ordinances well vnderstoode, and established among them.

The Ecclesiasticall persons and what Iurisdctions they haue.

All they that haue Iurisdctions, are called *Grichtsherrren*. The Ecclesiasticks, are the byshop of *Constance*, who hath his Prouoits in *Turgow*, to witte, at *Arbonna*, *Tunegg*, *Guttingen*, and *Gottlieb*. The Chapter of *Constance* hath Iurisdiction within *Alinaw*. The Abbey of *Ange* the rich, nowe vnited and incorporated with the Byshoppricke of *Constance*, hath great reuennues, and many

Iurisdctions in the countrey of *Turgow*, to wit, *Stekbure*, *Berninge*, *Mammelbach*, *Ermatingen*, *Tribeltingen*, &c. Many Gentlemen are vassalls to this Abbey. The Abbot of the Hermitage, is also Lord of *Felchentz*. In like manner, the Abbey of *S. Gall*, hath Iurisdiction in some Villages : as also the Abbeyes founded in the countrey of *Turgow* haue, as *Tobel*, the Comanderie of the Knights of Saint *Lohn*, *Fischinge*, the Abbey of *Benedictines*, *Ittinge*, *Chartrouse*, *Munsterlinge* and *Tennikon*. The Abbey of the Monkes of the *Cisteraux* order. Also *Feldbach*, *Calchere*, *Saint Katharine du Val*, nere to *Diessenhaw*, and some other Prouoits in one or two Villages, and sometimes in many, haue Iurisdiction.

There are great store of Castles, appertaining vnto diuers Gentlemen, who dwell there, and enioy their ancient Iurisdctions : the names of which Castles I will recite, together with the Lords vnto whom they belong. The Lords of *Wlue* dwell for the present time at *Wellenberg* and *Grisenberg*. *Herdere* and *Burgelle* are to the Lords of *Landberg*. *Wengie* belongeth to the Lords of *Giel*. *Spiegelberg*, to the Lords of *Montprat*. *Vinsfeld* vnto the Lords of *Schelnberg*, and of *Gemminge*. Vpon the limites of the countrey, there is a Towne belonging to the Count of *Oberstein*. *Nauenbourg* and *Mammer* appertaine to the Lords of *Tum*. *Salenstein* and *Blidec*, to the Lords of *Hannille*. *Clingenberg*, to the Lords of *Herderneimer*. *Outishouse*, to the Lords of *Schenck*. *Epishouse*, to the Lords of *Hagenwille*. *Liebenfels*, to the Lords of *Lanz*. *Clinge*, to the Lords of *Brum*. *Neufere*, to the Lords of *Stacker*. *Sonnenberg*, to the Lords of *Gutenfon*. There are many castles also ruined the most part of whole Iurisdctions, doe belong vnto Ecclesiasticall persons : but other some of them belong vnto Gentlemen dwelling in other castles, and also vnto some particular men of the Countrey.

Beside, the Abbey of *Rinow* hath iustice both ciuill and criminal in the townie of *Rinow*, which appeareth to be very ancient, although it hath no store of beautifull buildings. Some are of opinion, that the Romaines planted theyr campe there heerefore, to encounter with the *Germanes*.

The Abbey of Benedictines

Of Castles belonging to Gentlemen

A Towne on the limits of the countrey

Castles ruined and desolate

The Abbey of Rinow

In

The title with in the Rhine.

The Standard of Rinow.

Bischoffzell or Episcopalia.

The Byshops Balle in the townie Castle.

The Councell and two Presidents.

The Byshop the oath of the townmen

The ancient townie of Arbonna on the Lake of Constance.

In the lile which is not within the *Rheine*, the Abbey of the *Benedictines* is to be seene, one of the most ancient in all *Switzerland*. The Abbot is Lord of the Towne; neuertheless, if any Malefactor be condemned to death : he is deliuered vnto the Prouost or *Amman* of the Province, and his goods remaine seized and confiscated to the seven Cantons. They of *Rinow* haue their standard, vnder which they march in Warre for the Switzers. Moreover, there are some Towns in *Turgow*, which continue in the Switzers protection, and haue their Franchises & priuiledges verie ample, & Iurisdiction particular.

There is another Towne, named *Bischoffzell*, at the meeting of two Riuers, called *Sittera* and *Tur*, which is well into the countrey of *Turgow* : and it hath his Standard, where vnder the souldiers goe to Warre for the Switzers. But the Governour of the countrey is onely but to be seene there, and can command nothing of the inhabitants, who are subiect (in some things) vnto the Byshoppe of *Constance*, yet hee governeth according to their ordinances.

The Byshop hath a Bayliffe in the Castle of the Towne, to whom appertaineth the moitie of the Fines : but the Townemen doe elect the Councell, and the two Presidents out of them, whom they call ancient Senatours, that gouerne the Common-wealth with the Councillers. One of the two, iudgeth in criminall causes, and there is no appeale from the sentence of the Senate : neither is it lawfull to draw a Bourgesse before any other Iustice then that of the Towne. The Impost of Wine, and other Reuennues belong to the common-wealth. When the Byshoppe taketh his Oathe of the Townemen, hee promisseth first himselfe, neuer to diminish in any manner whatsoever, their auncient Priuiledges and Franchises.

*Arbonna* is an ancient Towne, on the Lake of *Constance*, whereof *Antoninus* maketh mention in his guide of the waies. It is vnder the dominion of the Byshop of *Constance*, who hath there a Bayliffe : but they of the Towne doe elect theyr *Amman* and Councell, who manage ciuill causes. The Switzers haue some Seignioriall rights in that place : for the cattle is

open to them in the times of warre, for best accommodating themselves, and the Inhabitants are theyr Souldiers for seruice.

*Diessenhaw*, a Towne vpon the *Rheine*, betweene *Sten* and *Schaffouse*, as also of the countrey of *Turgow*, and besides the seven Cantons, who are Lordes of this countrey : *Berne* and *Schaffouse* haue some right in the domination of *Diessenhaw*. Neuertheless, the Townemen giue Oath onely to eight Cantons, and haue great store of priuiledges : their councell and *Anger* haue the Iurisdiction of some Townes about it. But all are eleeched to bee vnder the government of *Turgow*, and goe to warre with the other for the Switzers : but yet vnder the Standard of *Diessenhaw*.

But besides the Iurisdctions of the Ecclesiasticks, and of the Gentlemen : there are many Villages, wherof the Cantons are entirely Lordes, and they are called the Iurisdctions of the countrey of *Turgow*, and the Officers of the Bayliffe, do holde the pleadings in these Villages. Heerefore there were diuers formes of pleas, and manie customes : but the seven Cantons (by aduice and consent of the Lords of the Iurisdctions) ordained and established a common manner of pleading, thoroughout the whole countrey of *Turgow*. Beside, if a particular man haue a suite against the Lord of a Iurisdiction, he presents it to the Bayliffe or Governour of the countrey, and of him demandeth iustice.

There are two kindes of Law and Iustice (in the highest degree) in *Turgow* : for they must pleade before the Iudiciary bench of the Province, or else before the Bayliffe and his assistants. The Law or Iustice Prouinciall, it appertaineth not onely vnto the seven Cantons, who establish a Governour in the countrey : but likewise they of *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, haue therein their part, whereof wee haue giuen a reason in our former booke.

Sometimes this court of Iustice was held at *Winterduer*, when as the countrey of *Kybourg* was ioyned to the countrey of *Turgow*; afterward, it was helde nere to *Constance*, when the Emp. *Sigismund* had engaged *Winterduer* to the Bourgeses of *Constance*, & sometimes in other places : but

Diessenhaw on the River of the re.

Oath to eight Cantons only

The Iurisdctions of the countrey of Turgow.

Order for the suite and pleas in Turgow.

Law or iustice termed Prouinciall.

it is fully refolued on at *Frauenfeld*, and the Cantons haue concluded, that it shal neuer bee transported any whether else heereafter.

Twelue Iudges are chosen by the Bayliffe, foure of *Frauenfeld*, and four of *Turgow*: the Bayliffe sits President in name of ten Cantons; or the *Amman* of country, established by the Cantons; or the Lieutenant whom the Bailiffe substituteth in his place. The causes of appeale, concerning the whole countrey of *Turgow*, are decided in this Prouinciall Court of Iustice, together with the suits in matters of debt, the knowledge whereof may appertain to this court: also the causes of injuries, crimes, and other offences deferring death. The Bayliffe and his assistants (who most often are the *Amman* of the country, the Secretary, and the cheefe Vsher) do censure also in the same suites: & it is at the discretion of the plaintiffe or demander, to make choise before which of the two courts he will pleade.

The Bayliffe causeth the sentences and ordinances to bee executed, with imposition of a fine of ten poundes, payable by him, that satisfieth not the sentence in ten dayes. The Prouinciall court of iustice, imposeth no fine of money, but banisheth: only referred, that it condemneth him in a fine that pleadeth his owne cause in person (because the custom is, to take one of the Iudges to declare the fact) and enters it into the Court where the Iudges vse to sit. He that is accused to contemne the ordinances of the Bayliffe, is imprisoned.

Appeale from both the Courts to the Cantons.

A man may appeale to the Cantons, from the sentence given in either of the Courts; and, according to the importance of the cause to the seuen Cantons, or to the ten in taking knowledge. Likewise al Fines (as the goods of persons put to death, confiscations, and fines imposed on such as are accessaries to crimes deferring death) doe appertaine partly to the seauen, partly to the ten Cantons. Heere may be alledged (for example sake) might and horrid injuries, yet not meriting death: violence done by any man to him that is strictly commaunded to liue in peace with his aduersary, outrageous acts committed to a man upon the publique high way, by wounding, robbing, or offering him any such like violence. Also, if

any man vsurpe, encroach vpon, enclose, or appropriate to himselfe any part of the high-way, transposse or alter boundes, markes, and limits; or change any goods layed to him by way of pawning, or giuen him in trust to keepe; if he violate Fayth, or forswear himselfe openly; or if he carry himselfe insolently toward the Bailiffe or Iudges, &c.

Besides, all such as the Prouinciall court of Iustice declareth guilty of death: are sent vnto the other Iudges with theyr causes, to haue the sentence pronounced on them. These Iudges are in number foure and twenty, and heretofore the custom was, that the Bayliffe ioyned twelue Iudges, to the twelue of the Prouinciall Iustice, and chose them thoroughout the country, at his owne discretion: but now adayes (and ofner then any other) the Iudges of *Frauenfeld* doe pronounce the sentence of death. This is to cut off charges, which would be farre greater without comparison, if the Iudges should bee called from diuers parts of the country, it being of so large extender.

There is no appeale granted from this sentence: neuertheless it is permitted to the Bayliffe, to moderate the Iudges sentence, or to alter the manner of the punishment vpon the Offender; or else to saue the condemned mans life; but heere may not (by any meanes) aggravate, or make heauyer the condemnation.

## CHAP. XVII.

### Of Sargans.



THE Countrey of *Sargans*, hath heretofore had Countes or Earles, that gaue it the name, and sold it vnto the *Switzers* Countrey. Those Countes were of the house of *Werdenberg*, by reason of the Counties thereunto belonging, and also of *Montfort*, being then diuided into many families: but the countrey standeth separated by a certain small Riuer, named *Sar*. Part of it, about the Riuer, hath some villages; the cheefest whereof

Concerning sentences of death.

A custom vsed in former times, but otherwise prohibited, and ypon good reason.

A grant power granted to the Bayliffe.

Concerning the Original of Sargans, being named after the Riuer Sar.

whereof is called *Regatz*, where the law pleas are held: as also the Abbey of *Pfauertzt*, the Abbot whereof hath iurisdiction in those quarters. It seemeth that this part was heretofore diuided from the other, so as the name of *Sargans* belonged to them that dwelt beneath the Riuer, and whereof (vndoubtedly) they borrowed their name. For there is another *Sargans*, or of *Sarunets*, whereof *Pliny* maketh mention, which at this day is called *Engadin*, and neere the foure or spring of *Rheine*: but they which dwell about the Riuer, may bee of the quarter of the *Rhegusses* and *Rhucans*, at this day termed *Rhinthall* and *Rhuchenberg*. They haue their court of iustice by themselves, and other weights and measures, then they beneath the Riuer.

The towne of *Sargans* is small, and hath a Castle, wherein the Bayliffe dwelleth, and it is the cheefest of all the Bayliwickes. There is a councill at *Sargans*, and an *Auoyer*, whom the *Switzers* (being Lords there) do establish: as also in another Towne of the same Bayliwick, named *Walhenstat*, on the Lake of *Kiur*. But the lower court of iustice belongeth to them of *Sargans*, as likewise the principall Villages haue their Court. The last or latest appellations, for causes criminall and capital, are held at *Sargans*; where Iudges are chosen, both of the Towne, and from the whole Bayliwicke. Oftentimes, in stead of the Bayliffe, the *Amman* is President of the country. The Bayliffe himselfe pleadeth against the offender, and hath a Secretary and an Officer. If criminall persons are prisoners at *Walhenstat*; then iudgement and execution to death is done there: but the Bayliffe sitteth President, and not the *Auoyer* of *Walhenstat*.

## CHAP. XIX.

### Of Rhinthall.

THE Bayliffe of this Valley (which taketh his name of *Rheine*, and is vpon the left bancke thereof, about his entrance into the Lake of *Constance*) maketh his abiding in a small Towne, called *Rhink*, somewhat below the Valley.

The whole Bayliwicke is diuided into certayne portions or fee-farmes, which they tearme *Hofs*, and these are their names: *Alstett*, a little Towne, *Marpach*, *Bernanget*, *Tall*, whereon *Rhink* dependeth, and *Ouerriede*. Each hath his iurisdiction by it selfe, and two *Ammans*; whereof the one is entailed by the Bayliffe of the cantons, and the other by the Abbot of *S. Gall*. The moiety of the fines belongeth to the Abbot, and the other part to the Cantons. Neuertheless, at *Alstett* the fines are diuided into three parts, whereof the third appertaineth to the inhabitants. Some say, that the higher and lower iurisdiction of this place, belongeth to the Prince of *Austria*. The lower court of iustice of *Luttenow* (which is a Village in the Bayliwicke of *Rhinthall*) appertaineth to the Counts of *Amsta*. The acknowledgement of criminall causes, belongeth to the cantons: and their Bayliffe causeth the sentences to bee executed in those places where the delicts were committed, hauing *Ammans* for their Iudges.

The inhabitants of this Valley doe principally employ themselves in husbandry about their Vines, and spinning linnen yarne, which they sell at *S. Gall*, & liue very commodiously by these meanes. Also they of *S. Gall* haue flore of lands, and many vineyards in this Valley, with plenty of Vine-dressers and Barne-keepers: in regard whereof, they set a taxation on the wine with the inhabitants of *Rhinthall*, and set downe a price to be payed by the Masters and others, who buy it before vintage time at publique sale, and pay the mony to the Vine-dressers. This tax bindeth not them who haue not folde their wine before that time. When the vintage draweth neere, the Deputies of each Village do meete at *S. Gall*, and the Seignery appointeth one or two of the councill to sit with them; and then they (altogether) set a price vpon the wines. If they cannot agree, but that there are as many on the one side, as on the other: then the Village, whose turne it is to bee Arbitrator, sets downe the determination. For every Village (in his rancke and place) hath the right and priuiledge of arbitration, when as the taxers cannot, or will not agree together. The price agreed vpon, then they begin to cut and gather grapes for the vintage: but it is not law- full

The Bayli-wicks division and their territoriall iurisdiction.

The diuision at Alstet.

Acknowledging of criminall causes.

How the inhabitants of the Valley belloved their time.

A tax set vpon the wine (so such as are buyers before the vintage

In what manner they set a price vpon the wine, & how it is concluded by arbitration.

full to begin before.

# CHAP. XX.

Of the Barons of Altfax.

Betweene the Bayliwicke of *Rhinthal*, and the county of *Werdenberg*, you may see the Seigneury belonging to the Barons of *Altfax*. Now, although the Barons are soueraigne Lords; yet notwithstanding, in regard of the situation of *Rhinthal*, I was not willing to passe any further, without making some mention thereof.

The race of the Lords of *Altfax* is most ancient, and hee that hath written concerning Iustices and Tournaments, declareth, that the Emperour *Henry*, surnamed the Faulconer or Fowler, made choise among all the Gentlemen of *Swabia*, of *Frederick*, Baron of *Altfax*, to prescribe to others, the order to be observed in those Royall pastimes. They of *Misauk* in the *Grisons* country (whom *Pliny* calleth *Hirfices*, at the Trophee of *Augustus*) were sometimes subiects to the Barons of *Altfax*: to whom the Emperour *Sigismund* gave the name and dignity of Counts, and *Wolffe*, Baron of *Altfax* was in the warre against the *Obotrites*, in the year nine hundred, thirty five. Some say, that those Counts descended of the house of *Altfax*, and that there are many Gentlemen (of very ancient race) in the country of the *Grisons*, descended of the first *Rhetians*, who were of *Tuscan*, and vaunt themselves also to be issued of the Romanes.

In Antiquity, the Lords of *Altfax* dwell in the *Grisons* country. For neere to the Valley of *Leuz*, where they inhabite, who (among all other) vaunt and glorifie themselves, to bee of most noble and ancient race; there is the Village of *Oberfax*, which retaineth yet the name of that Family, and it hath a Castle of the same name. I am of the minde then, that the house of *Altfax* is *Grison* by originall, and descended (with many other of the *Grisons*) of the *Tuscans*, who were before the Romanes. Also the country, whereof they are Lords to this day, was heretofore

reputed to be of the *Grisons*: considering, that *Strabo* extendeth the *Grisons* limits, so farre as the Lake of *Constance*.

This Baronny hath had heretofore two strong Castles, to wit, *Sax* (which was burnt before the warre of *Appenzell*) and *Fortage*, builded afterward, vpon the warranty of *Virich* of *Altfax*, Abbot of *S. Gall*, at such time as the Barons were in warre against the Counts of *Montfort*. There are many Villages in this Valley, subiect to the Barons of *Altfax*. If any warre threaten *Switzerland*, they chuse their most valiant Soldiours, which they send to their succour. Also *Huldreich*, Father to *Huldreich Phillip*, now Baron of *Altfax*, fought valiantly for the *Switzers*, in the warre which they had against the Emperour *Maximilian*, and the league of *Swabia*; and as a recompence and acknowledgement of his valor, the Cantons gaue him diuers peeces of Artillery.

It is a long time since the Barons of *Altfax* haue bene Bourgesies of *Zurich*, the rest of the Cantons neuer had any dominion ouer the Barons of *Altfax*: but themselves were soueraigne Lords, and no man might appeale fro their sentence, to any other iustice. At this day, there is no more of this race of the Barons of *Altfax* left, but one, namely, the Lord *Huldreich Phillip*: but by the grace of God, it is now augmented, because this lord hath had (by two wiues) five sonnes, already of good stature, and which promise faire hope, namely, *Albert John*, *Thibault John*, *Phillip John*, *John Christopher*, and *John Huldreich*.

# CHAP. XXI.

The Bayliwicks or Governements of Italy.

THE first and principall of the four Bayliwicks of *Italy*, is called *Lugano*, and the Bayliffe is called a Captain, commanding ouer all the four, if any warre doth happen vnexpected.

The second is that of *Locarno*, almost of

of as great and large extendure, as *Lugano*. I will set downe in this Chapter, an exact description of the Bayliwicke and Towne of *Locarno*, made (at my request) by *M. Thaddæus Dun*, Physitian, and a native of *Locarno*, my very good friend. For thereby may be knowne, what the gouernment of the other Bayliwicks is, which although they are not of the like extendure, neither haue the same policy, yet notwithstanding, they are gouerned in the same manner, in respect of the Bayliffe, and dominion of the *Switzers*.

The Towne of *Locarno*, is called *Lugari* by the *Germanes*, and *Locarno* by the *Italians*. Some do hold it to be so named, as being a place of flesh: because in all the country round about, there is no meane number of cattell. It is seated on a plaine, betweene the foote of an high Mountain, and the Bank of the Lake *Maior*. Towards the East it hath the head and beginning of this Lake: to the South, the neck of the Lake, and the high Mountaines. It extendeth and shooteth it selfe out along the middle of the Lake, to his fall, and towards the North are also very high Mountaines. To the West, and against the lands belonging to the Bayliwicke of *Bellinzona*, is a plaine of great length, yeelding yearly a plentifull Hay-haruest, & thwart it passeth *Thecina*. Neere to the Towne, betweene this plaine, the Towne it selfe, the foote of the Mountaines, and the Lake banks, is a fruitfull parcell of Land for Corne and Wine, and a great goodly field, abounding with grasse; which heretofore hath bene much more spacious, but the neighbouring Riuer (by vndermining it) hath borne away a great part thereof. The Mountaines of long extendure, are very aptly husbanded, hauing goodly and faire vineyards in them.

Heereby we may coniecture, that *Locarno* is great, by reason of the Families therein, to the number of foure hundred, or thereabout: and there is not any greater Towne about the Lake *Maior*, neither are there more Gentlemen in any town of that quarter, by which reason, it is the cheefe and principall Towne. This description doth demonstrate, how pleasant the place is, the ayre also is there temperate, sweete, and healthfull, euen as much as can be desired. The windes of the South do blow there very little, and euen

as tired, broken, and spent, by reason of the Mountaines defending before it. The North winde is there also sweet enough, because the high Mountaines doe couer the Towne. From the East to the West, the windes breathe at their ease: and there is not a Pond, or Marshy plot in this quarter, so that to say all in a word, the place is sufficiently pleasing.

Heretofore, the towne of *Locarno* had a great & strong castle, of very goodly shew, in regard of the many Towers & Turrets, and well engirt with sightly Ditches. It was sometimes the principall dwelling of the Counts of *Rusque*: and the French were Masters there, the space of thirteene yeares, but yet could not expell the Counts. There is a Pallace within the saide Castle, which is the Bayliffes house: there also abideth the Trucheman or Interpreter, and the two *Switzer* Archers of his Guard, of whom we shall make more ample mention hereafter: within the walles enclosure of this Castle, therewas a goodly Hauen or Port, where the Ships for warre were kept.

The Castle was square and quadrangular, beautified with Towers at each corner, and had a very strong wall about it. At that time, the Lake *Maior* washed the foote of the Castle, so that the Ships were easily sent forth vpon the Lake. But now, the Riuer of *Madia* hath gathered such abundance of sand and grauell, as the place is become faire enough off from the Lake. Since the yeare one thousand, five hundred, thirty one, the *Switzers* wholly ruined the Castle, except the Pallace; the foundations are yet to be seene, and the walles of many houses, for there was not any castle so strong in all the country. Also it was munited with Artillery of all sorts, and other furnishings for warre, in great plenty. *Frances Guicchiardine* maketh mention in the fift Booke of his Histories, that fiftene thousand *Switzers* got themselves together, to go and assault this castle; thereof he speaketh againe in the eleuenth Booke, and at the end of the twelfth.

Long since, in the times of the Dukes of *Milaine*, the whole country was commanded by the Bayliffe of *Locarno* (except the town of *Brifag*) and it was a county, wherof the *Rusques* were Lords, they being Gentlemen of marke in the countie

The situation of the Seigneury of Altfax.

The Antiquities of the Barons of Altfax.

\* So named of the Forest of Hircinia running thorough Germany.

Gentlemen descended of the first Rhetians.

The Valley of Leuz.

The originall of the house of Altfax of the Grisons.

Two ancient Castles belonging to the Baronny.

When warre threatened against Switzerland.

The Barons of Altfax Bourgesies of Zurich.

The new rising vnder the present Baron of Altfax.

A mid of great experience & knowledge.

The description of Locarno, and how it is situated by every way. The fleshy Territory, or where flesh is in great plenty.

Great Families in Locarno, and store of Gentlemen.

Locarno the first Bayliwicke.

Locarno appeared to be very healthfully seated.

Locarno the second.

The ancient goodly Castle of Locarno.

A Pallace in the old Castle and how it is employed.

The singularity: the ancient Castle.

This goodly Castle was quite decayed by the Switzers.

Guicchiardine in Lib. 5. l. 11. 12.

The extendure of the Bayliwicke of Locarno.

The Countie  
of Locarna  
divided in  
twaine.

Of the ferti-  
lity of the  
country, and  
encrease of  
their Vines.

Of the Fields  
and Meadow  
grounds a-  
bout Locarna

Two harvests  
gathered in a  
yeare conti-  
nually.

towne of *Coma*, whereof also they were Masters sometimes, but after they surrendred it to the Duke of *Milaine*, in the year one thousand, foure hundred and sixteene. But afterward, this county was diuided in two parts, and the Vale *Madia* separated from the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*.

At that time also, the Vale of *Verzasche* and *Gambaron* (whereof shall bespoken hereafter) obtayned leave, to elect their *Podestats*. The extendure of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, may bee knowne by the Parishes, whereof there are twenty and more.

The foote-ground of the Mountains of *Locarna*, and a great part of the Territory, yeeldeth plenty of very good wines. In the Hillies and Mountaines, the Vines are bound high, and store of good grasse groweth vnder them. On the plaines they shoote vp about Elmes and other Trees, as Hops do about Poles; also the twigs as being wouen together, and bound at the ends, are extended from one Tree to another. But if they stand too farre off, where the branches come too short, then they fixe poles in the midst, whereto they fasten the branches, for feare lesse they should hinder the Cornes encrease, or the other sorts of pulse, which are also there sowne. The Vines are of great and incredible yeelding, the grapes huge, and very ripe, which caueth an extraordinary plenty of wine.

The fields cannot be very spacious, in regard of the so neere neighbouring Lake and Mountaines: yet notwithstanding, they are very fertile, by reason of the grounds goodnesse, which the husbandmen do fatten and labour very diligently. For because there are no great store of fields and meadowes, and the townie is sufficiently peopled; their paines are performed at the better leysures. Many times they render twenty-graines for one, and they haue two Harvests in one year. In the Moneth of Iune, they reape and gather Wheat and Rie: In the Moneth of October, they haue the like of Millet, Panick, and other Pulses sowed in Spring time.

The Mountaines and Vallies are furnished with cattell in great abundance, especially Goates. Also there is plenty of Partridges, Pheazants, Larks, Hares, Co-

nies, Butter, Cheefe, and admirable store of Chestnuts, for the nourishment of country people. At the beginning, they eate them rawe, then dried, and afterward boyled, roasted, and fried. Also they make Meale of them for Bread, and that Meale serueth the to diuers vices: but Gentlemen eate chestnuts among their other delicacies.

When therefore there is a good season of chestnuts, the death of other victuals is not great in that country: where also is store of good Figs, variety of Apples, Peaches, Peares, Cherries, and other dainty fruites, as Plums of diuers kinds, Pomgranets, Citrons, Oliues, Oranges, and other fruites in great plenty. The Lake aboundeth with Fish, dainty and good; especially Trowts, whereof store are brought & sold in *Milaine*. In briefe, the country is enriched with all good things, for the maintenance of life; yet sometimes there is scarcity of Corne, by reason of the countries narrownesse, and Salt is brought thether from other places.

Every Thursday there is a great Market at *Locarna*, where meete no meane store of people. You shall see many boats arrive there, from all the Townes of the Lake *Maior*, from whence come diuers Merchants, rather to buy, then sell. They come thether also from sundry parts of the Dutchy of *Milaine*, from *Lugano* and *Bellizona*, neighbouring Bayliwicks: as also from *Misunk*, and the Valley of *Linnier*, not speaking of them about *Locarna*, and the vale *Madia*. It is one of the goodliest Markets in all those countries. There is a very spacious place neere to the Lake, where the Merchants set vp Tents, to defend them from raine, and such like accidents.

The people of *Locarna* are diuided into three degrees, to wit, Noblemen, ancient citizens, whom they call Bourgeses, and the inhabitants, descended from diuers parts, and whose ancestors began to dwell at *Locarna*, more then an hundred yeares before.

There is a fourth race noble, as of the *Aurelles*, *Murales*, *Magorians*, and *Duns*. That of the *Duns* is the most ancient, and before the other: their houses and goods beeing partly at *Locarna*, partly at *Scone*, which is a Towne

Where daily  
lowes, and  
other beest  
feed the  
country af-  
foresaid.

Variety of all  
kinds of  
fruites, and  
dainty till.

All blessings  
for the local  
grain.

A market  
Locarna eu-  
ry Thursday.

Noblemen,  
Bourgeses,  
and inhabi-  
tants, the  
three de-  
grees of peo-  
ple in *Locar-  
na*.

A fourth de-  
scendent of No-  
blemen.

In memory of  
former recei-  
ued fauours.

The Commis-  
sary and how  
he is elected.

The Commis-  
sary power  
and authority.

Municipal  
law, the pri-  
uilege law of  
every City.

A Trucheman  
allowed to  
the Commis-  
sary to be his  
Interpreter.

The people  
have power  
to elect Ma-  
gistrates.

The election  
of the Attur-  
ny.

neere to *Locarna*, but not so wel peopled, seated on a plaine neere to the Lake. At such time as the Counts of *Rusque* commanded, the *Duns* were fauoured and honoured, more then the other Nobles, and advanced to great estates. And the Arms of the Counts of *Rusque*, magnificently illustrated, are yet to bee seene (outwardly) on the *Duns* Pallace at *Locarna*. Next, vnder name of the people, are reckoned all them that dwell in the Vallies and Villages, dependants on *Locarna*. The whole body of the Seignoury or Bayliwicke, is called the Comminalty.

As for the Bayliffe, whom they call Commissary, hee is chosen by the twelue Cantons, and sent to *Locarna* euery year, by one of the said cantons, as it is then in rancke, according to their lawes and alliances. This commissary is Soueraigne, and hath full power to chastise the faultie, yea, to condemne to death, if the case do to require. His custome is to take wise & vnderstanding men, expert in the lawes and manners of the country, to bee his counsellors. Hee is not receiued into his charge, till he haue first solemnly sworn and promised, to keepe the lawes and ordinances, which the inhabitants rearme municipall rights. Which being done, the people there present, do acknowledge him for their lawfull Gouvernor; with solemn and publike acclamations, & swearing faithfully to obey him.

Now, because the commissary speaketh the Switzers language, and the people Italian; the Lords of the Leagues do allow him a Truchman, who vnderstands and speaks both the languages, to whom they pay wages. By entremise of the Trucheman, the commissary, the parties that plead as Attornies or Aduocates, do vnderstand each other, and so debate the causes: which the Secretary or Prognatory writeth downe in Latine. The commissary medleth not with the affaires of the common-wealth, because the people haue full power to elect Magistrates and Officers, to ordaine of all things concerning the publike estate.

Moreover, they elect an ordinary Atturney, who pursueth criminall causes, & keepeth the fines adiudged to the common purse, which they call, *The fines Chamber*. The Lords of the leagues giue order for the election of this Atturney;

who is one of the Bourgesies of *Locarna*, and continueth as long time in that Office, as pleaseeth the said Lords.

They establish also the Receiuers of the taxes. For euery year, in Summer, when the twelue Ambassadors of the Cantons come thether: they giue the farming of the taxe (mitigating a certain summe) to one, or to many Bourgesies, who then also receive ample power, to exact the taxe, and at the yeares end they pay it.

The Commissary chuseth (sometimes) a Switzer Officer, who walketh daily attending on him, with an Halbert and a Sword. He is the cheefest of the Serieants, that arresteth men, and guardeth offenders. When the Ambassadors come to *Locarna*, hee is their Vther: also, they pay him his wages, as well as the Trucheman.

The same Commissary electeth his Lieutenant, some one of the Bourgesies, fite to decide suites and criminall causes. This Lieutenant giues attendance in the Commissaries absence, or when hee is with-held by sicknesse, or any other hinderance: hauing (in those causes) the same power and authority, as the Commissary hath.

Moreover, the councill (of whom we shall speake presently) makes choife of some Serieants among the people. Their charge is to serue the Common-wealth, and to execute the commands of the commissary.

The Bourgesies and inhabitants that are of this County and Comminalty, do meete together according to their custome, which yearly is the first day of Ianuary, and then they elect the one and twenty counsellors of the Common-wealth. Twelue among them are of *Locarna*; three of the townie of *Scone*, which is neere: the other fixe are of the Vallies and Villages round about. As concerning the twelue of *Locarna*, fixe of them are Noblemen, foure Bourgesies, & two inhabitants; yet sometimes three, and fixe Nobles. The three of *Scone*, there is one of the family of Gentlemen, called *Duns*, and the two other are of the body of the people. The other fixe, whom I haue said to be of Villages and Vallies, are of such places, as acknowledge no other Gouvernour, but the fore-mentioned Commissary.

The Recei-  
uers of the  
taxes & tolls

The Officer  
waiting on  
the Commis-  
sary.

The Lieuten-  
ant to the  
Commissary.

The Serieants  
and Officers.

Of the coun-  
cell, their man-  
ner of mee-  
ting, and or-  
ders obserued  
among them  
in their electi-  
on of coun-  
cellors.

A contrary  
kind of go-  
vernment &  
Officers.

What charge  
the counsell  
do undertake

Of the seven  
Aduyers,  
& what their  
office is,

The Secretary  
or Chan-  
cellor.

A Treasurer  
every yeare  
elected.

Consults ap-  
pointed and  
their office.

The sum of  
one of the  
least assess-  
ment.

fary. This I speake in regard of the towne of *Brissag*, the Valley of *Verzasche*, & *Gambaron*: which haue their *Podestats* or Lieutenants, and some rights apart by themselves, as we shall shew anon, and they do not elect any counsellors.

The counsell of the Bayliwicke of *Locarno*, hath charge to watch and waite on the affaires of the common-wealth: to conclude on needfull expences & wages: to dispose and set in order, whatsoever seemeth for the good of the weale publike fit and conuenient.

Seven Procurators or Attornies are added to the one and twenty counsellors, who giue order, that the decrees of the counsell may be effectually executed, and that euery man do his duty thoroughly & faithfully. They stand also in stead of *Voyers* or Suruayors: because they take charge of publike buildings. In like manner, there is a Secretary whom they call Chancellor; and he setteth downe in writing, all things whatsoever that are concluded on by the counsell.

And forasmuch as the Conminality lockes not vp any of the publike monies, there is yearly a new Treasurer elected, who exacteth and collecteth of consuls and communities, such summes of money as are imposed by the counsell. For euery community or parish hath his Consull (so called, because they counsell and aduise that which is necessary for the communities welfare) and is in Office as a Receiver. They leuie vpon euery Father of the Family, or on each house, the money whereat they are assessed by the counsell, and afterward bring all to the Treasurer. The manner of assessing these summes, is according to the estimation of goods, & the number of households in euery community.

There is not any Parish nor Family (how little soeuer it bee) but iustly knoweth, how much it is valued at in the assessment. One of their cottisations amounteth to an hundred pounds of the Empire: which make seven and twenty Florins of gold, or thereabout. The Consuls do first collect this summe of the Families, and then deliuer it into the Treasurers hands, and he afterward paies it to the Seigneurs of the annuall accounts. Then it is payed out in wages, to the Bayliffe, to the Physicians, to Masters of Schooles, Officers,

and other persons, who are at wages of the common-wealth: And beside, it acquitteth all other publike charges. The yeare being expired, hee yeeldeth vp his account to the counsell, or to the Procurators. If there be more omitted then receiued; his successour disburseth it himselfe. Contrariwise, if the receipt doe surmount the ordinary charge, the remainder is deliuered ouer vnto his successour. Moreover, the fore-named Magistrates make choise of two sufficient men, to haue a care of food and prouision. And other two are elected by the counsell, to see the wayes and streetes duely and decently repaired and well kept.

Now in regard that the country is enuironed with Mountaines and Vallies, repleated with woods of extraordinary tall trees, exquisite for their beauty and braue branching (among others the Pine, which produceth very excellent Agaricke, and the Firre-tree, notable for building, and whereof they of *Locarno* make very great benefit) the Merchant dealing in wood, do elect a Iudge or Master of the Forests, who decideth all differences proceeding in such cases. When the taule trees are cut, they bring knowledge thereto him, and then he ordereth their lesser cutting, for more commodious conuaying them through the narrow passages and vallies, as also the Rocky crooked windings, to the Lake *Maior*. When they are there shipt in apt Barques and Boats, they passe along the Lake, and then on the *Thesina* to *Millaine* and *Pauia*, in great Trunkes, Beames, Joists, and long Planks; together with great quantities of wood-coales, and other brush-wood, for heating Ovens. Afterward, they descend with them from *Pauia*, by the Riuer *Po* (wherein *Thesina* discharge it selfe) to farre as *Cremona*, and *Plaisentia*, and may goe also to *Ferrara*, *Manua*, *Venice*, and to the Adriaticke Sea. The trunks of the trees haue their length and thickeesse iust, and the Merchants marks on them. The valley of *Verzasche*, the vale *Madia*, and other neighbouring places, doe also send away Trees very abundantly, when the Riuer swells higher then their viall won.

The towne of *Brissag*, which is vpon the Lake *Maior* towards the North, and at the end of the country which the *Switzers* hold, is of the Bayliwicke of *Locarno*, and

The Treasurers account  
to the Coun-  
sell.

The Govern-  
ment of the  
Forest.

The Iudge or  
Master of the  
Forest, & his  
authority.

The Mer-  
chants set  
their marks  
on the trunks

*Brissag* belong-  
ing to the Ba-  
ylwicke of *Lo-  
carno*.

The govern-  
ment of *Lo-  
carno*.

*Brissag* differ-  
ing in authori-  
ty from *Gambaron*.

The Locarnians  
are inhabi-  
ting at *Zurich*.

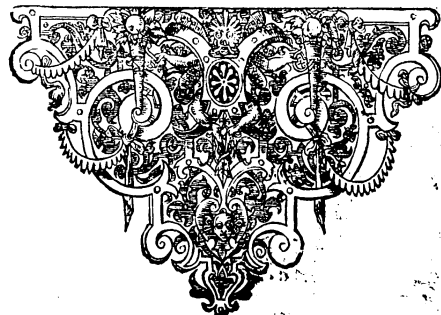
and is but foure miles distant off from *Cauesio*. It hath also to the East, the Vallie of *Verzasche*, taking his name of a Riuer so called, and thence descending: Also *Gambaron* to the South, and on the Lake *Maior*. These places haue their *Podestats*, who iudge in ciuill causes: for as concerning them criminall, the knowledge of them appertaineth to the Commissary of *Locarno*. There is appeale granted from the sentence in ciuill causes, if it seeme good to the party condemned. They of the Valley of *Verzasche*, and of *Gambaron*, do chuse (among themselves) such persons as they please, to be their *Podestats*: but the people of *Brissag* haue not that authority, but yearly doe elect a Lieutenant, who is of the Family of the *Aurelles*. Gentle men of *Locarno*. The Inhabitants of this place are not cottised or selfed, as the other Communities be: but onely pay their part of rentage due, to the Lords of the leagues, and of wages to the Commissary. Beside, they furnish towards the charges, that are in their Villages and Communities.

Of this Towne of *Locarno* thus described, are defended the *Locarnians* dwelling at *Zurich*, and in other places. It is not about thirty yeares since, that some Citizens of *Locarno*, yet living, affected to the new Religion; tooke knowledge

thereof, by the reading of certain booke, and afterward constructed it to many of their Townsmen. From the yeare one thousand, five hundred, forty two, vntill the yeare one thousand, five hundred, fifty foure, the zeale and number of them began to encrease, and notwithstanding the persecutions, embraced it the more earnestly. The most part of the Seigneurs and people, not willing to suffer it, expelled (in the yeare following) about thirty Families: namely all such as would not forsake that new opinion, and returne againe to the Romane Church. There were people of all kindes in this troope, Nobles, Gentles, and Yeomen; learned and vnlearned; rich and poure; great and small; husbands without their wiues, and wiues without their husbands; fathers without their children, & children without their fathers. The men of *Zurich* receiued them very louingly, and did, and yet do many kinde courtesies to them: so that diuers of the are embraced as Bourgeses, and the rest maintained at the expences of the Seigneury. At the beginning, they receiued a good sum of monie, lent by them of *Berne*, and another collected at *Basle*, and in some other Townes of *Sauoye*, where with the poore people haue bene long time maintained.

Hh THE

## The End of the third Booke.







## THE FOUVRTH BOOKE.

### CHAP. I.

*Of the Kingdome and Court of Spaine; the Lawes, Customs, and manners of the people, as also the diuision and situation of the Country.*

\* The City Suil in Baxica.  
\* The West star, and supposed to be the farthest Country Westward.

Riuers in Spaine.

The first three diuisions of Spaine, and how since altered. Baxica. Andalusia. Estramadura.

\* Called also Celar augusta.

\* Called also Vitorior and Citorior.

Spaine, so tearmed of *Hispalis*, or of *Hesperia*, or *Helperus*, by being a part of Europe, and neere to the VVest; hath her Confines in this manner. On the East, the Mediterranean Sea: On the VVest, the Ocean: On the South, the freights of *Gibraltar*: And on the North, the Pyrenean Mountains, which make diuision of France & Spaine. The principall Riuer in this Prouince, are fixe in number: *Myuo*, *Luria*, *Traia*, *Guadana*, *Guadalquibir*, and *Iberus*. This Kingdome (by our Auncients) was diuined into three parts, to wit; *Baxica*, *Lusitania*, and *Tarraconia*. At this day, *Baxica* contayneth three Regions, namely, *Granada*, with her City Royall, which is called *Granada*; *Andalusia*, with the City of *Siuil*; and *Estramadura*, with the City of *Meda*. *Lusitania* hath two Regions, to wit, *Portugall*, with the City Royall, named *Lisborne*: and *Galicia*, with the city that is called *Compostella*, where the body of *S. James* is saide to be. *Tarraconia* hath nine Regions; as *Aragon*, with the city of *Sarragossa*; *Nauarre*, with the city of *Pampalona*; *Catholonia*, with the city of *Barcellona*; *Biscay*, with the city of *Pilucro*; *Castile* the elder, with the city of *Burgos* or *Brage*; *Castile* the newer, with the city of *Toledo*; *Leopulca*, with the city of *S. Sebastian*; *Valenza*, with the city of *Valencia*; *Murgia*, with the city

so called. In the kingdome of *Granada*, there is an Island named *Caliz*, which hath a city also called by the same name. In the Ocean Sea, and in the Mediterranean, there are three feuerall Islands, subiect to the gouernement of *Valencia*, to wit, *Jeniza*, *Matorica*, and *Minorica*. The *Portugals* vse their nauigation into the East Indiacs; and the *Spaniards* of *Siuil* and *Caliz*, into the West. The circumference of *Spaine* is about 1893 miles. The kingdom of *Portugall*, frō the South part, beginneth at the city of *Lepps*, and on the North it extendeth to *Baiona* of *Galicia*. The most notable Ports or Hauens of *Spaine*, on the North part, are *S. Sebastian*, the Port *Galicia*, the Port *Andrea*; the Port of *S. Vincenzo*; the Port of *Ribadeo*; the Port *Ierol*; and the Port *delle Gragne*, or of the *Croyne*. On the VVest part, are the Port of *Monedra*; the Port of *Portugall*; the Port of *Lisborne*; & the Port *Secuball*. On the South part are the Port of *Silua*; the Port of *Siuil*; the Port of *Caliz*; and the Port of *Caliz* in the Island; and the Port *Beger*; & the famous Port *Cartagena*. On the East part is Port *Calibre*, now called *Porto venere*.

*Spaine* hath seuen Arch-Bishoppicks, and the residence is made in *Tarraconia*, in *Sarragossa*, in *Toledo*, in *Compostella*, in *Brage*, in *Lisbona*, and in *Granata*. Vnder the aboue-named Arch-Bishoppicks, are many Cities and their Bishoppes; as *Barcellona*, *Girona*, *Ierida*, *Tortosa*, *Valenza*, *Maiorica*, *Ostia*, *Monedro*, *Burgos*, *Salamanca*, *Corduba*, *Legua*, *Tariffa*, *Almaria*, *Siungia*, and others.

This Country (in many places) is not reduced to tillage & husbandry, because the ground consists of a very stony earth, and is much squallide and filthy through desertnesse: notwithstanding, in respect of *Africa*, it is very fertile, and this ensteth through the ouer great heate which is

Of Islands in the Kingdom of Spaine.

Nauigation.

The theate of Spaine.

On the West.

On the South.

On the East.

Archbishops.

Not much.

## Chap. I.

## Of Spaine.

in *Africa*. It aboundeth in all those things that are necessary for man: as in *VVine*, *Come*, *Fruites*, *Oyle*, *Cattell*, *Line* for all garments, yron mettrals, *VVaxe*, *Hony*, *VVaters* well stored with *Fish*, and such other like things. They make no *Salt* by buyling or seething, but dig it out of the earth. And they haue not so many windes as *France*; neyther are they so stored with marish and fenny grounds, whereby the ayre is much corrupted. There is not found any *Gold*, *Siluer*, or *Yron*, so good and approued, or in such plenty, as in *Spaine*, and the gold is taken not only out of the *Mines*, but also out of the *Riuers*, which when they encrease by much plenty of raine; they doe produce sandes of gold; & especially the *Riuer Tagus*. There are found out in many places, diuers welles and springs of hot and cold water; maruailously good for the helpe of diuers & luncy infirmities, which happen to the bodies of men. There is likewise great abundance of Beasts, both wilde and tame; and especially of swift horses, which were supplied by our Elders, to be conceived by the windes. They haue no hurtful creatures in any great store, Conies onely excepted, who making their caues vnder the ground, doe much harme to the rootes growing in the earth. Their *Riuers* glide away very gently, for hardly can their motion be discerned; and therefore they do not ouer-flow, or drowne the fields, being also well stored with *Fish*, because the Sea (by helpe of the *Riuers*) doth not send any plenty on land. *Galicia* is much commended for the *Mines* there breeding, and sometime it hapneth in this Region, that by prowing vp the ground, the people finde little graynes of gold. The language of the *Spaniards*, is not much different from the *Italians*; from whom they receiued it, whē they were subiect to the *Romane* Empire. On the Northerly part, the Prouince is not so colde as in that climate of *France*: for it sendeth into *France*, *Oyle*, *Hony*, *Waxe*, *Saffion*, *Madder*, *Barly*, dying-coulers, *Chuchinelo*, *Snger*, *Olives*, *Lemons*, *Dates*, *Cedar*, *Pomgranats*, and other things; but especially many thousand weights of wool, & much wine, dried plums or prunes, rafines, almonds, chefnuts, bay-berries, salted salmon, and other things, which are sent into *Italy*, & frō thence transported to *France*.

The temperature and complexion of the *Spaniards*, is much more hot and dry, and their coullor more dun & foggy, the that of the *French*: because they are more colde and moist, hauing their flesh more soft, and their coullor whiter, & the *French* women are more gentle, and apt to conceiue children, then the *Spaniards*. The *Spaniards* are more raw-boned men of body, the *French*, and in war they feed with counsell and arte, being silent by nature; as men that know most exquisitely, how to dissemble their owne intentions, walking very grauely, and vsing much ceremonious behaviour in their customs & qualities. They drinke wine temperately, liue with great respect, & are of acute vnderstanding & knowledge in their words. In *Spain* there are a great number of Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, & Barons, and euery one of them hath the reuenues and profits, from 50. to 60. thousand Ducates yearely. The Marquesses are 20. beside the like reuenues. The Earls are 60. with reuenues from ten, to twenty thousand Ducates. Then there are Vitcounts, Gouernours, and Barons, which are called *Adalantadoes*. There are great Masters of the Orders of knighthood; as of *S. James*, of *Alcantara*, of *Calatrava*, of *S. John of Ierusalem*, of the *Rhodes*, of *Montese*, and others; who dispend (each one) about 50. thousand Ducates in reuenues yearely. The women go pompeously apparelled, wearing rich eare-rings of Pearl & Gold, hauing their garments plaited, after the manner of *Italy*. VVhen they walk abroad out of their houses, the men-feruants goe before them, and the maids follow after. The most part of them do willingly drinke water, and so paint their faces with white and red, that it is most lothsome to behold. They are discreet in speech, yet prettily wanton and lasciuious, & deliuered with effectual gestures, especially in amorous matters. It is not many yeares since, that the people of this Prouince, hath gotten a great name of military seruice, as men that are most patient in labors, suffering most valiantly both thirst and hunger, and being matchlesse for subtilities in Soldier-like affaires, quicke and nimble of body, both for pursuit & flight. They haue conquered many countries, bringing thence very honourable victories, especially vnder *Charles* the fifth, Emperor.

The temper and coullor of the Spaniards, compared with the French.

Their disposition of body and spirituelle to war.

The Princes and Nobility of Spaine, & their reuenues.

The Adalantadoes of Spaine, Great Masters of the Orders of knighthood.

The women of Spaine, and their attire and behaviour.

The fame for Military seruice, of no long antiquity among the Spaniards.

Of the Majesty Royall.

THE Kings of *Spaine*, as great in power, and valorous, in regard of Military prouision, were alwayes held in no meane reuerence among their people. For men bearing ordinarily affection to their Soueraigne, their beneuolence is so much the more encreased, by how much the King liueth vertuously and iustly, according to the ordination of his owne lawes, for so shall hee be both loued and serued. And in conclusion, the worthy deeds of his Lords, that are enriched with vnderstanding and iudgement, doe highly support him: euen as the wicked actions of such as know not how to rule and gouerne, doth ruinate & ouerthrow him. The Kings of *Spaine* haue possessed this Prouince many yeares peaceably, though it was (a long while) nested by the Moores, whom at length they expelled, and reduced the whole politicke body to a quiet condition, and greatly deuoted to the catholique church, whereon the King attained to the title of Catholique King. The king then is the cheefe Ruler of the kingdome, and ordereth matters as best him pleaseth: but heere it shall not much differ from our purpose, to sette downe some other obseruations, concerning the originall & succession of this kingdome.

*Spaine* in her younger daies was held by sundry petty Kings and Tetrarches, & afterward became diuided into many commonwealths six in number, as some haue written. The *Carthaginians*, a people of *Affrica*, hazzarding their fortune rether: held one part thereof, and possessed themselves of many Cities, Townes, and places; vntill they were expelled thence by the *Romanes*, in the time of the Punicke wars. Since when, it was continually subiect to the Roman common-wealth, & reduced into forme of a Prouince onely, in the reigne of the Emperour *Augustus*. So it remained till the Emperour *Honorius* in whole dayes, the *Vandales* (a people of the North parts) brought it vnder their command. But they (were soone after) chased thence by the *Goths*, who established there the seate of their kingdome; which they maintained (in that kinde) for the space of about 200 yeares. Nor were they then called kings of *Spaine*, but kings of the *Goths*. In the reigne of *Roderick*, king of the *Goths*, the Moores entered

*Spaine*, in the year 715, they being brought thither by one named *Julian*; in very desperatefull indignation, and to shapen out a way to his bloody reuenge, because king *Roderick* had dishonoured his Sister, or as others say) his Daughter, whereof heretofore we haue spoken more largely. And so did the Moores possesse themselves of all *Spaine*, seizing the city of *Tolledo*, which was then the capitall city. So ended the kingdome and name of the *Goths* in *Spaine*. Nor rested they thus, but pursued on their conquest still, & there remained but *Gallicia*, the *Asurias* and *Leon*: which countries king *Pelagius*, Vnkle and Successor of *Roderick*, had fled too for refuge, & there shut vp himselfe, in regard that those places were enuironed with Mountaines, and might well defend and shelter him for some time. But his Successors being hardly pressed by the *Sarrasins*, could no longer resist: wherefore, vnder the reigne of *Alphonso* the second, they were forced to craue the helpe of *Charlemagne*, king of France, by whose valour and vertue, the Moores were beaten thence a great way, and had bin quite cast out of the country, if the *Spaniards* mallice had bene no hinderance thereto. Afterward, the kings of *Leon* and *Gallicia* (for such were then their onely titles) being so formerly preferred, began somewhat to encrease in power. And in regard of this expeditio performed by the *French*, the strength of the Moores was so weakened & diminished, that many other kingdomes were established in *Spaine*, as that of *Nauarre*, by *Enecho*, Count of *Borgne*, in the year 950. which hee tooke away from the Moores and *Sarrasins*, by a very valiant conquest of them. And afterward, in the year 1116, was *Arragon* reduced to a kingdome, by the will and testament of *Sanchio* the great, fourth king of *Nauarre*, for loue to *Ramyrus* his naturall Sonne, who was the first king thereof. This was the same *Sanchio*, who being Earle of *Castile*, in the kingdome of *Leon*, tooke on him first the name of King of *Castile*, which he left vnto his Sonne *Ferdinand*.

The kingdome of *Portugall* was also conquered fro the same Moores, by Earle *Henry*, Sonne vnto the Duke of *Lorraine*; who held it first of all vnder tytle of an Earle, in the year 1110. but quickly after, he brought it to be a kingdome. *Spaine* did

The Moores in possession of all *Spaine*.

Pelagius Vnkle and Successor to king Roderick.

Charlemagne king of France against the Moores.

The strength of the Moores much weakened.

The kingdome of *Nauarre* and *Arragon*.

The first king of *Castile*.

Portugall conquered from the Moores.

did continue so (in this kinde of state) for a long time, diuided into many kingdoms: & the Moores had also their abiding there, possessing still a great part thereof; till such time as *Ferdinand*, the fifth, king of *Arragon* (who was married to *Isabell*, the only heire of *Castile*) wholly expelled the Moores out of *Spain*, in the year 1492. In no great distance of time after, he possessed himselfe of *Sicily* and *Naples*, invading also the East *Indies*. But fraudulently he vsurped the kingdome of *Nauarre*, against *John d'Albret*, who was (indeede) the lawfull King. And it is this *Ferdinand*, and *Isabell* his wife, in whom onely wee may truly say, that the kingdome of *Spaine* had her first beginning. They left one only daughter, named *Joane*, who was married to *Philip* the first, of *Austria*, Sonne vnto the Emperour *Maximilian*, and *Mary* of *Bourgundy*: he succeeded in this kingdome of *Spaine*, and other countries beside. He was likewise Earle of *Bourgundy*, of *Flanders*, and Lord of the Low-countries, in the right of his Mother. In this his marriage, was borne *Charles* the fifth, who was afterward Emperour. He reigned nine & thirty yeares, preferring his Prouinces very happily: and hee left for succession (both in *Spaine*, and the more part of his other countries) his Sonne *Philip* the second, who reigned three and forty yeares, hauing ioyned to his other estates, the kingdome of *Portugall*, in the year of our Lord, 1580. and so (consequently) at that which the *Portugals* held in the East *Indies*, and elsewhere; as in *Affrica* and *Brazil*, which came vnto him by the death of *Henry* the Cardinal. He died, aged seuen ty yeares, the thirteenth day of September, 1598. No long time before his death, hee had made peace with the mighty and most christian King of France, *Henry* the fourth. *Philip* the third, his Sonne, succeeded him, and reigneth as yet to this day. He married *Margret*, daughter to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, by whom he had a Sonne, in the Moneth of April, 1606. Now let vs returne where we left before, concerning the king of *Spaine*, who being a good king, and liuing orderly; therefore on him doe depend the following counsellors, who are speciall members of gouernement, both in the Court and elsewhere.

Counsellors of Estate Royall.

THE supream assembly of *Spaine*, which is the very same, that (in effect) hath the gouernment of most important affaires in their power; is the Royall or Kingly Council, so termed of the vncle king; because they are (among all other counsellors) as the King himselfe among his greatest Lords. These counsellors doe prouide for the peoples liuing, in all things that appertaine to a well ordered state: because from them do proceed all meanes and deliberations, concerning matters of Graine, taxations, customes, prouisions, and other substantiall occasions for safe being; but euermore assisted by the Princes authority. These counsellors are in number twelue, all principall men of the kingdome, & noble by blood, hauing a President as their cheefe. And from these Noble-men, being assembled together, do come all orders, whereby the whole Realme of *Spaine* is gouerned: and the appellation of three Audiencies, called the Chanceries of three kingdomes, do all resort to this counsell.

The Council of Inquisition.

In regard of the conquests which the Moores (in former times) made of this kingdome, reformation of the people was thought most conuenient, by bringing them to holy Baptisme, and procuring by all carefull meanes, that Religion might endure no danger throughout the country: this council was first created, and called, The sacred Council of Inquisition. Whereof there is a President, and hee is alwayes an Ecclesiasticall person, as the Arch-Bishop of *Tolledo*, or the Arch-Bishop of *Siuill*. He is assisted by twelue others counsellors, who doe altogether deale in matters appertaining to religion. They giue chastisement to heretiques; haue care of catholique affaires; and peruse all Bookes before they be imprinted, to auoyd them of offence or corruptions. Other the like busineses are referred to their charge, for the better preseruacion of holy faith.

The Council of the Orders.

In *Spaine* there are three feuerall degrees of Knights, all honourable gentlemen, containing euery one by themselves, one proper & peculiar Order of knighthood, introduced in former times by diuers Kings of the Land. The first and principall among all the other, is that of the knights

Hh 3 of

The reason of the Kings Councilles name.

The care and prouidence of the Counsell.

The President of the Council.

The reason of first instituting the council of Inquisition.

The Council of Inquisition onely for Religious occasions.

Three feuerall Orders of Knighthood in *Spaine*. Of S. James. Of S. Calatrava. Of Alcántara.

The loue and beneuolence of the subjects much encreased by the iustice of the Prince according to his lawes.

Spaine subiect to the Moores for many yeares.

Spaine in the government of petty kings & Tetrarches.

1 Tarragon.  
2 Carthage.  
3 Lusitania.  
4 Gallicia.  
5 Baetica.  
6 Tingiana.

The Vandals got the rule of Spaine.

No Kings of Spaine, but Kings of the *Goths*.

of *S. James*: the second, the Knights of *Calatrava*: and the third, the Knights of *Alcantara*. These three Orders haue (each one to it selfe) many Cities and Castles vnder their government, gotten and obtained in diuers times: and because their managing is great, and as if it were a kingdom within it selfe, therefore this Council of these Orders was ordained. Whereof there is a President, with foure Counsellors, and these meeting all together, do provide Magistrates of the Orders, of Lawes, and of all other things that appertaine to the foresaid Orders. The King is the great Master of these Orders, & when any expedition is to be performed by the Order of *S. James*, the King in his Letter, next vnto the ordinary title or title that is usually given him, writeth; *And perpetual Administrator of S. James, &c.* Next vnto the King, followeth the great Commendator of *Leon*, as being Commendator of the Order of *S. James*; and after him, the Commendator of *Castile*. These altogether with the King, do dispense the commendums of spirituall livings: but for that, looke in our Booke of the originall of Knights.

#### The Councell of the Indies.

When it pleased God by the means of *Don Christophero Colombo*, to open (in our time) that part of the world, which formerly was shut vp from all of vs now here dwelling, and whereof the kings of *Spaine* haue (in part) bin Patrones: for government of that part (as necessity required) a Councell of the *Indies* was created, consisting of twelue Councillors, with one President. These then do attend vpon all such matters, as appertaine to the governing of *India*. And therefore they haue their full power, sending thither Governours, Officers, and all kinde of provision, as is fit for those kingdomes, which are vnder the Crowne of *Castile*.

#### The Councell of Warre.

When it so fallth out, that any matter of action is to be vnderaken, eyther for defence of themselves, or any new acquisition, the Councell of Warre do meete together: among whom are the Lords of the Councell Royall, the great Commendator of *Leon*, the Commendator of *Castile*, with other chiefe

Rulers.

#### The secret Councell.

All of all is the Councell for matters of secrecy, wherein the King is present, the great Chancellor, the great Commendator of *Leon*, and the third part of the Councell Royall, with the President. Being sett together, they giue dispatch to matters of greatest secrecy, and which do most import the King, as appertaining properly to the State.

#### Three Iudges, and the Restor.

For causes incident to ciuill and criminall iudgement, three Iudges are ordained in criminall occasions, who, as being Tribunes of the common people, do dispatch all criminall occurrences. And when the ordinary *Poderes*, or chiefe Officers are there present; they attend on ciuill affaires: but if it fall out, that hee cannot be there in person, the three Iudges doe then take order in ciuill matters. These are alwayes in those Cities, where the appointed Courts are kept.

#### The three Chanceries.

Over and beside the fore-named Councils and Offices, the King hath three Courts of audience, called three Chanceries, placed in three kingdomes, diuided the one from the other. One is in *Valadolid*, consisting of twelue Councillors, and with one President. These do sit euery morning separately in foure Halles, three in each Hall. The second is in *Granada*, the principall city of the kingdom of *Granada*, as being the first and chiefe. The third and last is in *Galitia*, being neyther more or lesse in power, then the two former. To this Court of audience go all the causes of *Spaine*, and they may each of them (by themselves) expedite their causes, without any intervention one of another. The appeales and chalenges of the *Restor* of *Granada*, doe passe to the audience of *Granada*; and those of *Castile*, to *Valadolid*, and so from hand to hand. But in regard that they haue superiours, and for better satisfaction of the people, such as finde themselves grieved in the fore-named Audiences or Chanceries, may appeale from them to the Councell Royall. Moreover, each of these fore-named Chanceries haue Restors or Commend-

They haue the charge of picture and secret occasions.

After the ancient manner of the Roman Tribunes.

Three hundred Councillors of the Court of Valadolid, Granada, and Galitia.

The Appelles and Chalenges of each Court.

Appelles to the Royall Councell.

ders, with criminall iurisdiction.

#### Vice-Royes, or Kings Deputies.

Because *Spaine* (as formerly hath bene said) is diuided into diuers kingdomes, the chiefe or principall whereof is *Aragon*: the King hath and doth usually send into those kingdomes, Deputies, or Vice-Royes, to govern there in his name. They are elected and made choise of by him, being first affirmed by the councell Royall, to be Princes of the country, men of vertue and valor, and deserving aduancement to so high degree. *Valencia* hath her Vice-Roy, who governeth the kingdom of *Valencia*, by the same authority as was received from the former Kings of *Aragon*, and by the ancient lawes and orders of the kingdom. In *Barcelona* likewise, the principall city of *Catalogna*, ruleth another Vice-Roy, making use of the lawes, customes, and ordinances of the kingdom of *Barcelona*. In *Aragon* also is another Vice-Roy, who maketh his residence in *Sarragossa*. This Vice-Roy governeth by the ancient lawes of *Aragon* (as other Vice-Royes do by the *Castilian* lawes) because it is the head of the other kingdomes. The kingdom of *Nasarre* hath also her Vice-Roy, abiding in *Pampalona*, who ruleth this kingdom according to the lawes thereof, and those of the crowne of *Castile*, because it was last of all conquered by *Don Ferdinando*, the catholike King. All the fore-named Vice-Royes, doe acknowledge the King of *Spaine*, and his councell Royall, in all their causes.

#### The Treasurer of Castile.

All of all, there liueth in Court the Treasurer, a most honourable degree, and of great importance, who receiueth the monies of all the kingdomes reuenues. Hee hath foure Contadores or Auditors vnder his command, who doe gather and collect the monies from the people, and bringing them vnto the Treasurer, payments are continually made forth, as command is giuen by the King to the Treasurer.

#### CHAP. II.

Of the Kingdome of Portugall; the beginning, continuance, and present estate thereof, with the Customes, Lawes, and administration of Iustice therein observed.



HE kingdom of *Portugall* began in the yeare of Christ, one thousand, five hundred and ten, and after this manner. *Henry Earle of Lorraine* coming thither, performed many valiant deeds against the *Sarrazins*, and his high desertings moued *Alphonso* the sixt king of *Castile*, to giue him a Bastard daughter of his in marriage, named *Tyrcia*. And in way of dowry, he assigned also vnto him that part of *Galicia*, which was then contained in *Lusitania*.

Of this marriage was *Alphonso* borne, who was the first that ever stiled himselfe king of *Portugall*: and hee was the first also, that tooke the city of *Lisbone* from the *Sarrazins*. For he hauing conquered five of their Kings in severall battailes; caused his Armes to bee adorned with five severall Crownes & Coat-Armors, which euer after continued the Ensigne of the kings of *Portugall*, in perpetual memory of his valour. But he quickly stayned this faire fame, with cruelty vsed by him to his owne Mother. For after her second marriage, he caused her to be imprisoned, and albeit the Pope labored the matter greatly, by the meanes of his Legate; yet could he neuer compass his grace and fauour for her deliuerance. Which sinne was severely punished on him afterward by his enemies, who tooke him in battaile. And then his Sonne *Santo* succeeded him, and after *Santo*, diuers other, to *John*, who was the tenth king in direct and naturall line.

This *John* was (at the first) expelled from his kingdom, and made a Knight of *S. John of Ierusalem*: but at length hee was recalled to his kingdom, where hee made very honourable proofe of his valour, and (among diuers famous deeds) he tooke from the *Sarrazins* the city of *Septia*. Hee had seven Sonnes, among which, *Ferdinand* (for integrity of life)

How the king came had in it. It began in.

\* The child borne to Spaine new called Henry, was placed in the North from the River Douro to the South, from Beturia to the River Anas.

The succession in the kingdom after Alphonso the first.

The King of Portugall a knight of S. John of Ierusalem.

was

The reason for this counsell first ordination.

The great Master of these Orders.

These Officers authority.

Columbus the first viceroy of the Indies.

Twelve councillors of the Indies, and one President.

The reason of this Councells negotiation.

Aragon the principall kingdom of Spaine.

The manner and order of the Vice-Royes governing in their severall charges.

\* Hispania Christianior.

\* Castile augmented of Extremadura in Spaine.

Pampalona conquered by King Ferdinando.

Four Auditors of collections and accounts.

was termed a Saint.

*Henry* another of his sonnes, was the first that found *Nova Insula*, in the *Atlanticke* Sea. Hee being very skilfull in the Mathematickes, lived continually with-out a wife, and made his dayly abiding in a Promontorie, which was called the Cape of Saint *Vincent*, and there he died, in the yeare, 1460. But *Edward*, who was the eldest Brother, was made King; and he added to the kingdome of *Portugall*, by meanes of his warres, *Zelia*, *Tegaz*, and *Aleazar* in *Affrica*. Hee had two daughters, or sisters (as some say) named *Joane* and *Leonora*; the first was married to the King of *Castile*, and the other vnto *Frederick* the third, Emperor, of whome was borne *Maximilian* the first, who was afterward Emperor, and Grandfather to *Charles* the first. He had also a son, named *Alphonfus*, who succeeded him in the kingdome, and begate *Iohn* and *Emanuel*, that was the fourteenth King of *Portugall*. *Emanuel* had *Iohn*, who tooke to wife the sister of the fore-named *Charles* the fift, Emperor, called *Katherine*, and begate *Lodowicke*, that dyed an infant, and *Isabell* who was wife to the said *Charles*, and had another daughter also, which was married to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*. After these succeeded *Sebastian*, who (in our time) fighting against the Moores, was slain, & the King of *Morocco* with him, besides diuers other great Lords of the Moores.

*Henrie*, Vncle to the deceased King, followed him in succession, he being then a Cardinall, and very aged, holding the kingdome some few months. But he dying, *Phillip* King of *Spaine*, entred on the kingdome; withstanding the claime and title of *Don Antonio*, beeing a Brothers sonne to the dead King *Henrie*, & so out-wearied him with troubles, that he could neuer attaine thereto in full possession, and so it remaineth still in the Spaniards power.

Concerning the gouernement of this kingdome, it hath the very same forme & obseruation as all the rest of *Spaine* hath, as being a part of that Prouince. For, there is a high Constable, and a Lorde Great Steward, with all other dignities else where related. By the Title and name of great Lords, there is the Duke of *Braganza*, the Duke of *Colimbrá*, the Duke of *Vijco*, the Duke of *Trafcoffa*, the Duke

of *Barcellona* and the Duke of *Anarria*. There is also the Marquesse of *Villa Reale*, the Marquesse of *Torra Nuova*, the Marques of *Monte Maggiore*, and the Marquesse of *Ferrira*, with an infinite number of Earles. There is likewise the Order of Knight-hood, called the *Knights of Christ*, honoured and esteemed much aboue all other, and whereof the King is the Great Maister.

Among these honourable persons in this Order, as an approued man of valour, most signale for many vertues, liberal minde and courtesie, beside speediest intelligence in matters of Military discipline; is the Lorde *Flaminio Zambecaro*, Lord of *Castella* in *Campagna*, who liueth at this day in *Florence*, and highly affected of the Duke.

### CHAP. III.

*Of the Antiquity, Originall Customs, Lawes and administration of Iustice, obserued in the kingdome of Naples.*

**T**HE Citie of *Naples*, beeing most ancient and Noble in all respects, giueth the Title of kingdome vnto all the Prouinces which it holdeth and possesseth, even by his owne proper name. Therefore wee may thence frame our argument, what the greatnesse of that Citie hath formerly bene, in regard that all the parts by it possessed, deriued from thence the Title of a Kingdome; which I do not holde to be of any great antiquitie, because the Normanes tooke it from the Grecians, who possessed the Prouince in diuers partes thereof, and then it was teagmed the County or Earledome of *\* Puglia*, or *Apulia*, as some do yet call it.

*Robert Guiscard*, a verie valiant and worthy man, hauing expelled (in a manner) all the Grecians thence, & taken *Sicily* also from the Sarrazins; would needs style himselfe Duke of *Apulia* and of *Calabria*, and Earle of *Sicily*. In no long time after this, his Nephew *Ruggero* or *Roger*, hauing conquered the Citie

Marquess.

Earles.

Order of Knight hood.

CHAP. III.

How the kingdome dayes that rule by the Citie name.

A part of Italy, bordering vpon the Adriaticke Sea.

Robert Guiscard the ruler and Norma.

### Chap. 3.

### Of Naples.

of *Naples*, which till that time had bene in the Grecians gouernment) obtayned the title of King of both the *Sicillies*, by *Anacletus* the Anti-Pope, in the yeare 1130. which afterward was confirmed to him in good and lawfull manner. And from that time, it was called the kingdome of *Sicily*, on this side *\* Pharus*; vntill the reigne of *Charles* the first, when it became diuided from *Sicily*, by occasion of that famous accident, called *Vespro Siciliano*, the *Sicilian* Euening, wherein so manie of the French were slaine. I finde moreover in many good Historians, that this kingdome hath had 3. severall Names, to wit; the kingdome of *Naples*, the Kingdome of *Apulia*, and the kingdome of *Sicily*, on this side *Pharus*, the bounds or circumference whereof, at this day is thus described.

First of all, by Land-way, measure of the Line, and the Confines of the whole Kingdome, with the Sea-shores & stronds; as also *Campagna di Roma*, sometimes called *Latium*, which (at this day) terminateth the river of *Ofento*, on this side *Terracina*, and from the mouth of the *Sayde* River, where it entereth into the *Terrene* Sea, proceeding on still towards the *Apennines*, with *Latium*, and part of *Sabina*; then passing the *Apennines*, with part of *Vmbria* and of *Picenum*, now called *Marche d'Ancona*, vnto the Confines thereof, is the River *Truentus* or *Tronto*, where it entereth into the bosome of the *Adriaticke* maine. Which Scale or Line, because it doth not directly extend it selfe forth, but passeth on by turnings and windings, euermore from one of the forenamed Rivers to another, by the terminations of those Regions, it containeth about an hundred and fifty miles in length. Passing on thence from *Terracina*, by the confines of the kingdome, to *Ponte Corono*, and *Ceperano*, and by the confines of *Asti*, throw the country of *Taylacozzo*, to *Interdoco*, and *Cinita Reale*, then to *Matrice*, and thence (by the river) to *Ascoli*, till we come to the mouth of *Tronto*, the Line heere being directly extended, will containe about an hundred thirty miles in length, or little lesse. By the sea-coasts along the banke and shore, the whole kingdome windeth about, like vnto an Island almost round engirt with water, as towards the middest of the *Terrene* Sea,

and so on to the *Sicilian* Sea. On the East side, from the *Adriaticke* Sea, and so vnto the North, part of the *Ionian* Sea, so farre as *\* Monte Gargano*, or *Santo Angelo*, and part of the *Adriaticke* bosome, from *Gargano* to *Tronto*, the Kingdome extendeth it selfe, and imparteth her boundes with the said Sea: all which circumference, from *Ofento* to *Tronto*, and in length by the sea-shores, containeth in all 1418 miles, in this manner.

From *Terracina* to *Naples*, are eighty two miles. From *Naples*, to the heade of the gulf of *Policastro*, an hundred fortie seven miles. From the head of *Policastro* to *Rhegium* in *Calabria*, an hundred eighty three miles. From *Rhegium* to the head of *Spartimento*, so to *Capo delle Colonne*, now called *Lacinium*, an hundred and ninety miles. From *Capo delle Colonne*, to *Taranto*, two hundred miles. From *Taranto*, to *Capo di Leuca*, now called *Silento*, thirtie miles. From *Capo di Leuca*, to *Capo d'Otranto*, fixe and twenty miles. From *Capo d'Otranto*, to *Capo S. Angelo*, now called *Gargano*, two hundred two and twentie miles. From *Capo S. Angelo*, to the vttermost confines, which is the river of *Tronto*, two hundred miles. All which fums in this roundure (by the sea boundes) do make one thousand, foure hundred, and eightene miles. Whereunto adioyning the foresaid hundred & fiftie miles, which is the space of the Land by measured line, wherewith if wee ioyne to the other part of *Italy*, from *Ofento* to *Tronto*, it summeth vp, one thousand five hundred sixty eight miles. And this is now (at this day) the dimension or measure of the kingdomes circuit.

These following Regions and Prouinces, are contained and embraced within the whole bodie. *Latium Nuouo*, that is one part, so much as is from the River of *Terracina*, reaching to *Garigliano*. For, one part of the true *Latium*, which anciently extended it selfe so farre as the River *Liris*, that now adayes is called *Garigliano*, beginneth from *Ofento* vpon the *Terrhenese*. And although in these times, there are three partitions made of all the Regions which lye betwene *Tenere*, *Sabina*, the *Apennines*, and *Terracina*, and termed by three severall names, to witte, *Latium*, *Campagna di Roma*, and *Maremma*; yet notwithstanding, in elder dayes (so farre

d A hill in Apul, a now called Mons S. Angeli.

The iust account of summing of the miles, is to be taken place to another through the Land, &c.

e A Promontorie in the stretch part of Italy, adjoining the Ionian and Adriaticke Seas, where the Romans built a Temple to Juno, and call it Lacinia.

Regions and Prouinces contained in this kingdome.

f A River in Campania, running by the town Minuturn.

g The sea betwene Tufo or Herouia, called also Mare inferum.

\* A high mountain in Portugal, called Stram Promontorium.

The succession of the Kings of Portugal, in their right line and order.

Sebastian K. of Portugal, slain in the battle of Alcazar.

Philip the fifth King of Spain.

Of the orders and gouernment of the kingdome.

Dukes.

farre as *Garigliano* was called all by one name, to wit, *Latia Nuovo*, or new *Latium*. And in this Region the chiefe landes and Cities, are *Formella*, *Fondi*, and *Gaeta*.

Olde *Campania*, which stretcheth from *Garigliano*, so farre as the river *Sarnus*: therein is *Naples* and *Capua*, a most noble Citie, as well in auncient as moderne times.

*Picenum*, or where the *Picentines* inhabit, holdeth on from *Sarnus*, to the River *Silarus*, and the most famous Cities therein, are *Sorrento*, *Nocera de Pagani*, & *Salernum*.

*Lucania*, called sometimes *Sao*, contains it self between the river *Silarus*, and that called *Sappio*. And therein the Cities of most note are *Pontecastro* & *Salerno* in elder times also there were *Pesum* and *Buxentum*, and among the mountaines are many Castles.

Where the *Brutij* do live, it confineth with *Lucania*, and runneth along the river *Sappio* vpon the *Terrhene* sea, so farre as the Promontory of *Lencopetra*, at this day called *Capo dell'arme* in the *Sicilian* Sea, where the *Apennine* Mountaines do end, which beginning at the *Alpes*, run all along through the midst of Italy, and the verie toppe over the saide *Cape*, is now adaves called by Mariniers, *Punta di Tarlo*, the point of *Tarlo*. In this part, the most principall places are *Cosenza*, and *Rhegium* on the Sea, otherwise tearmed *Iunio*, as a difference and distinction from that *Rhegium* which is in *Lombardia*, so named by *Lepidus*.

*Magna Grecia*, or *Great Grecia*, runneth along from *Capo dell'arme*, turning Northwiler towards the Promontorie of *Capo di Spartineto*, now called *Herculanum*, by the Seacoast so farre as *Taranto*, where it entrench into the Adriaticke sea. In it, are *Squillace*, *Taranto*, and *Cotrone*.

The countrey of the *Salentines*, is on the breast of *Taranto*, so farre as *Capo di Leuca*, now called the *Salentine* Promontorie. In it are situated *Callipolis* and *Argento*.

*Calabria* it selfe, which hath so continued, turneth vnto *Capo di Leuca* Northward, so farre as *Brundisium* in the *Ionian* sea. The famous Cities therein, are *Lecce*, *Brundisium*, or *Brundisium*, and

*Hydruntum*, now called *Otranto*. These two Regions (I meane *Salentium* & *Calabria*, which is that part of Land which extendeth towards the East between the Gulfe of *Taranto* and the *Ionian* sea) being ioyned together with one name, now adaves termed *Terra d'Otranto*, was called by our forefathers *Lapigia* and *Mesopaea*. And it is an Island round engirt with waters; for from *Taranto* to *Brundisium*, which are vpon the two seas, there is not in firme land above 35 miles.

*Apulia* *Pucetia*, between *Brundisium* & *Ofento*, vpon the *Ionian* Gulfe, is now adaves (along the sea-coast) called *Terra di Bari*, and *Louenazzo*, & lyeth between the landy countrees.

*Capitanato*, of plain *Apulia*, with his extendure between *Ofento* and the River called *Fortore*, passeth on, on the *Ionian* Gulfe, so far as *Capo S. Angelo*, & thence vpon the Adriaticke bofome to *Fortore*. The places of most note, are *Salupis*, *Siponto*, and *Manfredonia*, a new city built by King *Maufred*. It is also between *Terra Luceria*, or *Nocera de Saracini*, and *Caserta*.

*Frentani* are a people living from *Fortore* to the River *Sagrus*, or *Sagra*, now called the bloody river, on the Adriaticke Gulfe. Chiefe cities therein, are *Effonni*, sometime cald *Sistonum*, *Larino*, & *Lacina*.

The *Peligni* dwell between the River *Sagra*, and that called *Pescara*, sometime *Aternus*. The fairest city, between *Terra Sulmona*, and *Pentima* on the seacoast, is *Ortano*.

The *Marucini* do inhabit from the river of *Pescara*, so farre as *Tronto*, the vntmost ending of the kingdom, along the sea-shore on the Adriaticke gulfe. There is a Sea-Cittie, which is called *Francavilla*, or *Frentani*, and a Land-city called *Chieti*.

About the *Marucini*, between the land of the *Apennines*, and where they do take best rooting, beginning at the confines of the *Peligni*, so now called, and turning towards *Marca d'Ancona*, are three other people in order, to witte, the *Pejini*, whose City was named *Penna*, and now called the city of *Penna*; the *Anterni* and *Furrani*, of whose ruines the citie of *Aquila* was builded, some final distance off.

The *Vesitini*, neighbor with the *Precutij*, of whom

The land of the Salentine

Where the river was worshipped in Lucania

An Island of narrow entrance a whole dayes journey

Called also Sepus or Sepinum among the Samnites in Italy

A river in Italy, parting the Peligni from the Frentani

A river passing by Formina in Italy

Where Oad was borne

A people in Italy

People formerly next to the Marit

A City in Campania

whom it is verily credited, that the name of the *Brutij*, now tearmed *Abruzzesi*, was first deriued.

The *Marfj* dwell more inward to the Mountaines, whose most famous place is *Celena*, with her Lake *Lucina*, now tearmed of the *Marfj* and *Albi*. These fixe forenamed people, are all called by one name, *Abruzzesi*; but oftentimes by writers they are vnderstood vnder the nomination of the *Samnites*.

*Samnia*, from the point of Land, and almost to the middest of the Kingdom, hath *Latium* and *Campania* in length, both on this side, and beyond the *Apennines*. At this day it is called *Valle Beneuentana*, the valley of *Beneuentum*, which extendeth it selfe in length, so farre as the River *Silarus*, eighty miles. Places of greatest name heretofore, were *Efernia*, *Sepino*, *Telise*, *Beneuentum* and *Boutano*.

The *Hirpini*, otherwise called *Samnites*, do confine with the *Picentines*, *Lucanes* and *Apulians*, partaking at this day with *Principato* and *Basilicata*. The most noted Cities, are now *Avellino* and *Agnone*.

I finde that all these Regions haue (by our Moderne writers) bene diuided into foue feuerall principall partes or Provinces, if we may so tearme them, to wit, *Terra di Lauro*, *Principato*, *Basilicata*, *Calabria*, *Terra d'Otranto*, *Apulia* & *Abruzzo*. Which Prouinces haue (since then) according to order of later diuision, bene parted into twelue Regions, as I finde them in the Registers of *Naples*, in this manner.

*Terra di Lauro*, which hath in lands, Cities, and Castles, to the number of 198.

*Contado di Montifio*, hath 108.  
*Abruzzo* the neereft, hath 155.  
*Abruzzo* the furthest, hath 288.  
*Capitanata*, hath 96.  
*Terra di Bari*, hath 50.  
*Basilicata*, hath 103.  
*Terra d'Otranto*, hath 172.  
*Principato* the neereft, hath 129.  
*Principato* the furthest, hath 164.  
*Calabria* the neereft, hath 162.  
*Calabria* the furthest, hath 147.

All which beeing fully summed toge-

ther, in Cities, Lands, and Castles, as hath formerly bene layde, and all inhabited with plenty of people, and furnished with all things commodious for the life of man, do amount to one thousand seven hundred, seventy foure.

There are certaine Islands also in the bodie of this kingdom, which circle, neighbour, or are opposite: as on the *Terrhene* sea, directly facing *Terracina* & *Gaeta*, are the Isles of *Ponza*, and of *Palmara*. And ouer against *Nola*, is the Ile of *Desente*. At the encountering of *Pozzuolo*, is that of *Ischia*; neere to which is *Procida*, or *Prochyta*, made famous by those yong Gallants that deuiled & performed the *Sicilian* Euening beside *Nisfari* and *Caprea*, so highly beloued of the Emperour *Tiberius*, opposite to *Capo della Minerva*.

The three *Sirena*ffs do front *Pastinano*; one of them being called *Gile*, another *Monte*, and the third *S. Pietro*. There is likewise the Ile of *Lipara*, which circeth about ten miles, wherein are some Cities. On the Adriaticke maine, right against *Varano*, are those of *Kasata* & *Caraganos*; and the foure other called *Diomedea*, now adaves called *Tremeto*, but they are very litle; and the two greater thereof are called, the one *S. Maria*, the other *S. Doimo*, and the two lesser are, the one *Galizzo*, and the other *Caprara*. These are Islands of some note and name, omitting other places, which bee comprehended wth in the confines of the kingdom of *Naples*.

With these might bee ranked that of *Sicily*, an Italian Island, great & wealthy; but that it is an Ile of it selfe, & at this day deuided from the kingdom. Notwithstanding, it did sometime partake in name with the kingdom of *Naples*. For some Kings, as *Fredericke* the eleuenth, *Maufred* his sonne, *Charles* the first of *Anion*, and *Alphonfus* the first of *Arragon*, possessing both the one and other, wrote their titles both on this side, and beyond *Pharos*. Whereupon, when we find it written simply the kingdom of *Sicily*: it is meant of this Ile, & not of *Sicily* on this side *Pharos* in Italy.

In this Kingdom are twenty Archbishops, to wit, of *Naples*: which hath fixe Bishops vnder it: Of *Capua*, which hath ten. Of *Salernum*, which hath ten.

The general name collected together

Islands in the Kingdom

The Circle of Campania is 3 miles from Naples

Beyond Statutum in Campania

Three Isles betw. a Lucania

Containing three betw. Italy and Sicily

Isles opposite to Calabria

A famous Island the Terrenes is 6 or 8 miles about, sometime partaking in the Kingdom of Naples

A Gulfe of the Sea by Sicily, cald also Charybdis, dangerous to passe

How many Archbishops are in the Kingdom and Bishops vnder them

ten. Of *Amalfi* foure. Of *Sorrento* three. Of *Conza* six. Of *Cilento* six. Of *Taranto* two. Of *Brundisium* one, and hath conioyned with it the Arch-bishoppricke of *Oria*. Of *Otranto* six. Of *Bari* twelue. Of *Trani* six. Of *Hiponte* one, and hath vnitied with it the Arch-bishoppricke of *Monte de S. Angelo*. Of *Beneuentum* twenty three. Of *Civita di Chieti* three. Of *Sanciano* four. Of *Rhegium* eleven. Of *Cofenza* one. Of *Rossano*, which hath no Byshops See vnder it. Of *Saint Severina* ten. And there is the Archbithoppricke of *Matera* beside.

101. Byshops vnder the 20. Archbithops.

Of the Principallities in the kingdome

Of the feuerall diuisions bringing in number.

Of the Marquesates, the number of 29

Of Earles, Lords, and Barons in their feuerall numbers.

The Emperour Charles the 5

There are also an hundred twenty four Byshops, which are vnder the aboue named Archbithoppricks; only the byshop of *Bisignano* excepted, who is not subiect to any one.

It is also to bee noted, that the Title of Prince is greater in this kingdome, then that of Duke. And the Principallities there are ten in number, to wit, of *Acoli*, of *Bisignano*, of *Fuoli*, of *Melfi*, of *Molfetta*, of *Moncherello*, of *Squillati*, of *Stigliano*, of *Sulmona*, and of *Venosa*.

There are likewise three and twentie Dukedomes. As of *Antri*, of *Amalfi*, of *Arima*, of *Asu*, of *Aviano*, of *Castronelli*, of *Noceri*, of *Popoli*, of *Recca di Mondragone*, of *S. Pietro in Galatina*, of *Seminara*, of *Sessa*, of *Somma*, of *Sora*, of *Tagliacozza*, of *Ternoli*, of *Terra noua*, and of *Traietta*, together with those of *Gruana di Martina*, of *Montalto*, of *Montelione*, and of *Nardo*.

The Marquesates are 29. of *Anni*, of *Arienza*, of *Belate*, of *Buccinico*, of *Campagna*, of *Capo Friso*, of *Casert Vetere*, of *Chierchiano*, of *Civita S. Angelo*, of *Corigliano*, of *Lauri*, of *Lauro*, of *Sieto*, of *Misurata*, of *Oria*, of *Oriolo*, of *Padula*, of *Beneuentum*, of *Pulignano*, of *Quarata*, of *Santo Lucito*, of *Terza*, of *Torre di Francolise*, of *Torre Maggiore*, of *Trivico*, of *Turfo*, of *Vulturno*, of *Vulturno*, and of *Vico*.

There are in like manner, 54 Earles of State, 15 Lords, and 443. entitled Barons. And it is verily supposed, that in any kingdome of the world, there are not so many great Princes and Lordes, as in this, because they are (by nature) of high and lofty courage. And nowe I call to minde, in this matter, that I haue read in some Regitlers, bearing date of the yeare 1521. that the Emperour Charles the fift,

fold many Titles and Lordships in the kingdome, & that many Gentlemen sold their goodes at ten in the hundred, and bought these Lordships at three in the hundred.

This kingdome so highly ennobled, full of worthy Princes, most rich and fertile, as more cannot bee wished; was for long time governed by diuers kings. For beside the Normans, who helde it manie yeares, and (as hath bene sayde) wonne it the title of a Realme; it fell at length to *Fredericke* the second, Emperour, who had it of *Henry* the sixte his Father: after whom succeeded *Corrado* Emperour, son to *Fredericke*; and after him it came (by reason) to *Corradino*, Nephew to *Corrado*. But *Manfredo* the bastard son to *Fredericke*, feigning that *Corradino* was dead viurped the State, and made himself king. But Pope *Vrbane* the fourth (beeing enemy to *Manfredo*) excommunicated him, and deputed him of the kingdome: inuading therein in Anno 1266. *Charles* the 1. of *Anjou*, Brother to *Lewes* the eight, K. of *France*, who (first of all) slewe *Manfredo*, and afterwarde causing *Corradino* to be beheaded, tooke it in full possession.

*Charles* the second, Sonne to *Charles* Prince of *Salerno* had it next; and then succeeded him, *Robert* the excellent Philosopher; who was a very loving friend to *Petrarch*. After him, the succession fel to *Ioane*, the Neece of *Robert* by *Charles*; and next succeeded *Charles* the third, K. of *Durazzo*.

After his death there happened contention for the kingdome, betwene *Ladislaus* sonne to *Charles* the third, and *Lewes* of *Anjou*: but *Ladislaus* remaining full Patron, held it till the yeare one thousand foure hundred and fouretee: and then succeeded *Ioane* the second, his siter; in whose place (making himselfe King by force of armes) rose *Alphonso* of *Aragon* the sonne to *Ferdinando*, who left it vnto *Ferdinando* his bastard son. Next to him succeeded *Alphonso* the second, who trobled himselfe not long in the Kingdome, by the coming of *Charles* the eight, K. of *France* into Italy, for recouerie of the kingdome, and then renounced it to *Ferdinando* the second, his son; from whom it came to *Frederigo*, Vnckle to the sayde *Ferdinando*.

Afterward it fell to *Charles* the fift, Em-

The Normans governed Naples many yeares

The success of the Kings of Naples, after the Normans.

Epithetum called also Durazzo, in that part of Macedonia lying on the Adriaticke Sea

A constitution concerning the kingdome of Naples

Seven feuerall places of the kingdome, appertaining to the kingdome.

The Office of the high Constable or Marshall

The manner of the Constables creation.

The chief Justice, the chief Officer of the Kingdome, and his authority.

Emperor, who had the inuestiture from Pope *Leo* the tenth. For there was such a constitution betwene the Popes, Emperors, and Kings of *Naples*, that whosoever was Emperor, he could not bee King of *Naples*: and therefore he gaue it ouer to *Philip* the first, King of *Spain*, whose sonne *Philip* the second, now holdeth it, keeping there a Vice-roy, with most ample authority, and representeth there the Kings owne person. Whereby he is very much honoured and reuerenced of all his subordinate Governours, according as he causeth himselfe to be esteemed, both by his valour and authority.

#### The High Constable.

The Officers or Magistrates of the Kingdome, are seauen in theyr feuerall degrees; but he whom they terme *Sindico*, that representeth the whole City, and speaketh for all as chiefe Aduocate, is the Constable, or rather high Marshall. He is the first man of the kingdome, and Capitaine generall for all ordinances of warre. He (as Lieutenant to the king) ordaineth and provideth all such things, as appertaine to the preparation for warre: having charge of the Sentinelles, encamping men, providing tents and lodgings, appointing the Ensignes Royall, and (in breefe) hee hath the care for all matters that concerne Armes. In which place, he hath authority to chastise, and to put to death such persons as commit Theft, Rapine, Homicides, and other misdemeanors in the Campe. And this Office continueth so long as warres lasteth. When the King createth him in this dignity, deliuering a Truncheon to him, he sayeth these words: *Take this holy Weapon, wherewith thou shalt expell the aduersaries of my people.*

#### The Great Iusticer.

The second Office, is that of Great Iusticer, or Lord chiefe Iustice, who hath iurisdiction as well in ciuil causes, as those that be criminal; and vnder his authority are all the Princes, Dukes, Marqueses, Lords, and Barons of the Kingdome; for to him belongeth care of offences against the Maiesty Royall. His Vicar or Lieutenant, is called Regent of the *Vicaria*: who hath his Iudges both ciuill and cri-

minall, and his Tribunal is in the Court of the *Vicaria*, hauing allowed him for his yearely prouision, fixe hundred Ducates.

#### The High Admirall.

The thirde Office, is that of Great or High Admirall, who hath the charge of Sea causes, and such things as appertaine to Nauall Art and profession. He looketh to the making, repairing, building, and appointing of all Shippes for Royall seruice, and keeping of all such vessels as come into the kingdome, from what parts foucer. VVhen occasion so requirerth, and that it is imposed on him by the King, he setteth forth the Nauall Army in order. He appointeth both reall & corporeall punishments for delinquents, and hath ciuill and criminall iurisdiction ouer the Officers and others, that attend on Sea affaires.

#### The Great Chamberlaine.

The fourth Office, is, that of Great Chamberlaine, or the Chamberlaine of State, choose yee whether: whose Deputie or Lieutenant hath his iudgement Seate, in the Chamber called *sommara*. His charge is to haue care of the Kinges person, to prepare and adorne his bedde; as also his Garments, and to take order for all his vnder Chamberlaines, Guardians, and Treasurers. Hee keepeth all the customes of the kingdome, and taketh cognition of the matters belonging vnto the Royall Exchequer, the tenths, tolles, fines, reuenewes, and other things appertaining to the Kings person.

#### The Protonotary.

The fift Office is the Lieutenant, or rather Protonotarie. Hee standeth obliged to reade before the King, and to conserve the writings and registers. He hath authority to create Notaries, Iudges, and to Legitimate Bastards. But the Catholike King hath (since then) transferred the Office of writings, and of the Registers, to the Kings Chancery.

#### The Great Steward.

The sixte Office, is that of Great Senel.

The High Admirall, the thirde Officer, & his authority.

The fourth officer, Lord Great Chamberlaine, and his authority.

The Protonotary or chiefe Secretarie, and his office.



Seneschall or Steward, (earmed the *Ma-ior domo* or Master of the household. This man hath the government of the household Royal, and to provide all things necessary for life, as also garments for the Servants in the Kings Court, having like wife absolute power, to correct & punish all the familiars of the Kings house.

#### Great Chancellor.

Lord Chief Chancellor, the last office, & his charge

The seventh and last Office (of most importance in the kingdom) is that of Great Chancellor; who writeth the kings Letters of secrecie, and sealeth all the privileges (granted by the King) to any person. He hath also command over the walkers of Stations, the Beades, the Studies, and such like things. It is also to be remembered, that the high Constable, the Admirall, and the Protonotary, do sit on the Kings right hand. And the Lord chief Justice, the Great Chamberlain, and the Great Chancellor, on the left hand. But the Great Steward, he sitteth on a stooke at the Kings feet.

#### CHAP. IIII.

*Of a Law observed amongst the Rhodians, which enjoyned and commanded Fathers (setting aside all other businesse and affayres) to marry their daughters with all possible speed.*

Greece the Mother of ancient Lawes.



Here are very few people, (in mine opinion) that are ignorant of the Romaine Lawes, which came first forth of Greece, and are continued to this day: surpassing all other nations whatsoever, in the actions of Justice and Policy, and among them have many Common-weales flourished, not onely in Military and warlike affaires, but also in good manners and policies. Among the rest, that of the *Rhodians* is to be esteemed; which not onely established great store of Lawes, to render euery man what belonged to him, & preserve the weaker sort from oppression; but also concerning the marriage of their daughters, because no inconuenience should

The Rhodians establish many good Lawes.

ensue to them, as to too many elsewhere happened. The Law then made for marriage of their daughters, was briefly set downe in these words.

*We command, that a Father doe not torment himselfe one onely day, for the marriage of ten sonnes, if hee should haue so many: but rather to labour and trauaile tenne yeares, for the marriage of one onely daughter, being vertuous. That hee stand in water up to the mouth; That he sweat great drops of blood, and labor in the ground, drawing like a Horse; That he do rather dishonour all his Male-children, leaue all his wealth and riches to utter abandoning, yea, and his owne proper life, onely to provide assistance for his daughters chastity.*

This Law had bene worthy of obsecration in the countries heereabout, where if it had liued in the like force and vertue; so many famous Families had neuer bin dishonoured, by the shamelesse immodesties of ouer-many maidens, as haue remained to very woofull example. For, it hath bin noted, that Fathers (oftentimes thorow greedy couetousnesse) would not allow Dowries to their daughters, answerable to their meanes and qualitie: in regard whereof, they haue caused them to be forsaken, and not sought vnto by any person. Sometimes also they haue giuen them greater estates then either was conuenient, or stood with their owne power, to the ruine and ouerthrow both of the one and other. Wee haue obserued likewise, some ill aduised fathers, who haue neglected their daughters marriages, being ouer-swayed with affection to their sonnes, and bearing no respect at all to their daughters; eyther suffering them to entree too farre into yeares, or else to be shut vp in Religious houses (by not affording them money meete for Marriage) where all their time they haue liued miserably, and (many times) as vncastly, and with much lesse honour then they could haue done, if they had remained at liberty.

The common Proverb is, that there are three things, which if men do them not, they will be done of themselves: And the third of these is, that if men do not marry their daughters, then they wil marry themselves, and oftentimes, to such as are of bad life, or poore, or not agreeing with their owne quality, to the great dishonour

The words of the Rhodians written Law, for the marriage of Maides

A verie great error and dishonour in Fathers towards their daughters.

Fathers that loue their sonnes more then their daughters.

A great fault committed by ouer many Maidens.

of

Agreable vnto any Common-weale.

Tell them vnto to feede like beasts vntogethered.

Meete time for marriage in Maides

The maide humes that doe vs, by the differing of marrying maidens.

The folly of some daughters in differing the Election of their parents.

Aduerfement well vnto great men, as vnto of meane degree.

of themselves and their parents. When this doth happen in any Commonweale, alliances loose themselves, and there is nothing but reproch on the one side and other; whereby (too often) great quarrels do arise, suites in law, and other desperate inconueniences.

To auoyd all which dangers, Fathers ought to be aduertised, that it is not good to keep their daughters too long vnmarrried; For as one saith very well; *It is a merchant life, which being kept, there is nothing gotten by it.* Prouision therefore (in this case) should be made, when their daughters begin to enter into their puberty, which is at 13. yeares of age, or (at the vttermost) at 16. or 18. and to make no longer delaying, if possibly it may be done: for men they are ripe, and ready to yeeld fruit. If they be kept any longer time, for the most part they lose their beautie, and fairest graces. They afford (according to common naturall instinct, as well in beasts, as in men, throwing all reason and respect behinde them) their affection to some fuch, whom their Parents doe not thinke meete and conuenient, and (in the end) worke some taint or blemish vnto their owne modesty. Or if they doe not; by reason of their frequent familiaritie with men, they shall be sure talked of verie strangely, which now adades is grown so common and reproachfull, that euery verie chaste that liue, haue worke enough to doe, to exempt and cleare themselves, from badde fame and ill reports.

Moreouer we daily behold, that when Parents doe provide for their daughters, such as are somewhat entred into yeares, they will refuse the men that are thought meete for them, and made offer of to them in good discretion. Alledging that they haue already giuen their liking vnto another, and (as many times it comes to passe) to such a one as is vtter enemy to their house; compelling their parents either to forsake them, without any choise at all, or else (with much sorrow) to consent thereto, onely to auoide the worst, whereby both Fathers and mothers remaine discontented so long as they liue. These warnings do speake themselves, as well vnto great persons, such as are not onely Emperours, Kings, Princes, and other illustrious bloodes, but also to Ple-

beians, and men of vntuall rank, who do stand no more exempt from ill husbanding their children, then the other do, but are euery ready to faile therein, yea, and many times too soone. Which I will approue by some Histories, deriued from *Bandellos* the Italian, and the *Annales of France.*

*Adelasia*, daughter to one of the greatest and most vertuous Emperours, named *Otho*, third of that name, that reigned after *Charlemaigne*, vntill his time, hauing listened vnto many Kings and Princes, who sought his Daughter *Adelasia* in Marriage, as well for her extraordinary beautie, as her other excellent Graces, and Royall extraction: yet here alsping (as it should seeme) at some greater and more nobler match, or a party of more worth (in his opinion) for his daughter, by means of these delays, brought incomparable misfortune to his Imperial house which elle had flourished in no meane happinesse. *Adelasia* grew enamored of a young youth, a Sonnet to the house of *Saxony*, and both of them being secretly married, furnished with some small store of monney, beside a few Jewels and precious stones; betooke themselves to trauaile, attired and disguised like Pilgrims, *Adelasia* in the habite of a youth, with full deliberation, to make their abiding in some strange countrey, far enough from *Allemaigne.*

This wandering as fugitiues, to satisfie their owne voluptuous desires: at the length, they were robbed on the Highway, and so by that meanes, were constrained (after long and importunate begging, traueising many Countreys) to retire into a great Forrest, situated betwene *Att* and *Sauona*, in Italy; where (through great necessity) they began to exercise the labour of Colliers, enduring many stormes and hard afflictions, for the space of eighteen yeares together. In the end, it pleased God to be satisfied with their humility & repentance, and to make them better knowne, by the meanes of one of their sons, named *William*, who following the nature of his extraction, betooke himselfe to make one in the Imperiall Armies in Italy, & greatly resembling in fauour the Emperour *Otho*, whereby he was imagined to be issued of *Adelasia*: which being found to fall

The History of Ad. Adelasia, daughter to the Emperour Otho the 3.

Alerane, one of the young-est sent to the Duke of Saxony.

\* Called also Sabana in Liguria, a hilly country, reaching from Apennines to the Ta-cane Sea, one way, and from the Riuier Macra, to Vatus, another way.

Naturall Nobility can neuer be concealed from mankind appearance.



The desperate  
death of Da-  
mocles. Ge-  
neretia.

The death of  
her Father.

The history of  
Paulo and Lu-  
cretia, two  
Roman Iouers.

Another mar-  
riage pur-  
posed for Paulo  
by his Father.

Affection is  
too full of too  
light credulity

Lucretia, a  
daughter of  
Rome, slew  
both her hus-  
band and her  
selfe.

done by her to her seruants, desiring (very heartily) pardon both of God and the. So, feigning as if she intended to goe to bed with her young infant, which was about six weekes old; shee went and hanged her selfe that night, on a beame end of a poore Cottage, which they had taken vpon hire, of which mishap, the people of the Towne soon aduertised her parents. For mine owne part, in the same manner as I haue set it downe, it was reported to me by the forenamed *Monsieur Mezrelin*, who made no small account of my friendship, and dyed with verie great griefe, often saying vnto many, that this misfortune thus fell vnto him, by refusing his daughters marriage with a yong Advocate, one of sufficient wealth, and that had requested her many times to bee his wife, which still hee denied, intending to bestow her on a Gentleman.

In the City of *Rome*, no long while since, there was a young maiden (named *Lucretia*, daughter to a rich Marchant) secretly elpoud to a yong man, called *Paulo*, sonne also to another Merchant, the two fathers being vowed enemies, and both alike enuious of each others Fortune. The father of *Paulo* perceiving how fast aged yeares came stealing on him, determined a marriage for his son, acquainting him therewith, that he hadde made choise of one meete for him, commanding him also to fashion himself to good liking thereof, because hee would haue it accomplished within very few dayes. The sonne deferred it off so long as well hee could; yet to declare some obedience to his father, hee craued respite to consider thereof; but in the mean while, it was generally noised thorow the City of *Rome*, that *Paulo* must be married vnto another. These newes comming vnto the eares of *Lucretia*, shee dissembled her inward conceyued displeasure, verily imagining the matter to bee already done. *Paulo* comming, as oftentimes hee did when fit time favoured him, to visit his *Lucretia* in the night time, so iocund and merry as at no time more; after accustomed kindnesse passed betweene them, *Paulo* fell into a very found sleep. *Lucretia* beholding him in that fearlesse estate, with a great Knife shee gaue him so many stabbes and deepe wounds, both in the brest and belly, that hee fell downe stark dead, and afterward

committed the like violence on her selfe. This act, so full of sorrow and sadde mischance, came to the eare of Pope *Paulus* the fourth, who would not allow them to haue Christian burial. But a learned diuine, a *Jacobine* by Religion, made to excellent an Oration to the Pope, agaynst the vnkinde parents of the deceased Louers; that Obsequies were granted, & buriall giuen them. And an aged woman, a seruant to *Lucretia*, who had bene the meane of their priuate marriage, was (by authority of Iustice) burned alieue, because she had not aduertised the parents thereof.

If these Emperors, Kings, Gentlemen and those of meane condition, haue obserued the Law of the Rhodians, which I haue alledged in the beginning of this chapter; they neuer had falne into those dreadfull mischances, which theye owne willfull folly brought vpon them. They may also serue as a good warning to Fathers at this instant, and such as shall bee hereafter, how to auoyde so enorme an error. I will giue aduice likewise to such Maidens, as hauing past the age of fife and twenty yeares, if either auarice, or any other bad humor in their parents doe make them negligent of their marriages, when men of meet match and quality are offered to them, to be bold of their owne liking and choise in marriage; provided, that they first make it knowne vnto their parents. And then if they will not yeeld consent, they may proceed on furtherall wayes prouided, that they are equall in quality, and no way infamous. And least their Fathers should disinherit them, the Emperor ordained thus in the authentical rule; *Sed si post .C. de inofficio testis*. The like ordinance is to be found in the French Code, in the chapter of claudefine Marriages, made by king *Henry* the second. And there may bee noted another inconuenience, which vnadvised fathers do incurte themselves, that in due time, and vpon iust reason, will not yeelde to theyr daughters marriages.

CHAP.

How all these  
dangers might  
haue been pre-  
vented in all  
the alledged  
histories.

Aduice giuen  
to maidens of  
these times.

A low spirit  
disinheriting  
maidenhood  
make they  
owe choise  
when their  
parents will  
not.

## CHAP.V.

That Tyrants doe liue continually in feares:  
and that their ends are most miserable.



Tyrants at all  
times and in  
all places are  
full of feares.

HE life of a Tyrant is full of hatred; every man detesteth him; all are offended at him, and he is subiect to infinite perils. What was the life of *Aristippus*, to whom the very wales were dreacfull? VVhat that of *Alexander Phareus*, who liued in an hourly suspicion of his owne wife? What that of *Dyonisius* the *Syracusane*, who neuer durst trust his Barber, for feare least in trimming his beard, hee should cutte his throat. Hee had the carnall knowledge but of two women onely, *Aristomada* and *Dorida*, and yet he would neuer let them come neere him, untill they had put off all their garments. The Chamber wherein hee liued to sleepe, was round engirt with a wide deepe ditch, and there was no entrance to it, but onely by a draw-bridge.

Tyranny is  
the Nurfe of  
feares.  
Cicero in Tu-  
cul lib. 5.

All things whatsoever, are continually suspected so much by Tyrants, that it was not spoken without good aduice; That Tyranny is the Nurfe of feare. For it commonly cometh so to passe, that such as liue till men feare them, doe also feare them by whom they are feared. This kinde of life, so full of care and dread, *Dyonisius* the Tyrant discovered to his Orator *Damocles*, of whom the History followeth in this manner.

The History  
of Dyonisius  
the Tyrant,  
and his flatterer  
Damocles.

*Damocles* defending in an Oration, which hee deliuered in the presence of king *Dyonisius*; that neuer was any man more happy then he, for his innumerable wealth & treasures, beside the abundance of all things in his kingdome. O *Damocles* (instantly said the Tyrant) seeing my life is so well liked by thee, I desire that thou wouldest presently but taste and experiment my fortune. VVhereto *Damocles* consenting, the *Syracusane* king caused him to sitte vpon a stately & sumptuous bed, richly embroydered with gold: and before him Good Tables and Stooles in magnificent manner, all couered with vessels of Gold and Siluer. He was serued by many young children, endued with singular beauty, &

the seruice was extraordinarily magnificent, with all kindes of delicious and exquisite viands. The golden Hall, which glistered round about him, was perfumed with vnquents of excellent odors, beside Flowers, Chapelets, and curious Noisegayes. To be short, in this so triumphant and royall furnishment, *Damocles* helde such a proud, enflated, and swolne vp countenance, euen as if in Maiesty Royall: King *Dyonisius* called to him, and bad him lift vp his head, to behold what was instantly ouer it. There he shewed him a fayre bright Sword, which he had caused to be fastened to the plancher, directly ouer the head of *Damocles*. Hee seeing the naked Sword, which hung but by one haire of a horses mane, ready to fall on the least occasion; considering thereon with deliberation, and perceiving that death was his present companion; he began to dispraise the royalty and riches of the King, desiring to bee deliuered from that kinde of felicity.

*Damocles* in  
all his pompe  
and pride was  
dimmed with  
a Iudiciall  
figura.

Heereupon *Dyonisius* said vnto him, Doeest thou not see, O *Damocles*, how greatly thou art deceiued in thine owne opinion? Such is our life, which (not long since) thou heldest to be so happy: but now thou plainly perceiuest, that eminent death is alwayes attending. By which example we may easily iudge, that he can neuer be happy, that is daily afflicted with feare. To this purpose *Horace* writt these verses.

*Dyonisius* by  
words to the  
mod. 5.

Not the fine fare of Sicily,  
Will saunour sweet and daintily,  
Nor the rare sound of the Lyre,  
Nor the sweet Birdes in their quire:  
All these afford no pleasure can,  
To that wofull wretched man,  
That beholds aboue his head,  
A naked Sword to strike him dead.

Verses trans-  
lated out of  
*Horace*.

And as *Iob* saith, The sound of feare and dreadfull affrightes is alwaies in his eares: and although peace be certaine, yet is hee daily doubtfull of close ambushes. Tyrants loue not any body, and therefore (vpon iust occasion) leamed men rearmmed them to be cruell beasts, and plagues to mankind. In the human figure of who is so much sauage cruelty, that *Salomon* saide directly; A wicked Prince is a roaring Lyon, and an hunger-starued Beare ouer poore people.

Job 19, 14.

Prouer. 17, 12

And

Malch. 2. 9.  
Job 22. 8.  
Hofes 6. 10.  
Esay 59. 7.

Miserable &  
violent deaths  
of Tyrants.

And yet God hath and sometimes doth permit, that Tyrants shall reigne, for the chastisement of wicked men, saying; *I will take vengeance on mine enemies by mine enemies.* God (saith Job) maketh the hypocritical man to reigne in regard of the peoples finnes. And in *Hofes* God speaketh thus; *I will give thee a king in my fury.* And in *Esay*, *Asbur is the rod and staffe of my fury, I will send thee to a deceitfull people.* Neuertheless, they are not acceptable to God, who throwes them at length into the fire, as a father doth the rod, when he hath therewith beaten his childe. And it hath alwaies so fallne out, that all these Tyrants, or the most part of the, haue ended their liues miserably, & oftentimes by violent death, caused by their owne friends; and approued by consent of all the people. But because the examples of tragicall endes in such Tyrants, are handled in a number of other Treatises, & experience hath made it daily manifest vnto vs; I may the sooner conclude this Chapter.

## CHAP. VI.

*A most horrible cruelty vsed by the Numantines against the Romanes; and in the end vpon themselves.*

*Scipio* having continued sidge before the City of *Numantia* in *Spain*, the space of a yeare and seuen Moneths, and neuer ceasing: munition and victuals began to faile among the besiedged, so that very many died with famine. Whereupon they made a vow to the Gods, that the first morfell they would eate every day, should be the flesh of some Roman: and that they would drinke neyther wine nor water, till they had swallowed the blood of such as they slew.

Extremities  
are the occasion  
of desperate  
vowes, &  
promises.

The *Numantines* hauing all sworne to this vow, they issued forth of the City, and like men, more then desperate, chafed the *Romanes*, enen as if they had bene brute beasts: and such as they slew or surprized, immediately they killed and broyled inhumanely, or being sliced in peeces, they fold the by weight in the Shambles or Butchery. So that a Roman taken by

Extremity  
shill waithe  
vpon extre-  
mity, and be-  
getteth daily  
worle and  
worle courtes.

them, or slaine, was offarre greater price and estimation, then to lue and pay his ranfome. Finally, the *Numantines* perceiving, that they had no more meanes of suppartation, being opprested with famine, and enclosed on euery side: they consulted among themselves, to kill all their aged people; yea, all the women & children in the City; which (without any feare or respect at all) they put in execution.

When they had done thus, all the wealth and moouables of the City, the Jewels & Treasures of the Temples, were brought together in spacious places, & there consumed with fire, yea, and all parts & quarters of the City, without leauing a house standing, suffered the very same consummation; and euery man tooke a sudden & speedy dispatching poyson, whereby they might the soonest dye. Thus the Temples, houses, goods, and persons of the *Numantines*, which had continued in prosperity foure hundred, sixty & fixe yeares, had finall conclusion all in one day. A sight most horrible it was to behold, that the *Numantines* did those things liuing, so full of gasty terror, and not be remooued from them at their hour of death. For they left not to *Scipio*, any goods as booty or pillage, nor so much as a man liuing, for a Trophee or Triumph.

The propriety  
of 466  
yeares con-  
sumed all in  
one day.

*Scipio* seeing *Numantia* flaming, and afterward, entering thereinto, beheld all the buildings demolished, and turned one vpon another, all the Inhabitants burned; he grieued very greatly, and being vnable to containe himselfe from teares, cryed out thus: *O most happy Numantia, to whom the Gods appointed, that thou shouldst rather remaine destroyed, then conquered! Numa Pompilius king of the Romanes, caused this City of Numantia to be builded, & Scipio the Roman, being aged then but two and twenty yeares, saw the ruine of it.*

The words of  
*Scipio* on  
ruined *Numantia*.

## CHAP. VII.

*That a valiant Generall or Captaine, ought first to embrace wisdom & providence, before he do make experiment of his fortune: and also that after victory he should be milde and pittifull.*

To be a Captain or Generall, is an Office very honorable, but yet attended

by

The danger-  
ous Office of  
a Captaine or  
Generall.

by many dangers. For notwithstanding he shall performe but what hee may and ought, yet if misfortune be present in giuing the battaile, and returne him off with out victory; hee shall neuer satisfie the vulgar, but the people will hold him in bad reputation, although it value his life in the aduenture. Let euery man bee of what quality and wisedome hee may, or would wish to be, & vse the best carriage he can possibly deuise; yet we shall neuer heare a conquered Captaine called wise, or him temerarious, that gets the victory. It is a good thing that Captaines should be wise, but yet much better to be fortunate.

The saying of  
*Scipio* Affricanus.

Cicero Attice.

A great difference in  
minds  
natures.

*Scipio Affricanus* vsed to say; *That all things ought to bee essayed in warre, before they lay any hand to weapons.* And (in truth) he saide well, because there is no greater victory in the world, then that which is wonne without effusion of blood. *Cicero* writing to *Attica*, saith; *That the Captaine which conquers his enemies by counsell, ought to be no lesse esteemed, then hee that did it by the sword.* *Silla*, *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Nero*, they neuer knew any other course, but to command, and kill: whereas contrariwise, *Augustus*, *Titus*, and *Traiane* knew no better way, then to entreate fairely and pardon, so that by pardoning, they conquered more, then the other could do by bloody fighting. If Captaines would but consider these things, perhaps they would not be so ready in opposing their Armies to such multiplicity of dangers: whence oftentimes ensueth, that in thinking to be reuenged on their enemies, they (in the ende) become vanquished themselves.

A noble mind  
in the Empe-  
rour *Theodosius*.

*Theodosius* the Emperour, when hee besiedged any City, he would not suffer his Souldiers to erect any scaling Engines, or make any battery, yntill ten daies were fully past: during which time, hee offered no offence to the Cittizens, but daily admonished them, saying, *I grant ye the tearme of ten daies, wherein yee may persuade with mee by fauour and mildnesse, rather then hazard the trial of my power.* When great *Alexander* saw the dead body of *Darius*: *Iulius Cesar* the head of *Pöpey*; when *Marcellus* burned *Siracusas*, and *Scipio* beheld *Numantia* flaming; and in our later times, when that heroycall *Emmanuel Philibert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, & Prince

of *Piedmont*, beheld the illustrious & magnanimous Prince *Frances of Burbon*, Duke of *Anguien*, lying dead vpon the ground at the taking of *S. Quintins*: All these great persons could not refrain from teares, although the other were their deadly enemies. For albeit their generous soules were well satisfied with obtaining victory, yet notwithstanding, such great and weighty losses did much discontent them, considering their cales might haue bene the like.

Pitty and clemency neuer lost the victory in warre; but on the contrary, the Captaine bloodily minded, cruell, and reuendgefull, hath eyther bene slaine by the enemy, or betrayed by his owne followers. Therefore it was not without great reason, that *Iulius Cesar* carried immortall renowne among all Princes and Captaines of the world, not for being more faire, more strong, more courageous, and fortunate; but onely because far greater was the number of enemies, to whom he frankly afforded pardon, then those that hee had vanquished and slew with the sword. The famous Captaine *Narves*, who subdued the *Gothes*, vanquished the *Batarians*, and domineered ouer the *Allemaignes*, neuer vnderooke a daies fight against an enemy, but the night before, hee kneeled and wept to himselfe in the Temple. *Trogus Pompeius* recordeth, that the most signale victories of the *Romanes*, were not wonne in regard that their Armies were mighty and strong; but because their Captaines were dexteros, active, and gallant, in all seruices they vnderooke.

It is expedient also, that the Generall or Captaine (about all other things) should be vigilant, & procure, that among the Captaines of his Army, affaires (concerning warre) should be kept secret: because the highest enterprizes neuer can haue good successe, when they are discovered before they can be effected. *Suetonius* declareth, that it was neuer heard said to *Iulius Cesar*; *Must wee do this to day, or shall we do that to morrow?* Only he would answer; *Doe this instantly, & to morrow wee shall see what is then to be done.* *Plutarch* writeth in his *Moralles*, that *Lucius Metellus* being requested by one of his Captaines, to know on what day he would giue the battaile; made him this

A signe of a  
most honora-  
ble dispositi-  
on in such Gene-  
ralls.

The reason  
why *Iulius*  
*Cesar* was so  
highly re-  
nowned.

He was Gene-  
rall to the  
Emperour  
*Iulianus*.

Secrecy is  
most necessary  
in martiall  
affaires.

*Suetonius* in  
viti.  
l. c. c. xij.

*Plut.* in *Mor.*

Few council-  
lers in occa-  
sions of warre  
are fitt, and  
what men are  
to be ihunned

A worthe  
faying of Al-  
cibiades, and  
not vnto mee  
to be obser-  
ued.

How to ma-  
ke of a victo-  
rie.

this answer. *If I wist that my shirt knew the least thought of the things my hart intendeth, I would immediately burne it.* It is well done to consult on matters of war with many: but the resolution of them is not, neyther ought to bee imparted but to very few; otherwise, they may be published before they are fully concluded. And especiall care is to be taken, that no consultation be had with such men, as are eyther obstinate in their counsels, or rash and headstrong in their actions: for in cases which happen sometime in war, it is lesse harme to retire, then run wilfully on losse.

*Alcibiades*, a valiant Capitaine among the *Grecians*, syled to say: *Men of magnanimity and courage, should sometimes rather flye than fight; because honour commands attendance, and wisdom wil fight.* For in great perils, it is better that men should submit themselves to reason; then that they should be commanded by fortune. A Capitaine ought to be counselled in all things, except when he meetes with a danger not foreseene. For many Capitaines at diuers times in warre, haue lost themselves by no other occasion: but because at such time as they should haue brought to effect some notable deed, which admitted not the least minutes trifling; they stood then musing, & idly called a counsell to no purpose. It is necessary also, that a wife Capitaine, after he hath obtained a victory, should vnderstand how to vnderstand and enjoy it. For if *Hanniball*, on the day at *Cannas*, could haue told how to haue vied his fortune, *Scipio the Affricane* had neuer conquered him.

### CHAP. VIII.

*Of the Salique Law, the originall thereof, and who were the first Authors and Inuentors of it.*



IN the time of Pope *Boniface*, the first of that name, and of the Emperor *Honorius*, in An. 420. the *Franconians* hauing forsaken their Country, came to inhabit along the River of *Rheine*, which hauing passed, they remained for some time at *Treuer*. Now as these people were of bar-

barous manners, liuing vnciuilly & without law; *Pharamond* their first king, Sent vnto their Duke *Marcomir*, chiefe of cheefe and principal men of the *Sicambrians*, who by their counsel and determination, might giue a law to the people. The names of those foure men, were *Fozcaist*, *Lozocast*, *Salgast*, and *Vijogast*, who by authority of the king and people, set downe a Law in writing, which *Pharamond* approoued and published, causing it to bee called *Salique*; eyther by the name of the place *Salibani*, wher it was made, as some say, or else by the name of the said *Salgast*, who was Chaucellor to *Pharamond*, and cheefe of the foure.

This Law contained the forme of succeeding in the kingdome of *France*, & the manner of reigning; and it hath euer since bin obserued by the kings of *France*, and their people vntill this present. Among other articles therein contained, women are declared vnable to rule the kingdome, and deprived of succession to the crowne, although they are the sole & only daughters to the King: nor can they haue any portion of inheritance in the *Gallician* Lands, but onely vse and profites by the owners consent, implying necessarily, that after their deaths, those allowances returne to the Crowne againe. And this Law is conformable to the Roman Law, cald *Voconia*, which was made at the time betweene the second & last war of the *Romanes* with the *Carthaginians*, and which was pronounced by *Voconius*, Tribune of the people. And *Aulus Gellius* saith, that there is nothing more profitable to the common-wealth, then the said law, which deboueth women from succession; which *Tit. Luuius* saith, *Marcus Cato* (a graue man) perfwaded in an Oration made by him.

And although it may be said concerning this Law, that it containeth no equity, because it toucheth the succession of priuate persons: yet on the behalfe of the kingdome, for which it was ordayned, it is iust and reasonable, and by disposition of womens right, they ought not there to succeed in the kingdome, nor rights of the crowne, except there be some priuledge or custome to the contrary. So noeth *John de Imola*, on the Chapter *Grandi, tit. de simpliciter neglegent. prela.* to the fixt. And for this was made the tenth chapter, *Qui feoda poss. ff. hoc autem. C. dilecti, de arbo.*

*Baldus*

How the Law came to be called Salique.

The name and condition of the Salique Law.

The Law Voconia among the Romanes.

*Aulus Gellius* in *Noct. Attic.*

*Titus Luuius* in *de Rep. lib. 1.*

This Law containeth no equity for women.

*John de Imola* in *cap. Grandi.*

## Chap. 9. Of Letters containing Secrecy.

*Baldus* in *Leg. de Sena.*

The succession in the Crowne of France, after the death of *Lewes* Hutin, in a continued descent.

Concerning such lands as are once vnto and incorporated to the Crowne of France.

*Baldus* is of the same opinion, speaking expressly concerning the kingdome of *France*, and saying, that the king of *England*, Sonne to one of the daughters of *France*, in regard of this law, might not pretend any right to the Crowne, and saith, it is cleare and certaine, as hee quoteth on the first law *ff. de Sena.* And as I haue formerly saide, it hath euermore bin so obserued and held in *France*.

For example, when *Lewes Hutin* deceased, he left one daughter, wife to the Count d'Eureux: *Philip le long*, his Brother, succeeded him, (neuerthelessse) as well in the Crowne, as in all the Landes thereto belonging. And after the death of *Philip le long*, although hee left foure daughters; yet *Charles le Bel* (his brother) succeeded him, as well in the Crowne, as other inheritances. And after the decease of *Charles le Bel*, notwithstanding hee left one daughter, named *Blanche*, wife to *Philip*, Duke of *Orleanse*, his cousin: yet *Philip de Valois* succeeded him. In like manner, after the death of king *Charles* the eight, *Lewes* Duke of *Orleanse*, his cousin succeeded him, before Madame *Anne* of *France*, his Sister, wife vnto the Duke of *Bourbon*, and this was king *Lewes* the 12. who although (by his decease) he left two daughters, *Claude* and *Rece*: yet neuerthelessse, *Frances* Duke of *Valois* and of *Angoulême*, the very neereft in the line collateral and masculine, succeeded him as well in the Crowne, as also in the Duke-dome of *Orleanse*, albeit the saide *Lewes* the twelfth, *Charles* his Father, and *Lewes* Duke of *Orleanse* his Grandfather, had held the Dukedome of *Orleanse*, by the gift and inheritance which *Charles* the 5. had made to the said *Lewes*, Duke of *Orleanse* his Sonne.

For right and iustice requireth, that all Lands which are once vnto and incorporated to the Crowne of *France*, shall be of the proper nature, quality and condition as the same Crowne is; as well in regard of successions and acquisitions, as other causes. For at all times, and as often as a Land is vnto to the Crowne, it taketh the nature of the kingdome, and must be gouerned in all things, according to the conditions thereof. For the kingdome is an vniuersall thing, which comprehendeth many other in particular: as it is said in the Law *Peculium ff. de Lega. ij.*

And not onely the Salique Law is kept in *France*, but also it is found in many statutes in *Italy*, and elsewhere, prohibiting women to succeed, which is done, saith the Text of the Law,  *Fasore dignationis conseruanda, ut dignitas familiarum salua sit.* And *Baldus* saith, that a woman is not the head or Prince of the Family, but the end thereof.

*Paulus de Castro*, on the Law *Maritus. C. de procur. saith*, that the lineage and family beginneth in the males, and is conferred by the males. And so it seemeth, that the Etimologie of the word *Soror* declareth, which *Labeo Antistius* giueth in *Aulus Gellius*. *Soror appellata est quod quasi sorum nascitur separaturque ab ea domo in qua nata est, & in aliam familiam transgreditur.* That is to say, *A sister is so called, as she that is borne almost apart by herselfe, and is separated from the house wherein she was borne, and changing the place, goeth to dwell in another family.*

### CHAP. IX.

*Examples of some Letters containyng Secrecy, and sent in such manner, as they might not be knowne, but onely to such whom they especially concerned.*



*Arpagus* writing to *Cyrus*, concerning the treason of King *Astages*, hauing cunningly vnbowelled a Hare, put his Letter therein, and after hee had ingeniously fowed it vp againe, deliuered it (with the Hayes or Nets) to one of his Huntmen, the faithfullst of all his household, and hee carried it to king *Cyrus*.

*Hytyanus*, desirous to write to *Aristagoras*, did shau the head of one that was his trustiest seruant, and wrote vpon the skull-skinne what hee would, containing three or foure Characters, and afterward kept him in his house, vntill the haire was growne ouer as thicke as before, and then he sent him to *Aristagoras*, willing that he should cause him to be shauen againe, so soone as he was come vnto him, and so he vnderstood the others minde.

*Aulus Gellius* reporteth, that *Tullius Cæsar*

*Lib. 1. ff. de public. ff. de iur. iur. c. 1.*

*Paul. de Cast. in lib. 9.*

*Aul. Gellius in lib. 13. cap. 10.*

A Letter sent in the belly of a hare.

Writing on the skull-skin of the head.

See a Treat written by John Ferriald, and I. C. thereon.

How Julius  
Cæſar wrote  
his Letters of  
eſpeciall in-  
telligence.

Cæſar ſometimes ſent him Miſſiues, when he had any vrgent occaſion, and to ſome peculiar places: and in them were letters formed onely, without any ſyllables annexed to them. So that when they were lookt on and queſtioned, no word could be collected to any purpoſe, but by himſelfe, and him to whom they were intended, being a mute and ſecret inuention, yet familiar to ſuch as vnderſtood them.

Frontinus  
ſaith ſay-  
ing it.

Mary ſaith *Frontinus* being deſirous in actions of warre, to ſend their letters miſſiue ſecretly to haue their intentions known, and yet to auoid all meanes of diſcovery, haue written within the Scabbards of their Swords, and ſent them as acceptable preſents whereby they haue cleaſly eſcaped.

Small Tablets  
of wood co-  
uered with  
Waxe.

*Demetrius* deſiring to make knowne to the *Lacedemonians*, how king *Xerxes* was armed and prepared for his Iourney againſt *Greece*; did write the counsell of the king in ſmall Tablets of wood, which he couered ouer with waxe, and in that manner ſent them to the *Lacedemonians*, who taking off the waxe, read all the contents there written.

The cunning  
of *Hirtius* in  
conſulting  
his Letters.

*Hirtius* the Conſull ſent letters written vpon Lead (but not knowne how to be read, being intercepted) to *Marke Anthony*, beſieged at *Modena*; they were carried by an honeſt Soldiour, who wore them as bracelets about his wrists, & with them ſwom ouer the *Riuer Scutena*. The ſame *Hirtius* likewiſe tyed letters about the necks of certaine Doves, which hee kept cloſe lockt vp in a conuenient place, where no light was to be ſeene, neyther did he giue them any food; that when he ſhould let them looſe neere to the walles of the City (as eaſily he could doe) they being greedy of light and food, might mount aloft vpon the houſes, where beeing taken by *Ennius*, and by the meanes of food, purpoſely appointed therefor the, he vnderſtood what he deſired.

A Letter ſent  
into the ene-  
mies Campe  
by an arrow.

*Paradeisus* in his hiſtory of our times, writeth, that when as *Rhodes* was beſieged by the Turke, a traytour named Friar *Andrey de Merall*, a knight of *Portugal*, making a ſhew of carefull looking to the Watch; ſhot a letter (bound about an Arrow) into the enemies Campe, whereby he gaue them aduertement, in what eſtate the City ſtood.

Frontinus  
ſaith ſay-  
ing it.

*Frontinus* hath many other examples of ſecret Letters, in matters of loue, of

which I will relate two onely, remembered by *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolini* Pope *Pius* the ſecond. *Pachurus* a young man (ſaith he) ſent a loue-letter in a Noſegay of *Violets* to *Lucretia*, whom hee dearely affected. And finding no ſucceſſe, wrapt another in a peller of waxe, which he couered as a ſnow-ball, and ſo threw it at his Miſtreſſes Window.

## CHAP. X.

A Diſcourſe concerning the originall of the Normanes, what valiant actes haue bin performed by them: and of Robert Guiscard.



THE Normanes are anciently deſcended of the *Gothes*, and vnder that great half-Iſland, ſometimes called *Dacia*, and ſince *Dacia*: where by the kings of that Province, were named kings of the *Danes*, and of the *Gothes*. They had a cuſtome, that the kingdome came to the eldeſt Sonne, and therefore ſent the other Sonnes to ſeeke their fortune. It came ſo to paſſe, that *Lotarius* their king (who was not a Chriſtian) hauing two Sonnes; according to the precedent cuſtome, ſent the youngeſt named *Biergoſtus*, out of the kingdome, albeit he loued him very dearely, and therefore committed the care of him to a Gentleman of his Court, named *Alengus*, to whom he gaue in charge, that he ſhould furniſh him with a troope of valiant men.

An indifferent Army beeing giuen him, they came vpon the confines of *France*, and entering *Picardy*, poſſeſſed theſelues of moſt of the Townes and Bourroughs, burnt *Saint Quintins* and *Noyon*, and for the ſpace of forty yeares, did infinite harmes to the Realme of *France*. For after that *Biergoſtus* was dead, they elected (as their cheefe Commander & Capitaine) a very valiant and gallant Knight, called *Rollo*, who made three Campes, which entered *France* on three ſeueral ſides: the one mounted vp the *Riuer of Seyne*; the other along the *Riuer of Loyre*; and the third by the *Riuer of Garonne*, ſometime called *Garona* at *Bordeaux*, and ſo

Vide Sibilli-  
cus Gemad.  
l. 2. c. 2.

Biergoſtus  
ſent to ſettle  
his ſoldiers  
abroad.

The death of  
Biergoſtus, &  
the election  
of *Rollo*.

A peace  
made be-  
tweene *Rollo*  
and *Charles*  
the Simple.

ſo ſcattered theſelues throughout *France*, rauaging and burning whereſoeuer they came. Which being perceived by *Charles* the third of that name, and called the ſimple king of *France*, and knowing alſo, that he had no meanes to reſiſt them; he treated a peace betwene *Rollo* and him, by the Arch-Biſhop of *Roane*, named *Franguon*, which was concluded neere to the *Riuer of Epte*, the King being on the one ſide of the *Riuer*, and *Rollo* on the other. Therein was an appointment made, that *Charles* ſhould giue his Daughter, named *Giletta*, in marriage to *Rollo*, to whom he aliigned as her Dowry, and an inheritance for the children borne in this marriage, and not otherwiſe, the Province of *Neuſtria*, which *Rollo* cauſed afterward to be called *Nortemanie*, which ſigniſieth a Northerne people. For *Nort* (in the *Dacian* tongue) is as much to ſay as *North*, and man implieth *Homo*, ſo interpreted of it ſelfe, from whence, by a corrupt kinde of ſpeech afterward, it was called *Nortmandie*.

\* That which  
is now called  
Nortmandie.

The king created that Country to be a Dukedome, and gaue his Daughter in marriage to the ſaid *Rollo*, as formerly it was concluded, yet with this condition, that *Rollo* ſhould become a Chriſtian: whereto he condeſcending, he was baptized in the yeare 900 and 12. & by *Franguon*, Arch-Biſhop of *Roane*, beeing then named *Robert*, by *Robert*, Count of *Poitiers*, who was Godfather to him at the Font. And by the example of *Rollo*, all the Normans that were Pagans, cauſed themſelues to be baptized; which cauſed Duke *Robert* to do homage to king *Charles*, for the Country of *Neuſtria*, then conuerted to be *Normandie*.

*Rollo* is bapti-  
zed and na-  
med *Robert*,  
marrying with  
the daughter  
of King  
*Charles*.

Hiſtorians doe report a pleaſant and ridiculous acte, which *Rollo* did on the day when hee came to perſorme his homage to the king, for ſome aduiſed him to kiſſe the ſeete of his Maieſty, according to a cuſtome in that caſe obſerued. But hee diſdayning to fall on his knees, tooke the kings foot, liſting it vp to reach his mouth, and ſo ouer-high, that the king fell backward from off his ſeate. VVherat the Normanes fell into a great laughter; but the French were offended and vexed, taking this behaviour in very ill manner. Neuertheleſſe, this deed was imputed to ſimplicity, becauſe *Rollo*, in making his ex-

cuſe, auouched, that ſuch kinde of kiſſing the ſeete, had beene an ancient cuſtome in his Country. About a yeare after, *Rollo* ſeeing himſelfe peaceably poſſeſſed of all *Normandie*, repudiated his wife *Giletta*, & purther to a pittifull kinde of death, not hauing any childre by her in which reſpect as well by right of forfeiture, as by other conditions contracted in the marriage, without all queſtion, the Country and Dukedome ſhould haue returned to the Crowne of *France* againe, as at the firſt.

Long time before *Rollo* became a Chriſtian, hee had carnall knowledge of the Daughter to *Berengarius*, Eaſle of *Beauvais*, the beeing named *Poppeta*, by whom he had a Sonne called *William*, that afterward was tearmed *Long-Sword*. Hee being borne in vnlawfull and ſinfull copulation, out of marriage, and the acte committed by a Chriſtian with a Pagan, was conſequently diſabled from ſucceeding in the Dukedome. But howſoeuer it came to paſſe, the Normanes finding theſelues ſo ſtrong and dreadful; poſſeſſed this *William* of the Dukedome, and the kings of *France* were enforced (by reaſon of hauing ſo ſlender meanes in thoſe times) to endure and ſuffer all. So that the Succeſſors of *Rollo* or *Robert*, enioyed ſtill that Country, though by corruption of faith, and no true tytle thereunto.

The Duke  
diſhonored his  
Wife, and  
put her to  
death.

*William*  
Long-word  
the baſtard  
ſonne to *Rol-  
lo*, became  
his ſucceſſor  
in his Duke-  
dome.

Of this *William* came *Richard*, ſurnamed *Long-Shankes*; and of that *Richard* a ſecond *Richard*; and of this ſecond *Richard* a third *Richard*; who was Father to *Robert*, that was Father to *William* the Baſtard, which conquered England. VV hereby it very plainly appeareth, that of the fore-named *Rollo* or *Robert*, the Dukes of *Normandie*, and three Kings of England receiued originall.

The line and  
ſucceſſion  
from *William*  
Long-word.

Now concerning *Richard*, the Sonne to *William*, Sonne to *Rollo* or *Robert*, hee had two Sonnes, the one named *Robert*, and the other *Richard* alſo, who beeing deſirous of glory and fame, went into *Sicily* with great troopes of men, and there they made war ſucceſſfully many yeares together. Theſe two brethren beeing dead, the Normanes beeing then in pay to the Duke of *Salerno*; made choiſe of a new cheefe Commander or Capitaine named *Triſtam Caſtello*, who hauing ſlaine a Serpent, and beeing in-  
K k ſected

Three Eng-  
liſh Kings of  
the Normans  
race.

*Triſtram Caſ-  
tello* Cap-  
taine of the  
Normans.



Tancred and his 12 sonnes, all worthy Warriors.

fectured with her poyson, dyed thereof. After him succeeded *Raymond*, and some other (afterward) elected for their Capitaine, *William Ferrabach*, Sonne to *Tancred*, Come de haute ville, who had twelve Sonnes, to wit, *Sarno*, *Gadfrey*, *Dregon*, *Tancred*, *William*, called *Ferrabach*, that is to say, *Armesstrong*, *Haufray*, *Robert*, surnamed *Guiscard*, *Roger*, *Picard*, *Gadfrey* the second, or younger, *Fruimensino*, and *Aduloger*.

Tancred with his twelve Sonnes, continued among the *Normanes* in the exercise of *Armes*, and *Michael Catalaicus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, held them by usurpation *Ponilla* and *Calabria*, vnder the government of *Malocco*, one of his Captaines, and Lieutenant for him in those Countries. Some other places also were invaded by the *Sarrasins*, who possessed *Sicily*, continually molesting the said kingdom. The valiant and generous *William*, being created Capraine of the *Normanes*, made a league with the Princes of *Capua* and *Salerno*, and also with *Malocco*, Lieutenant to the Emperour. All these passed together (with their Armies) into *Sicily* against the *Sarrasins*, and having vanquished and expelled them thence, divided the prize equally among them. But *Malocco* surrendered the lands of that Isle to those Governors which the Emperour had sent thither before the warre. Whereat *William* being offended, yet dissembling his anger and intentions, marched with his Army towards *Ponilla*, where hee possessed himselfe of many places, and entring *Melpher*, there strongly fortified himselfe.

Melpher, a prize of William.

When *Malocco* heard these newes, he departed from *Sicily*, and suddenly went with his Army to *Melpher*; but *William* being come forth of the Towne, gave such a valiant assault upon *Malocco*, that killing the better part of his followers, & chasing him from the greatest iurisdiccions of *Ponilla*; hee fully enjoyed it, and made himselfe Earle thereof. After the death of *William*, *Dregon* his Brother obtained the Seignury of *Ponilla*, and being a man of great valiancy, as also very well experienced in Arms, fought three times in one day against the *Grecians*, and overcame them, encreasing his Countries daily more and more.

About seven years after, *Dregon* died,

and *Haufray* or *Hunfray* his Brother succeeded; and after him, *Gadfrey*, who left *Balegard* his Sonne successor in the Earldome. But *Robert* being a most valiant young man, displeased that his Brother *Gadfrey* had not left the place to him after his death; expelled his Nephew by force of Arms, and so held the Counties of *Panilla* and *Calabria*; annexing also *Troy* thereto, which (till that time) had continued subiect to the *Romanes*. This is that *Robert*, who for his excellent spirit & witty providence, was surnamed *Guiscard*, which in the *Norman* Language, signifieth ingenious and cunning: although some others say, that such a surname signifieth errant and wandering, because the *Normanes* went wandering thorough many Countries. Afterward in the time of Pope *Nicholas*, second of that name, hee was created the first Duke of *Calabria*, & of *Ponilla*, in the yeare one thousand and sixty.

In the ende, *Robert* having by his prowess, and with his Brethrens helpe, wonne (in eightene yeares) the whole Isle of *Sicily*, and many other Regions in *Italy*; sought moreover to make himselfe Emperour of *Constantinople*, for which he leuiued a mighty Army, and fought with the *Venetian* and Imperiall Armies twice, and vanquished them. But being retired to *Casipolis*, a Promontory in the Isle of *Corfu*, and there surprized with a most violent Feauer, hee finished his dayes in that place, in the Moneth of Iuly, in the yeare one thousand, eighty two, having liued gloriously (and won many victories) for the space of threescore yeares.

This most noble Family of the *Normane* *Guiscardoes*, had a lamentable ending, in the yeare one thousand, one hundred, ninety five, in *William*, whom the Emperour *Henry* the sixt caused to be executed, to the ende hee should haue no ability of producing any more issue by him. And moreover, he made him to lose the sight of his eyes, by Basons extremely heated, which hee constrained him to looke vpon so long, vntill the reuerberation of the heat, had vtterly deprived him of sight. This impiety, and more then barbarous cruelty, did the Emperour vse vnto him; because none of that race (afterward) should hinder his enjoying the kingdom of *Sicily*.

CHAP.

The Sarrasins conquered & expelled out of Sicily.

The success of William in the County of Ponilla.

Robert expelled his Nephew by force of Arms.

The valiant Robert, surnamed Guiscard, Duke of Ponilla and Calabria.

Robert fought to make himselfe Emperour of Constantinople.

The final conclusion of the Norman Guiscardoes.

# CHAP. XI.

Of two young youths of Paris, that translated to the Indians, to cure themselves of the Neapolitane disease, or French Pox.



*Nithony du Verdier*, Lord of *Vauprinaz*, in his Booke of diuers Readings, hath well described the original of the Neapolitane

disease, otherwise called the great pox, & how it was brought from the Countries of the new found world, discovered first by *Columbus*, in those Islands which the Indians call *Haity*, and *Quisqueia*. And as this disease is very familiar in those lands; so is the remedy thereof also found there, by the meanes of a wood, called *Guyacum*, whosoever there are diuers Forests, and by the vse thereof it is easily healed. Many people in these parts, who have read the fore-named Chapter, haue highly contrariet it: especially such as haue had, and yet at this present, do finde no ease thereby, albeit they haue drunk euery morning and evening of that decoction, hauing afterward soundly sweated twice a yeare, in those two temperate seasons, the Spring time, and fall of the lease, nay moreover, haue drunke no other drinke (with their meate, and without) for a whole yeare together.

The authors illustration of Verdier.

Many haue bin deceived in the Guyacum here sold.

who were healed by the vse of *Guyacum*; not such as is brought hither to vs, and how it hapned, I will set downe the whole discourse.

I being at *Paris* in the yeare 1553. I had great familiarity with the two youths, being both borne in the City, of good and worthy houses; but I conceal their names, by reason of their infection with that venereal contagion, it being most commonly taken by dishonest dealing with leud women, and so by consequence, carrieth shame with it. This sickness they concealed so long as they could, but in the end, it made it selfe to be knowne, by losse of their haire, by red pufes appearing in the fore-head, by aches in the bones, both of their armes, legs, thighs, and shoulders, as also in the former part of their heads, from the beginning of night, till break of day the next morning, with other such like signes; as paine in the throat, being scarcely able to swallow any food. Now, albeit that all these euidences are not seene, in all such persons as are touched with that disease; yet it plainly appeared, that in both these young bodies, all the fore-named testimonies, and many more beside (which I let sleepe in silence) were apparently noted.

In regard of these rehearsed accidents, which were so manifest, the Parents to them both had intelligence, that they were touched with this disease; and yet for more certaine assurance therein, they caused them to be visited by very skillfull Physicians and Chyrurgions, who performed all that which arte could permit, and yet they were not able, neither could they cure them. A second time, other Physicians were called to this businesse, who applied likewise the vttermost of their knowledge; but all in vaine, and the disease it selfe grew worse and worse, rising into knots and topies in the foremost part of the head, and in the bones of the armes, thighs, and legs, they procured insupportable nightly paines. For when night drew neere, and all the time while it continued, they cried and complained incessantly, so that the neighbors (on all sides) heard their pittifull lamentations, by meanes whereof, their bodies became wholly dried vp.

The Physicians alledged, that there was some great extraordinary matter in

The Author speaketh this History of his owne knowledge.

Outward appearances of that wicked disease, whereby hee notes of the sickness is obscured.

Hee sought for so skillfull Physicians & Chyrurgions.

A second attempt by physicians, but prevailing like the first.

Night time a great enemy to the disease.

K k 2 the

Parties of di-  
vers comple-  
xions may  
haue all one  
disease.

The iudge-  
ment of the  
Physicians  
concerning  
their disease.

The young  
men grow ou-  
er, a no way  
to be cured.

When the  
hope of man  
is at the wea-  
keft, Gods  
help is then  
strongest

The Lord of  
Chantonay  
heareth one  
of the young  
men hourly  
complaining

the disease. For these two young men came nothing neere to one another in consanguinity, but were of diuers temperatures and complexions. For the one was delicate, soft, merry, whitish, and of tender disposition: but the other was of blackish color, strong, hardy, and many times addicted to penitence. Neuertheless, contrary to the common order of nature, and all the Apomes in the arte of Physicke; their diseases seemed conformable, which neuer hapned to other persons, offended with the same contagion, because some haue accidents farre different and contrary to other. Hereupon the Physicians referred the cause of this disease (sympatizing so directly, yet in such different bodies) to the venom of some paillardizing women, that had infected them.

But to make short, after these youths had endured much extremity of paines & anguish, as well by Physicians and Chirurgions, as Empericks that had charge of them: the harme had extended so farre in expences, and no meane heart-greuing of the Parents, al which notwithstanding, they were given ouer as incurable, & because there was no likely-hood of their healths recovery, they daily desired the seizure of death. Matters standing in this lamentable estate, God tooke compassion on them and their Parents, because they were deuout persons, & gaue almes very liberally to the poore daily, presenting them remedy in this manner. The Lord of Chantonay, a Gentleman of Burgundy, and of the *Franche Comte*, was sent (by the King of *Spain*) Ambassadour to Charles the ninth. King of *France*, who ordinarily made his residing at *Paris*. This Ambassadour was lodged directly ouer against the house, to one of the Fathers of the sicke yong men, and both their chambers being outward, on the streetes side; it caused the said Lord Ambassadour (who was none of the sleepest men) to heare the greuous moanings, which the poore sickly *Neapolitan* continually made, whereupon hee entreated his Hoste to informe him, whence proceeded those wofull lamentations, thus nightly made by the sick young man. His Hoste hauing tolde him nothing but the truth, the Ambassadour wrought so by his Hoste, that hee might come to see the sicke youth; which ac-

cordingly he did, in the company of his Mother.

The Lord of Chantonay, well vnderstanding whence the disease proceeded, & those nocturnal heauy greenings, said, that he had seen many in diuers Provinces, as in *Bourgundy, Germany, Flanders, Italy, & Spain*, afflicted with the selfe same sicknesse; and notwithstanding all curious and carefull attending, yet they could not any way be cured, but onely by going to the *Indies*. For instance hereof, he called for his Secretary, who presently came thither, and had (as well as his Lord) passed the voyage, therefore hee was the better able to confirme his speeches, and related at large, how euery thing happened.

The Mother to the sicke youth, after she had thanked the Lord Ambassadour for his aduice, withdrew herselfe, and acquainted her husband (who was Master of the Chamber of Accounts) with all that the Lord of Chantonay had said vnto her. He being a very learned and wise Gentleman, conferred further (concerning this matter) with the Secretary to the said Lord Ambassadour; whom hee found to be a man of good iudgement, & one that had past through the Pikes, as we vfe to rearme it.

The Sonne to the Master of the Accounts, imparted this matter vnto his sickly Companion, who aduertised his Mother also therof, and she her husband, who was a Merchant trading in silkes, and furnished the house of the Queene, *Catherine de Medicis*, then Regent in *France*; and hereupon both the Fathers conferred together. In breefe, they concluded to hazard their Sons in the performance of this voyage, perswading themselves, that seeing they reputed to bee incurable, it might so fall out, that changing the ayre of the climate, and by their passage vnder the Equator, ynder which, such as sayle, doe oftentimes become sicke, and dye in the voyage, making the Sea their graue, as the most part doe, of them that adventure to the *Indies*, to which fortune they freely committed their Sons. But if it came to passe, that they might there be cured, as diuers others formerly had bene; they stood bound in the greater thankfulness to God. For they being daily in their sight so diseased, to their

The Amba-  
sador goeth  
to visite the  
sicke young  
man.

Cure ob-  
tained by going  
to the Indies

\* The Erie  
quer or Cla-  
quer Cham-  
ber.

The manner  
truly related  
and acqui-  
red to both  
sides.

\* Or equino-  
ctial Circle,  
equally di-  
stant from  
the Equator.

A strange re-  
solution in  
one Fathers.

No passage to  
the Indies,  
without the  
King of Spain  
permission.

The arrival  
of the young  
men in Spain

All the French  
in Brasile  
flame by the  
Spaniards.

Good fortune  
into great  
necessity.

The arrivall  
of the two  
sicke young  
men in India,  
and their  
courageous en-  
tertainment  
there.

no little discontentment and shame, beside the charges attending thereon; they could not determine on any estate for them, neyther make mention for their marriage, the reason of their sicknesse being so noysed quite through the City of *Paris*. Thus these two Fathers refused to lend their Sonnes to the *Indies*, eyther for their viter losse, or healthfull recovery.

Now because it was not lawfull for any to passe thither, without permission from the King of *Spain*; Queene Mother, vnderstanding by her Mercer (Father to one of the sicke youths) the purposed voyage of his Sonne; wrote vnto her Daughter, then Queene of *Spain*, for her assistance to the poore passengers, to fauour them with Passe-ports, and recommendations vnto the Kings Lieutenants in the *Indian* Countries, to such as were Captaines of the Seas, and other. Being assisted by two men, who had formerly voyaged both by Land and Sea, and peace being accorded with the Protestants and Catholiques, they trauielled to *Spain*, and there presented their Letters.

The Queene immediately solicited their licence and dispatch: but first they were visited, to know whether they were Spyes or no. For it was no long time before, that the *Spaniards* had slaine all the *French*, which were to be found in that part of *Bresile*, called by the *Tononei-nambouts*, saying, that all the *Indians* appertained to them, by due right granted to them by the Pope. When they were found to bee diseased persons, they were discharged, and going on to the Port of *Stuill*, fortune was so fauourable to them, that there they found a Fleet of Shippes, ready charged with men of warre & Merchandizes, bound also for that part of the *Indies*, whereto these sicke men intended to go; which was the Islands of *Haity* and of *Quiqueia*, named by *Columbus, Hispaniola*, and afterward the Isle of *Saint Dominico*.

They went aboard a Merchants Ship, hauing agreed for threecore Ducates, both for their passage thither, and their returne backe againe. The voyage succeeded so well, that although it contained aboute eightene hundred leagues by land; yet within two Moneths, they arri-

ued there, landing in the Isle of *S. Dominica*, where the Vice-Roy lay. To him they presented their Letters of fauour and recommendations, who gaue charge to a Gentleman of his Court, to see that these young men and their company should be kindly entreated, sending them vnto Physicians, that remained there in the Country at the Kings pay. But they thought it more conuenient for them to passe thence to another Island, which was called *Saint Iohn de Portorico*, where the women there dwelling, were very skilfull in curing that malady, and when they were come thither, thus it succeeded to them.

First, the Gouverneur of the Island; by commaundement giued him from the Vice-Roy of the *Indies*, lodged the young men so well as hee could in that sauage Country: which was in a Lodging made with palisadoes, or wall of Pales, which being but badly ioyned together, was filled vp with bundles of leaues.

The Rooft consisted of leaues of Trees, so were their Beds also, and in stead of Feathers, they were filled with Cotton: their Shertes being of plaine Fullian, and all their vtenisles of wood, or of earth.

Their ordinary feeding was on Cow-flesh somewhat tender, of great Serpents roasted, which serued highly to their healing, and also on strong Tortuises, as great as an indifferent Porker.

Their bread was Biscuit, and is much better in that Country, then elsewhere; for within the space of foure and twenty houres, it will grow mouldy, and if it be eaten hot, it is indigestible. But howsoeuer it were, the *Spaniards* gaue them courage, nor to greue themselves, and brought a Musitian vnto them to delight them, whose Instrumēt was made of the bone of a mans thigh. They likewise sent a woman to attend them, that made little or no account of them; but tolde them, so soone as they were cured, she did assure herselfe, that they would very well content her.

This Woman so affrighted our young *Parisians*, that they could very willingly there haue dyed, as neuer hoping of any helpe by her means. For she went stark naked, her skin being of an

Their rema-  
ining to the  
Isle of S. Iohn  
de Portorico.

The manner  
of their lod-  
ging in S. Iohn  
de Portorico.

Their ordina-  
ry victuals in  
the Isle of S.  
Iohn.

The kinde of  
the Spaniards  
as to them.

The description  
of the  
beauty of a  
sauage woman.

Such a sight  
could be first  
pleasing to  
sight, and  
in a place so  
desert and vn-  
couth.

A drinke made  
of Guyaicum,  
or Pockwood,  
by the sauage  
woman.

\* The Parisi-  
an halite pinte  
almost as big  
as our whole  
pinte.

Their manner  
of giving Phi-  
sicians in the  
Indies.

Customs  
brought them  
to the Coun-  
tries dyet.

Oliue-coulour; flat nosed, like to a little dog: her breasts hung dangling downe, like to the dugs of an olde Sow. Her head was shorne close before, but behinde, the hayre hanged so low as her heeles, all frised, and like to the tayle of some ill-fauoured Cow. The nayles of her fingers and feete, exceeded halfe a fingers length, and were bowing crooked. She had no haire where nature commonly affordeth, neyther in her arme-pits; and her teeth looked of a hew betwene red & yellow, long, cleare, and wide enough alunder. At each of her eares hung a Stone of violet color, the least of them weighing a-boue two ounces: her vpper lip was slit in the middle, in the top whereof stood another stone of grayish color, and thence passed her spittle continually. All the other parts of her body were round & fat, and in indifferent fashion, faire, & affable enough for a sauage creature.

This woman prepared a drinke, which she made of the little loppings of a yong Guyaicum tree, hauing first bruiued them betwene her goodly teeth, the afterward she boyled the in an earthen vessel, without any thing to couer it, and contrary to all courses obserued in our Countries. This drinke she caused them euery morning to take, each of them to the quantity of a *Paris Chopine*, at two or three draughts. Then they must walke a while, exercise Fencing, or some other cheerefull stirring of their bodies; or else traueil to a Mine of gold, which was not far off fro the Village, so to weare out the space of two houres. Then returning backe againe to the house, all sweaty, they would change onely their shirts; and going to dinner, they must drinke of no other water, but of a much-troubled standing Poole, wherein was nothing but raine-water. The *Spaniards* would offer them *Gallspades* or Cocks of *India*, which they did eate foddren for the most part. But after they had bene vied to it eight or ten dayes; they could eate Toads, Serpents, and Lizards euen as well as other, and found them very sauiory meates; beside diuers kindes of fruites, the like whereof hath neuer bene seene in these parts. About three houres in the euening, they must drinke as much of the Guyaicum, as they did in the morning, and vse the same exercises. And without any other cere-

mony, remedy, or deuises vied to them, they found themselves to bee thoroughly healed, iust within the space of six weeks: onely their gums excepted, which were become swolne and enflamed. But they were made sound, with a sharpe-pointed bone of a Fish, by pricking and piercing them therewith in many places, and they thus healed, were perfectly recovered. The knots and bumps on their bones, vanished away, all their nightly afflictions ceased wholly within fiftene daies: appetite came afresh to them both, and their haire being lost, was restored againe in more firmer manner then before. And now there remained, not so much as the print of any push or blaine, cyther in their fore-heads, or on their breasts, likewise all vlcers which they had in their secret parts, dried vp and were gone.

They perceiuing themselves to be thoroughly cured, were willing to content the woman with golden coynes, as hoping they did well therein: and this they did, by the aduice of a cunning crafty *Spaniard*, relegated to that place, and to worke in the Mines. He very well knew, that the *Indians*, making no account of Gold or Monie; purposed to begge it of her, not doubting but easily she would giue it him. But it fell out farre otherwise, for these refused the Gold, and would by no means touch it, but ran into the house, and took a Bow and Arrows, intending to kill them, but that they fledde away from her. Perceiuing this, they called another *Spaniard*, who had alwayes made signes of amity towards them, and caused him to speake to the woman, because they vnderstood not her language. Conference by signes hauing past betwene them, the *Spaniard* learned of her, that shee would be payed in some small wares or tridles. They not knowing where they should fo provide themselves, the *Spaniard* tolde them, that there dwelt a man in the Village, who made profession of selling such things; and of him, for the value of two Ducates (which amount heere but to twenty Solz) they bought these following trinkets, six very bigge Combes, six little knives, sold for a Sol a peece in *Paris*, with their sheathes, six small looking-glasse, a dozen of points, fixe needles, a glasse spoone, & a dozen of Ballads. Where with she was extraordinarily pleased, & tooke her-

The yong  
men were  
cured in  
the space  
of six  
weeks, and  
their former  
strength  
perfectly  
recou-  
red.

Their great  
full intenc-  
tion toward  
the sauage  
woman.

The danger  
of the cruel  
young men,  
by the use  
of a  
Spaniard.

Tridles and  
matters of  
small value,  
yet pleasing  
to the curi-  
ous  
best welcome  
to the Indians.

## CHAP. XII.

Why there is not found so much vertue in the Guyaicum that is brought hither, as in that whereof the Indians themselves do make use, against the Neapolitane disease, and the description thereof.



God hath bene, is, and euer more declareth himselfe to bee good & mercifull, knowing the inhabitants of the whole Countrey of *India* fore-named, to be naturally subiect to this infection of the Pox; so hath he giuen them the Tree of *Guyaicum*, by the means whereof they can cure themselves, which they attained vnto, onely by experience; for they haue not anie knowledge of Letters. The *Spaniards* which had conquered those countreyes, hauing co-habited carnally with the naturall Women there abiding; receyued from them this disease. For at certaine seasons, this malady possesseth the *Indians*; as Fellons or VVhitlawes, and Feauers do seize on vs. And hauing perceyued that they recovered themselves by *Guyaicum*, our Merchants brought some of it hither; which in the beginning, rotted of it selfe, by reason they brought thence the very youngest: which to prevent, they brought then of the oldest that in regard of his soliditie could not rotte or perishe. And our Physitians (by their own report) appointed the receipt of that, to such as (in these parts) were so infected; but to little effect; for beside the beuorage or drinke made thereof, they sayled in anointing (oftentimes) the diseased body, with hotte Oynments, compounded with Quick-silver, whereby some of good habitude, perceiued themselves to be cured, and others not.

Now, by that which I could gather, from the discourse of these two yong *Parisiens*, the olde *Guyaicum*, which is brought hither to vs, is of the grosse trunk and strong bodie of the Tree, that hath no vertue against the disease, neyther doe the *Indians* any way vse it. And our deceiued Physitians, appoint the receipt of this

They returned thence to the Island of *Saint Domingo*, where they presented themselves vnto the Vice-roy, who was most ioyfull to see them recovered; and there they remained one moneth more, not feeling any sickness by the change of ayre, or of the climate, whereat each one greatly meruailed. In this time, the Merchants made them ready for their return, and some bands of soldiers, who went to refresh themselves in *Spain*. Being entred their ship, within two other months they arriued happily in the Port of *Siwill*. Thence they went to *Madrid*, humbly to thank the Queene, who gaue them Letters and Passe-portes, for their more secure arriuing in *France*. Being come to *Paris*, they were most louingly entertained by their parents and friends, who did conceale their voyage and sickness, so much as in them lay.

It was my hap to finde them there, and to me they reuealed the whole adventure, euen in such maner as I haue set it down; to the end, that such as fall into the like inconuenience, & being forsaken of Physitians heere, may trauaile for their recovery, as these two yong men did. At this day they are provided of great and honorable Offices, the one being officer for the Finances, and the other a wortheie Commander in Armes, hauing performed many signal seruices, in the last wars of the vnion to his Maiesty. And because this Chapter should not seeme ouerlong; I will heereunto adde another Discourse, concerning the Tree of *Guyaicum*, which healed these two yong *Parisiens*.

The sauage  
women think  
themselves to  
be cured by  
the two yong  
men.

Their return-  
ing vnto the  
Vice roy at St.  
Domingo, &  
their sayling  
homeward.

Their coming  
to Paris, and  
welcoming  
by their pa-  
rents.

Their condi-  
tion at this day  
in their owne  
Country.

The great  
mercy of God  
to the natu-  
rally infected  
Indian people

Spaniards  
were the first  
th took the  
pox of the In-  
dian women.

The want of  
knowledge in  
some Physitians

The Authors  
obseruation  
by report of  
the two Parisi-  
ans.

There is but  
one kinde of  
Guyaicum  
only.

this blacke *Guyaicum*, which is of those great trunks, and call it, the heart of *Guyaicum*. They also perswade themselves that there are two kinds of *Guyaicum*, to wit, one that is wholly blacke, and the other nothing blacke at all. Nevertheless, they are both of one tree, inasmuch as that which hath no blacknesse, is of the branches, and enermore the oldest, albeit they take it for the yongest. These young *Parisians*, being of good and apprehensive spirits, did well perceyue, that that which men brought hither to vs, had very little power or efficacy: for they had made many diets, without receyving the least ease thereby.

Trial of *Guyaicum* by the *Parisians*, experience both here, and in India.

But the other of *India*, which was yong, somewhat tender, having hardly attained to two yeares growing, and no higher than the stature of a man, did heale very easily. For in the making thereof, there would beefele and perceived, a very delicate and Grape-like gumme, pleasing vnto the heart, which is not to bee found in that made here among vs. And they concluded, that the drinnesse and coldnesse of the trunks of the trees, then which there is no other brought to vs, is the only cause, why such an inkefome disease cannot be cured.

Some vertue  
in the old  
*Guyaicum*, &  
how it is to be  
applied in  
that disease.

Yet do I not inferre hereby, but that the aged *Guyaicum* brought hither to vs, hath some power and vertue: as in preparing the bodie (to receiue the vnguents fit for the disease) that is of a cold or melancholly nature, and having made vs thereof eight or ten dayes, then to take the Vnguents. Or else, when one is supposed to haue that sicknesse, and there remaineth paines or aches in some parts of the body, or some Vicer is feared: some haue bene observed, that by the vse of this old *Guyaicum*, within three weekes they haue appeared to be found. Some also haue bene sore afflicted, yea, diuers times left in deplorable condition; yet hauing made vs hereof for a year or two, as in their ordinary drink, and their bread commixed with a decoction of *Guyaicum*, and their meate boyled in like manner, they haue bene cured, and (among other) an Attorney of the Parliament at *Rouen*: but this is very rare and extremely painful.

The voyage to the *Indies* seemeth not so dolorous, nor yet so greatly chargea-

ble: for these two young *Parisians*, of whom wee made mention in our precedent Chapter, it cost but three hundred Crownes betweene them, yet each had a man of honor with him, and a groomer or servant to attend them both.

The *Parisians*  
charges in  
their voyage.

The decoction of the *Guyaicum* which is heere among vs, doth not serue only for the Pox, or those offended therewith, but likewise for all persons ouer-abounding in moysture, or that haue diseases caused by some cold humors. Also for such as haue opilations in the Litter, Spleene, and other of the bowels, causing them to twete after the receite. Many haue found great comfort and ease also thereby; as some touched with palsies; others that haue had swollen legs; others with vlcers subiect to certaine times; and defluxions, deafness, catarrhes, rheumes, and other imbecillities, they haue found themselves thereby to be released. But people offended with heetique feauers, must keepe themselves from any way vnting it. I will now describe the forme of this Tree.

Concerning  
the decoction  
of *Guyaicum*,  
and how it  
is used, this  
di-  
scusses better  
the yet

The Tree of *Guyaicum* is great and grosse, as are the Oakes in these our countries, hauing the Barke or Rinde of blackish coullor, thicke, gummy, and fat. The wood thereof is much harder then Irony, and the rinde separateth it selfe very easily from the trunk, when it is dry. The Leaues doe appeare like those of Plantaine, but they are much lesse, and more hard. It beareth a yellow flower, and the fruite is as big as a Nut, hauing within it stones, like to those of a Medlar: no vs hath bene made of the fruite, so farre as I can learne, and yet there must needs be some vertue in them. Thus you perceiue what I know, and haue vnderstood, concerning the Wood called *Guyaicum*, in the vertue whereof, many heere among vs haue found themselves to be decciued; by thinking that it had the selfe-same faculties, as that which is young and tender, and found in the *Indies*.

A Description  
of the tree  
called *Guyaicum*,  
according to  
the diligent  
paines of the  
Painter

CHAP.

## CHAP. XIII.

From whence it proceedeth, that Graine or Corne is not so long time preferued in our Countries, as it hath bene, and still is, in Egypt. Also in what manner our Lands and Vines should be corrected and qualified, without dunging. With many remedies, for the preferuing of our Corne from corruption, and being eaten with diuers kinds of Vermines.

Coniectures  
concerning  
the long keep-  
ing of Corne  
in Egypt.

Some haue supposed, that such feuerall kinds of Corne as were kept for the space of fiftene daies, or thereabout (safe and soundly) in the royall Granaries of Egypt, by the aduice of *Ioseph*, to provide agaynst the dearth of Graine, which should for seuen yeares after follow, according as he Prophetically foretold; came to passe as by matter of miracle, and extraordinarily. I must needs confesse, that there was there both great abundance, and as great sterility of Corne, in the seuen consecutiu yeares, and all thorow the extraordinary power of God. But for the conseruation of them, it is a matter ordinary to Egypt, that Corne should be kept there five and twenty yeares in pure goodnes, yea much longer time. Alwayes provided, that it bee not transported from place to place, and be not made subiect to any heating: neither that it should bee eaten by anie Vermines, as many times our Corne is heere in our Countreyes, and the cause thereof I will declare vnto ye.

The Grain or  
Corne of E-  
gypt may bee  
kept found 25  
yeares and  
more.

The reason  
why our Corne  
cannot be pre-  
ferued far any  
long time.

The reason for it, is, that the Egyptians neuer vsed to fatten their groundes, but contented themselves with such manurage, as the soyle it selfe, and *Nylus* overflowing them, only afforded: neuer vsing any dung, as heere we do, neither Vines, Leystals, and other excrementes of beasts, which is the onely cause, why our Graine cannot be preferued; but is subiect to Wormes, VVeuilles, Mites, and other small creatures, that doe great harme thereto, whereby it yieldeth no saoury taste, neither can bee kept in

goodnesse for any long time. *Hippocrates* seemeth to be of the same opinion; affirming, that such as vse breade made of Corne, which any dunged ground hath yielded, they cannot liue so healthfully, neither so long a time, as others, feeding on the contrary.

Some one may say vnto me, the what shall we do in these countreyes, where if our fieldes be not manured and dunged, the Land will yeelde nothing, or (at the best) very little? Is it not apparant euery where amongst vs? That there are verie good means whereby to franke and fatten ground, with other things then dung and filth, *Hesiodus* plainly enlustrerth vs; for in his Booke of Husbandry, he sayth: There is nothing better, to cherish & fatten a leane and meager Land, then the strong straw of \* *Lapines*, the chaffe of *Chiches*, of *Beanes*, of *Tares*, *Lentilles*, and other (such like, utterly reiecting all vse of dung, which many haue charged with blamefull imputations.

*Hip. in Lib. 1. 7.*

Lands that  
are dunged,  
doe not yeeld  
such plenty of  
Corne, nor so  
saoury, as o-  
thers.

*Hesiod. in lib. de  
Agricul. cap. 5.*

\* A kinde of  
Pullic, so called

Of this opinion also, *Lieband* appeareth to bee, in his Booke called *Maison Rustique*, or the Countrey Farme, where he sayth: Instead of dung, they may vse the straw of *Lupines*, hacks or cut small. Or else to sowe the ground with *Lupines*, and other Pulses, and afterward when they beginne to grow, to labour then the land ouer and ouer, and this will serue for dung, much better then that of any beast.

*Lieband in q.  
lib. de Maison  
Rustique, cap. 10.*

There is mention also made, of another kind of manuring the ground, which is not so good as the precedent, alledged by *Hesiodus*; but approaching somewhat neere it, as thus. To cut some store of Heath, Broome, Briars, and Thorns, and all other kinds of shrubbes that haue bushy stalkes, or vnder-woods, and then to couer all those Lands therewith, which are intended to be sowed: there let these feuerall matters ly drying about the space of ten or twelue dayes, or longer time if neede require it. Then in the night time, let them be set on fire, and so carefully tended, that they may bee altogether reduced into ashes, by kindling the fire still where it would not fasten. Afterward, let those groundes be Tilled after one manner onely, and then sowed and couered. This kinde of Husbandry wil cause great quantity of Corne, which the poore make vse of in many places, where they haue no

Another man-  
ner of manur-  
ing ground,  
by Heath,  
Broome, Bry-  
ars, &c.

Cattle:

Cattle: and it causeth the earth to yeeld a great moyst graine, which is not subiect to corruption.

Here it is to be remembered, that where I say in Egypt, the grounds are not manured: I meane none but those that lye along the current of *Nylus*, on eyther side three or foure Leagues in largenesse, or little lesse on either side. But in other parts, as in the mountaine countreyes, they manure their Lands, though they be greatly fruitfull: yet not with dung, but with straw of diuers Pulles, according as I haue formerly sayd. Howbeit they haue great Heards of Oxen, and Flockes of Sheepe, also their fields are almost couered with flights of Pigeons, which after their owne manner manure the grounds, and it is verie excellent good in that Nature.

As for the dungs heere in our Countreyes, they are very laborious to bee made: for some dung must lye rotting a whole yeare together, before it can bee well employed. And then it is (oftentimes) full of feedes of wilde or sauage Hearbes, which fall into the Hay, that beasts of labour eat, and so passe thorow in their excrements vndigested, or else are found among the strawe, whereof they make their litter. Whereby ensueth, that the earth (oftentimes) produceth more store of bad Hearbes and VVeeds, then of good Corne, because they take away his true vertue of nouriture, and do meerey smother it.

Beside all these things fore-named, especial care is to be hadde, in knowing what dungs are good or bad; and for certaine groundes, and for some peculiar feedes. For Horfe-dung will serue well in one place; that of Oxen and Kine in another; and likewise those of other Cattle, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, Pigeons, and others beside. It may not be forgotten also that some groundes are to bee fattened in certaine quarters of the Moone, and others in other seasons: which is not any way to be obserued, in those other kindes of manuring, whereof I haue formerly written.

Heere I must not ouer-passe, to write somewhat concerning the husbanding of Vines, which some vse to dung, albeit to much lesse purpose, then grounds bearing Corne. As about *Paris*, in the lower *Ly-*

*magine*; about *Lymoges*, and else-where. The dooing heereof is a great deale lesse tollerable, because it is a matter very difficult, that a ground nourished and made fat with dung; should not still retaine in it, the fauour of the sayde Dung, and so (in the end) impart it to the wine. For, our people are verie ill aduised, to charge their Vines euery yeare: by reason it is the cause, that their wines (for the most part) haue an vnpleasing tast, and becoming fat and Oily, are easie to turne of themselves. Moreouer, dung maketh our Vines to waxe aged immediately, and soone to grow barren; because they are too liberrall of their goodnesse in the first yeares.

*Seruius* hath lesse written vnto vs, in those Commentaries which he made on the ninth Booke of the *Ennetes*, that the man was named *Pitunius*, who inuented this manner of manuring groundes by dung. And therefore he was called *Sterquilinarius*, that is to say, a dung-hill carrier. It is to be presumed, that he was bred in the Latines countrey, in some place that was neuer fertile. These few notes I haue selected out of verie good Authors that did well vnderstand themselves in Husbandry, concerning the manuring of groundes & Vines, but they neuer approued the vse of dung.

Now, because I know verie well, that whatsoever *Hesiodus*, those other authors and my selfe also haue written, that our groundes and Vines should no longer bee manured in such stinking, foule, and grosse manner, but to follow those other instructions, most sweete and wholesome: in excuse of their neglecting so good aduice I will say with them, that that which hath taken roote for so many thousandes of yeares, can hardly be taken away vpon the sodaine.

Therefore, I will now set downe vnto you some certaine receipts and aduices, for the long conseruation of our Cornes safe and soundly, and that they may not bee any wayes bitten or eaten with Vermine, because it will bring exceeding great healthfulnesse vnto the people. For, without all doubt, when Corne and other nourishments of life haue any corruption whatsoever, they doe easie encrease and augment diseases amongst the people.

First

How the Egyptians doe manure their grounds that are not neere to *Nylus*.

Dungs doe engender many weeds and vnuhol some hearbes by smothering the earth, rather then nourishing it.

Knowledge in the diuersitie of dungs, for their goodnesse or badnesse.

Concerning the husbandrie fit for Vines.

Dungs is verie hurtfull for Vines.

*Seruius* is Cited. Ep. Euid. 117

The Authors excuse on their behalf, that despite this Councell.

Of bringing Corne in sheaues into the Barne.

Of places where no Barne are vied.

What care is to be vied in providing a good Garner, or Corne-loft.

For the rooffe.

For the floore and wallies.

Corne-heapes.

Situation of the Garner.

How to auoyd vermine that do great harm to Corne.

First of all then, men ought to be very circumspect, that before they bring their Corne in sheaues into the Barne, the said sheaues bee very dry, and free from all moisture. Next, not to lay them on the earthen floore, without there bee some dry boards betwene the Corne and it, That there bee no much-hill, or lakes, eyther in the Barne, or neere it, for all fauour will soone communicate it selfe to the Corne; and above all, let the Barne bee very well ayred. If it be in such a place, where they haue no vse of Baines, as in the most part of *Languedoch*, then order must be taken, that the Stacks of Corne be (at least) to well couered and enclosed, that no raige may get power of entrance, for otherwise, the Corne will sproute it selfe, and afterward rot, corrupt, and putrifie.

After that the Corne is sheafed, and mette to bee laide vp in the Garner or Corne-loffe, chiefe must be made of one that receiueth the bright splendour of the East, breathed also moderately with the North and West windes: but the South-erne blasts, and those leasing that way, by no means to enter it. The couerture ouer head, need no great coslinesse, because of the ayres eather entrance thorow the Tyles, or other theirings, that the Corne may not be heated or elated. The floore may bee of earth, or paving tyles; and the wallies of whited mottor. You must bee respectiue, that your Corne-heapes bee not great or thicke, to auoyde ouer-heating; remoouing and changing them from place to place, at two Months and two Months. The Garner must be farre enough from moist places; especially from houses of office, which yeeld a noysome fauour, or any such vnaise being; from Stables of Oxen, Horses, Swine, & such like.

The planchers and wallies of the Garner, wherein you purpose to house your Corne, must be washed with vinegar, or such water, wherein hearbes, or some bitter drugs haue bene boiled: as Wormewood, Southernwood, the leaues of wilde Cowcumber, the pithe or graine of Colquintida, or of Lupines, or Oxegayles; without all question to the contrary, these haue bene truly tried, that no VVeuels, Mites, or Wormes can bite or touch the Corne, where they haue bene vied. And

they that Corne to take this paines, may lay some wormwood vnderneath, aloft, and about their Corne-heapes, or Southernwood, or dried wilde Marierome. Or else annoint the wallies and planchers of the Garner, with Lye made of the oyle of Oliues; or if it may not be had, with Sheeps yrine. To fait powder the ground vnderneath the Corne, with ashes made of Oaken wood, it is the present killing of all Mites and VVeuels.

Now to keepe the Corne from heating or warming, ouer, and beside our forenamed remoouing, let there bee layde vnder euery Stack of Corne, one of Miller; or if it be mingled therewith, it is easily prepared afterward with a running Sine. Sale-Niter and the scum thereof, is very good for Corne-heapes, and preferueth them wonderfully, as also fit sprouting: many Sea-Merchants haue made vse thereof, to their no meane profite. In breefe, a good and charitable man shall neuer stand in need of so many remedies, if he keepe his Corne with intention, to helpe and lend to the poore, and without interest. For God saith by his Prophet *Ezechiel*, That hee will preserue the goods of them, that keepe them to helpe the poore. And contrariwise, That he will suffer them to rot, and their Corne shall bee eaten with vermine, that hoorde them vp, to get great gaine by them, and hurt the people vexed with famine.

### CHAP. XIII.

Of the great difference, which both *Ancient* and *Moderne Writers*, haue obserued to be betwene the Royall title of a King, and the disgracefull name of a Tyrant.



Before I begin to describe the difference, that is betwene a King and a Tyrant; I hold it to bee a matter most convenient, to set downe a definition both of the one and other, to the ende, that the deportments of them both, may the better be knowne.

A King is such a man, that yeeldeth himselfe as obedient to the lawes of Nature,

An easier way for such as can take no paine.

How to preserue the Corne from heating and chafing.

*Ezek. 37, 10*

A necessary obseruation in the Author.

The definition  
of a King  
him that hold-  
eth the estate  
and dignity  
Royall.

The note or  
marke of roy-  
alty.

What things  
are possible in  
a King.

The defini-  
on of a Ty-  
rant; & what  
the significa-  
tion of the  
word Tyrant  
implyeth.

Who were  
called tyrants  
in elder times.

ture, as he desireth his Subiects to bee to- wards him: forsaking naturall liberity, & a propriety in the goods of any man. I obserue in this definition, that Subiects ought to bee obedient to the Royall Monarch, to declare thereby, that in him consisteth Soueraigne Maiefty. The King also ought to bee obedient to the Lawes of nature, that is to say; to gouerne his Subiects, and to guide his owne actions by naturall iustice, which maketh it selfe to be seene as cleare and brightly, as the splendour of the Sunne. It is likewise a Royall marke or note, when the Prince sheweth himselfe as milde and pliable to the lawes of nature; as hee wisheth his Subiects to be obeyant to him. Which he may easily do, if he feare God aboue all things, be pittifull to the afflicted, prouident in his enterprizes, hardy in exploits, modest in prosperity, constant in aduersity, firme in his word, wise in his counsell, carefull of his subiects, succourable to friends, terrible to enemies, courteous to good men, dreadfull to wicked persons, and iust to all.

A Tyrant is such a man, as defileth the lawes of nature with his feete, abuseth the liberties of free-borne Subiects, euen as if they were his slaues, and maketh the goods of other men to be his owne. The name or word Tyrant, is Greeke in his owne propriety, and was honourable, signifying nothing else in times of antiquity, but a Prince that had possessed himselfe of the State, without the consent of his Citizens and Subiects, and of a companion, had made him his Master. Such a man was called a Tyrant, although he were a most wise and iust Prince. In like manner, *Plato* writing to *Dionysius* the Tyrant, gaue him this quality as his honour: *Plato* to *Dionysius* the tyrant, health. The returne and answer was: *Dionysius* the tyrant, to *Plato* greeting. And to declare that the word tyrant, was as well attributed to iust & good Princes, as them that were wicked; it evidently appeareth herein: because *Pittacus* and *Periander*, two of the seuen Sages of Greece, were called tyrants, for hauing seized the Estates of their Countries.

But such, as eyther by power, or else by cunning had invaded and obtained the Soueraignty, perceiving that their liues were exposed to the mercy of their ene-

mies; were constrained (for the better security of their liues and goods) to haue Guards of strangers about their persons, & strong Garrisons in Castles, for whose payement of wages and maintenance, great tributes & impositions were leuied. And when they saw, that their liues could not be secured, hauing but poore friends, and potent enemies; they did eyther put to death, or banished some, to please and enrich others: and they that stood in desperate condition, they made rape both of their goods and wiues. And this was the reason, that tyrants were extremely hated and malliced. For we reade, that *Dionysius* the elder tyrant, of one part of *Sicily*, had daily ten thousand Soldiers for his Guard, and ten thousand horsemen, and foure hundred Gallies, readily hyed and armed. And when he could not make vp this account among so few Subiects as were vnder his seruice; he wrang & griped his people in so small an Island, wherof hee gouerned but in part onely, and contained no more then six hundred and fixteene Italian miles in all.

Now because euery one hath not the iudgement to distinguish a good King from a Tyrant, calling him a Tyrant, that (for great store of good reasons) maketh himselfe formidable, and stood in awe of, beside that which I haue already sette downe, I will make him some what more easily to be knowne.

The most notable difference betweene a King and a Tyrant, is; that the King conformeth himselfe to the lawes of nature, and a tyrant trampleth on them with his feete, that one maintaineth piety, iustice, and faith, the other hath neither God, Law, nor Faith. The one maketh what he doth, serue for the weale publique, & tuition of his Subiects: the other doth not any thing, but for his owne particular profite, reuenge, or pleasure. The one enforceth himselfe to enrich his Subiects by all the best meanes he can deuise: the other will not build his owne house, but with the ruines of theirs. The one reuengeth the iniuries of the publique Estate, and pardoneth his owne: but the other reuengeth cruelly his owne iniuries, and pardoneth them that are done to others. The one spareth the honour of modest women: & the other triumpheth in their shame. The one taketh pleasure

Crying and  
insulting Ty-  
rants were  
compelled to  
constraine  
Guards for  
their owne  
safety.

The cause  
why Tyrants  
were mortally  
hated.

We will see in  
some iudge  
ments be-  
tweene a  
good King  
& a Tyrant.

The apparent  
and best no-  
ted differ-  
ence betweene  
a Royall King  
& a Tyrant  
in very small  
obseruations.

Pardonning  
injuries.

Of women  
honour.

Of general  
virtue.

Of amiability.

Of Loue.

Of Feare.

Of Tactation

Of honour  
in seruice.

Of office-gi-  
uing Offices.

Of Law.

Of peoples  
loue.

Of Warre.

Of Guardes.

Of Peace.

Of happy life

Of a happy  
death.

to be aduised in all freedome and liberty, and will be wisely reprehended when hee faileth; but nothing is more irksome to the other, then the counsell of a graue and virtuous man.

The one striueth to maintaine his Subiects in peace and vniue; but the other moueth dayly diuisions, to make the one part ruinate the other, and then to fatten himselfe with their Confiscations. The one, delighteth to bee sometimes seene, and heard of his Subiects; but the other euer more hydeeth himselfe from them, as from his enemies. The one, maketh reckoning of his Subiects Loue, but the other of their Feare. The one, neuer feareth, but for the wel-fare of his people: but the other dreadeth nothing more then them.

The one, will not charge his subiects more then needes must, remembring alwayes the publique necessity; but the other drinketh their blood, gnaweth their bones, and sucketh the verie Marrowe of his people, onely to weaken them. The one searcheth out men of best condition, to employ in publique Offices; but the other employeth none but Theeues, and most wicked persons in his seruice, like to Spunges. The one maketh free gift of estates and offices, to auoid concussions, and crowdes of people; but the other selleth them at as deare rates as hee can, for their better meanes of enfeebling the people by Thefts; and then (afterward) cuttes the Theeues throates for theyr vvealth, because he would be reputed a good Iusticer.

A King measureth his actions and manners, by the foote of the Law: but the tyrant maketh the Law to serue his manners. The one is beloued and reuerenced of his people: and the other generally hated of them all. The one hath no other recourse in war, but to his subiects: but the other, will make no warre but with them. The one, hath no Guards or Garrisons but of his owne people: but the others defence is onely in strangers. The one delighteth in an assured repose and tranquility; but the other languisheth in perpetuall feare. The hope & expectation of the one, is euermolting life in blessednes: but the other cannot auoid eternall punishment. The one is honored in this life, & desired again after death: the other is infamous in this

life, and torne in peeces with shame after death. But because the continuation of this Chapter might seeme ouer-redious to the reader, if I should verify all these relations by historicall examples, I will referre such as are willing to take the paynes, to read the histories themselves, both in Greeke, Latine, & other languages, where they shall find that to be most true, which hath bin spoken of Kings and Tyrants.

## CHAP. XV.

In what high account and esteeme, Philosophers, & other men of knowledge (in what Sciences soeuer) were held in elder times, by Emperors and Kings.



E need not now complain, that in these dayes of ours, there is such want of excellent spirits, in all kinds of Arts and Sciences; but if we survey with more wary iudgment, we shall plainly perceiue, that there are learned men enow, who may iustly find fault, that neither they are in such esteeme, or any way so well recompensed of Princes in these times, as many worthy men were heretofore, by Emperors, Kings, Princes, and great Lords, in those famous daies of reuerend antiquity. Instead of concluding, and acquainting yee with the iustice of their reason, I will lightly passe ouer; & instead of long speaking, onely remember yee with some histories and examples of Famous Potentates in former ages, who were Friends, and Nursing fathers to Philosophers and Schollers; to the end that their actions being compared with those of these dayes, it may be knowne, whether they haue cause to complain, or no, in a case so highly importing.

And first of all, I will beginne with the excellent and renowned Captain *Pompey*, who (as we read) after he had vanquished the puissant King *Mithridates*, & obtained many other victories and adventures in war, coming to *Athens* with all his warlike furnishment, such as the *Roman* Consuls and Captaines vsed to haue borne before the he was aduertised that *Pollidamus* the

The Conclu-  
sion.

A great cause  
of discourag-  
ement to learn-  
ing men.

Potentates &  
Princes of el-  
der times.

*Pompey*, his  
victory ag-  
ainst *Mithri-  
dates*.



Philosopher lay sicke in his bed. Being desirous to go and see him, he would not onely honor him with his personall Visitation; but when he came neere the door of the house, he caused his Standards and Imperial Ensigns to march in before him. For it was euer more his saying; *That Kingdomes and Empires ought to obey vertue and Learning.* Thus he behaued himselfe to this poore learned man, which hee would not haue done to the greatest Potentate then liuing.

*Dionysius* the Tyrant, king of *Syracusa*, hauing obtained of *Plato* the excellent diuine Philosopher, that he would come & see him in *Sicily*; when hee heard of his neere appoaching, he went to meete him on the way, causing him to sit with him in his owne Chariot, drawne with white Horses. Such was the reputation which wife and learned men had in those times. When *Alexander* the Great, had determined the vter ruine & subuersion of the *Thebans*, he gaue especiall charge first of all, that no man should touch the house of the Poet *Pindarus*, but to leaue it wholly standing. If I should tell yee, how highly *Virgill* was honored and esteemed by *Octauianus*, it is a matter so perfectly known, that it needeth no report of mine. According to *Pliny* in his seuenth Booke, whensoever he entred into the Theater, there to deliuer some of his Verses, all the people would stand vp on their feet, and offer as great reuerence to him, as if it had bin to the Emperor. And that which is much more, *Silius Italicus*, a Spanish Poet, did yearly solemnize the day of his Nativity, and with farre greater deuotion, then hee did his owne. The gifts and presents daily giuen him by *Octauian*, *Mecenas*, and many more, were so great, that *Seruius* (who writeth of him) saith, that his goods (in very short time) amounted to the value of fixe thousand *Seesterties*, which a rife vnto two hundred and fiftie thousand Crownes. He had in *Rome* a very honorable Palace; in regard whereof, *Iuuenal* in his 7. Satyre saith, *That hee was one of the richest men in those dayes.*

Vpon a day, in the presence of *Octauian*, and *Liuis* his wife, the mother vnto *Marcellus*, *Virgill* vttered certaine Verses of his bookes *Æneidos*, and comming to the end of the sixt Booke, where hee discourseth most elegantly of *Marcellus*, late-

ly dead before; the hart of the mother became so strangely and passionately moued thereat, that she fell into a fwoond, not hauing any power to heare the rest. But being reuiued to her selfe againe, she commaunded, that for each of those whereof shee had lost the hearing, *Virgill* should haue ten *Seesterties* giuen him. The remainder (which she heard not) being one and twenty verses in number; the valewation of his reward, contained the summe of 5000. Ducates, of our instant money.

It is found faithfully recorded, that the *Syracusans* had some *Athenian* prisoners, that could rehearse (by heart) certayne verses of *Euripides* the Greeke Poet; and daily pronounced them; by which occasion only, and in honor of the Poet, they were deliuered, & permitted freely to go home to their owne country. *Scipio* the *African*, during his life time, had alwayes with him (in his wars) the Statue of *Æneas*; and when he died, he tooke especiall order, that it might be buried in his owne Sepulcher with him. The Emperor *Domitian*, caused *Silius Italicus* (an excellent Poet, and borne in *Spain*) to bee made three times Consul of *Rome*, as *Marshall* witnesseth in one of his Epigrams, beginning, *Augusto Plathura.*

But I know not what to say, of our moderne and later times; or what our late liuing Princes haue done, either to *Poissin*, *Pontanus*, or *Sannazar*; and to speak of our Modern Frenchmen, as *Ronsard*, *Belloy*, and other excellent Poets. But perhaps you will answer me, their hopes may bee to come heereafter, because some of them are yet liuing, young in yeares, but old in wisdome and vnderstanding, and worthy to bee equalled with many of former times. But because I see so little respect, let vs goe backe againe to those renowned Ancients. King *Mithridates* held *Plato* and his learning in so high reputation, being desirous to haue his statue; sent to find out *Syllanion* to performe it, because he was a most excellent workeman. For in those dayes, the greatest honour that could be, was (in publike places) to erect Figures & Statues: yet none might be permitted, except it were of some worthy man, made famous, and knowne by some vertuous deeds, or for his dignity in learning. For this cause the men of *Athen* made one of *Demosthenes*, with a title of the

An excellent Tragicall poet in the time of Archelaus, King of Macedonia.

A notable Philosopher, that in his vertues governed the Athenians ten yeares.

A notable Poet, borne at Tarentum, and brought vnto Rome by Caius to the Consul.

Poets of moderne and later times, which I meane yet liuing, or dead very lately.

The loue of King Mithridates to Plato's learning.

A famous Carver.

The honour done to late and men in elder times.

the very greatest honor that euer had bin giuen vnto any other; and these were the words of the inscription. *If the power and strength of Demosthenes had bin equal to his spirit, wisdome, and learning: the King of Macedonia could neuer haue surmounted the Greekes.*

*Iosephus* the Jew, being one in number amongst the captiues of *Ierusalem*, was brought prisoner to *Rome*; & yet notwithstanding, in regard of the Bookes hee had made of the Lewes Antiquities, they repute him worthy to haue a Statue. The *Athenians* considering the wisdome of *Demetrius Phalerens*, scholler vnto *Theophrastus*, caused his statue to be erected in thirty places of this City. Now if men of merit were so highly honoured, doubtles they were as well rewarded. For *Athenes* writeth in the 5. booke of his *Gymnosophists* that *Aristotle* for his Booke de *Animalium* receiued of *Alexander* 800. talents: which of the currant money now in *France*, valleweth four hundred & fourescore thousand Crownes, which is verified by *Pliny* in his eight booke. There hee declareth, that *Alexanders* desire was so great to haue this booke performed by *Aristotle*, that he sent many thousands of men thoroughout all *Greece* and *Asia*, with letters and expresse commandement, that they should be obedient to whatsoeuer hee required, touching the manner of hunting and flying of Fowles, Fishes, and all the like exercises, because they should know & vnderstand, the nature and properties of all kinde of Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, & then to aduertise *Aristotle* thereof. Vndoubtedly if *Homer*, the very best of Greeke Poets, had liued in the time of *Alexander*, it is to bee presumed that hee wold haue bin as bountifull and beneficiall to him, as hee was to *Aristotle*. Because when a chest or Casket was presented vnto him, wherein *K. Darius* kept his most precious Vnguent, the Chest being very pleasing to him, he said; *I will make this Chest the keeper of far richer treasure*: and presently hee did put thereinto the Workes of *Homer*, which hee euer more tooke great delight to reade in continually.

The Emperor *Traiane*, in regard of his learning only, did so especially honour the Philosopher *Dyon*, that when hee rode abroad in the fields to take the Ayre; hee would haue him to sit neere vnto him in

his owne Chariot, and to ride on along with him thorough some, making it as his triumphall entrance.

In the warre which the Emperor *Octavianus* made in *Egypt*, against *Mark Anthony*, hee sayde; *That hee did forbere to despoyle Alexandria, for the respect hee bare to Alexander, that builded it; but much more for his loue to the Philosopher Arius.* The same Emperor also, made *Cornelius Gallus* Tribune of the people; onely because hee was a most elegant Poet.

*Suetonius* in the life of *Vespasian*, sheweth, what rewardes were anciently giuen to the Learned. For he saith, *Although Vespasian was taxed with counteneyng these; yet notwithstanding, hee greatly fauoured exercises and Arts, and gaue as pensions to each Master of them, such quantity of golden pieces, as being reduced to the summes of our monyes (according to *Terentius* and *Bardeen*) their stipends valleweth two thousand and five hundred Ducates, but as some say Crownes.*

By the Testimony of *Pliny*, in his seuenth Booke, and the ninth Chapter, writing of *Socrates* the Greeke Orator, a man may very easily perceyue, in what account and estimation the learned were then. For hee saith, that this *Socrates*, hauing made an Oration for a certayne man; hee rewarded him with twelue Talents, which vallew (according vnto our present computation) twelue thousand Crownes.

Wee finde it likewise written, in the life of the Emperour *Antoninus*, Sonne vnto *Suerius*, that hee gaue to *Aprian*, so many Ducates of Gold, as there were number of Verses in a great worke which hee had (at that time) made, concerning the Nature and property of all kindes of Fishes.

The Emperour *Gratian*, knowing that *Antoninus* composed well in Verse: gaue him (onely for his desert that way) the Consulshippe, which was the very greatest dignity, nay euen next to that of Emperour.

*Domitian*, albeit hee was a most wicked man, yet he gaue great honors & gifts to the Poet *Eustathius*. And in a solemn Feast, hee caused him to sit at his Table, Crowned with a Garland of Lawrell; where-with all our gaue Elders vnto Crowne theyr Poets. *Seleius Bassus*, a Ly-

A whose birth place was in Alexandria.

*Suetonius* is P. 1. V. c. 1. Of the Emperour Vespasian rewards to Learning.

*Pliny* lib. 7. c. 3.

A famous Orator of Greece, Scholler to Plato.

*Suetonius* in vita Imp. Antonina.

Not the son of Virgilius, and Caligula, but an Italian Poet borne.

Hee wrote the Historie from Ennius, to Anasibius the Emperour.

## CHAP. XVI.

*That Learning is not onely necessary in Kings and Princes: but also for Generall, Captaines, and Commanders, that follow the Exercise and Art Military.*



Could alledge manifold Histories, besides true, good, and sufficient Reasons, that Princes (in ancient times) found no better forme, or direct

rule for their orderly government, then Learning, and Knowledge. And because the evidence hereof remaineth so plaine and pregnant vnto vs, I will obferue some few examples, tending to this purpose. When King *Phillip* vnderftood the birth of his fonne *Alexander*, and knowing *Aristotle* to liue then in *Athens*, he fent a very notable Letter vnto him (recorded by *Plutarke*, and *Aulus Gellius*) wherein hee thanked the Goddes, not to much for the fafe birth of his fonne, but becaufe hee was borne in the life time of *Aristotle*. By which few words, may be apparently discerned, how much the King thought learning and knowledge fitte for his fonne, to the end, he might proue to be fuch a King and Captaine, as hee was indeede afterward. Whereupon, when hee grew vnto yeares meete for the embracing of ftudies, he made *Aristotle* his Maifter, fent him great gifts, and (in meere loue to his fon) builded a Cittie, which he had formerly destroyed, and erected alfo a Schoole (admirable for coft and curious workmanship, fuch as no time before had afforded) wherein his fonne might receive instruction.

*Antigonus*, King of *Macedon*, knowing how needfull a thing Learning was, for his owne good government: and being mightily provoked by the continual renowne of *Zeno*, a fingular Philosopher, and Prince of the Stoicks; defired earnestly to enjoy his company, which hee further laboured by Letters, and manie Embaffies. Of which Letters, *Diogenes Laertius* reciteth one, in this manner following.

The manner of Princes government in old times.

What Aristotle said, and what Gellius (in his 1. cap.)

Some doe interpret this story to be Alexander's, fo called after a emile of Alexander

A manifest great account in Athens, & Author of the Stoicke doctrine.

The

h He is said to be very familiar with Cicero.

Honour not onely during life, but after death alfo done to learned men.

An obiectiō and answer concerning learned Seneca.

A true proverb.

Learned men liuing in ancient times.

Those of more moderate dayes.

### The Letter of King Antigonus, to Zeno the Philosopher.



A notable testimony, or loue to learning, in no minie apt to be forgotte.

*Antigonus a King, sendeth greeting to Zeno the Philosopher. I know very well, that in worldly goodes, fauours of Fortune, and the reputation of such things, I doe farre exceede thee. Neuerthelesse, I know withall, that in true felicitie, knowledge, discipline, studies and liberrall Artes, thou reacheft a higher pitch then I can doe. In regard whereof I desire, that thou wouldest come and liue with me, which I pray thee to yeelde vnto; that I may enjoy thy company and conuersation. In the doing whereof, be well assured, that thou not onely shalt be maister of me, but shalt also be a teacher to all my Macedonians. For he that instructeth the King, maketh him to become virtuous and good: teacheth those vertues likewise to all his Subiects. To proue the truth hereof, it is commonly scene, that such as the King is, such are his vsuall, and such as the Captaine, such his Soldiours.* Farewell.

What the philosopher him selfe could not doe, hee did by his Schollers.

Alexander was Scholler to Aristotle, five yeares together, and learned Learning earnestly.

Plutarke, in vita alex. and Gellius, in 1. cap. 1. Thim. in alex.

### The Letter of great Alexander, to his Maister Aristotle.



*Truly Aristotle, thou hast done ill, in publishing those Bookes of speculative Philosophie, by thee composed. For, in thine owne iudgement, wherein can I possibly excell other men, when the Science wherein thou hast instructed me, cometh to be common to all men? I would haue thee to know, that I more couet to preceed all men in Learning and Knowledge, then in riches, pompe, power and dominion.*

Farewell.

When this was vnderstoode by *Aristotle*, to comfort and please so puissant a Prince, he commanded that his Bookes (formerly common) should be so obliuied, that it was not possible to vnderstand them, but by his owne interpretation. *Pirrhus* that excellent Captaine, and king of the *Epirotes*, who maintained great wartes against the *Romans*, and diuerse times ouercame them; did exercise him selfe, not onely in the reading of the Sciences: but also composed sundry books, among which was his precepts of warre. As the like hath beene done lately in our time, by that famous man, *Guillaume du Bellay*, Lord of *Langcy*.

What shall we say of *Julius Caesar*, the first Emperour, and (without all comparison) the very best Captaine of all them that had the managing of war? We may truly say of him, that he was no lesse inclined to Learning, then to Armes. For he made himselfe a Scholler, before hee was a Souldier: and afterward as often as he had any leysure, he frequented the Academies of the Poets, and in walking, he would both reade and write. Vpon a time, being at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, to saue himselfe from an imminent perill, he aduentured swimming, bearing the bookes which he had written in one of his hands; declaring thereby, that he affected them as dearely, as his owne life: hauing as much care to saue the one, as the other; and what his learning was, his Commentaries (yet remaining with vs) can sufficiently witnesse.

A louing reprobation of his Maister, and declaring his affection to Learning.

Pirrhus king of the Epirotes, an excellent louer of learning, and a publisher of bookes.

Julius Caesar the first Emperour, as famous for learning, as for armes. *San Marti, in vita Cesaris.*

Cesar loved learning as dearely as his life.

The care of the Romanes for their childrens learning

Cato Censorius

Cato Vlicensis

A Philosopher and Poet of Sicily. A Cury of Phaznicia, by the sea side, not farre from Tyre. Cicero in Lib. de Finib.

Examples of foluers effecting learning. Scipio Africanus.

Hanniball.

Plato schoole master to Dionysius the Tyrant.

A notable answer.

Notonely *Cesar*, but all the *Romanes* also, do beare witness of that which wee say, who (in my poore opinion) were reputed and knowne to be good Captaines and Gouvernors. For, the first thing which they undertook for their children in their infancie, was to haue them well instructed, and therefore provided good schoolmasters for them, which they chargeably sent for out of Greece. Both the *Catoes* were knowne to be excellent schollers, & soldiers. The great *Censor* was wonderfully addicted to learning, as the Booke written by him do plainly testifye: hee was a worthy Orator, Historian, and endued with many vertues, and euen toward the ending of his dayes, hee learned the Greeke tongue. The other *Cato*, styled of *Vitru*, though he was not of such a sharpe and ingenious spirit in apprehension of Sciences, yet notwithstanding, hee kept company with most excellent Schoolemasters; among whom was the Philosopher *Antipater*. And he gaue his minde so much to studie, that *Cicero* sayth, in his Booke *de Finibus*, hee did nothing else but reade; yea, whensoever he sate in the Senate house, hee alwayes had some Booke or other about him, to reade at all times when he pleased.

*Scipio Africanus*, the victorious triumphour ouer *Hanniball*, was extremely addicted to Learning, and euermore had the Poet *Ennius* with him. After all his Victories, he gaue himselfe againe afresh to Learning and reading. *Hanniball* his Competitor, although he was of *Africa*, had alwayes booke with him in his Tents and Pauillions: in the time of warre, hee would not giue ouer reading, but in one place or other (howsoever it were) hee would haue *Silanius* and *Saxilus* (two learned *Lacedemonians*) with him, by whom he was well instructed in the Greeke Language. We haue formerly read, that *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, had *Plato* to be his Schoolemaster, and kept company alio with many other learned men. Afterward, when hee was expelled out of his kingdom, one (in mocking manner) demanded of him, whereto now serueth the Philosophy which he had learned of *Plato*, to whom hee returned this answer, *It serueth mee to support my present necessitie with patience.* *Themistocles*, a most excellent Captaine, declared himselfe to be no

lesse diligent in learning, when hee was in Armes: his Matter was *Alexagoras*, the *Milesius*. *Epaminondas*, and the other Captaines of Greece, were all studious and worthy Orators. *Atithridates*, in the warres which he had against the *Romanes*, for the space of forty years together, notwithstanding all the furious assaults, desisted not from his studying, hauing euermore diuers Schoolemasters and Philotophers with him.

*Octavius Augustus*, limited to himselfe certaine houres in the day, onely for study; and when he was in warre, yet he kept his times of studying still: hauing therefore diuers worthy Masters with him, as *Apollodorus* of *Pergama*, the Philosopher *Alperarius*, *Asinius Pollio*, *Valerius Messalla*, *Virgil*, *Ouid*, and many other. And before this Emperour, there was a famous Captaine, named *Lucius Lucullus*, who during the wars, gaue himselfe to study; & when the wars ceased, hee applyed all his diligence, in cherishing and maintaining learned men. *Paulus Aemilius*, victorious ouer the king of *Persia*, ouer & beside his being a very learned man, endeauoured also that his children might bee the like; so that at his instant request, the *Athenians* gaue him *Metrodorus* to bee their Schoole-master. But wherfore do I take so much paines, in naming so many one after another? *Pompey*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, *Marcus Brutus*, *Titianus*, *Adrian*, and *Marke Antonie*, were all learned men, and compiled Booke, Orations, and Letters of great learning, and memorable example.

In briebe, if I erre not greatly in my iudgement, it may plainly appeare, that few Captaines are found of ancient times who were excellent in nothing so much as by their learning. There are two only, of whom wee finde nothing remainyng written, expressing whether they were learned, or no: the one being named *Caius Marius*, and the other *Marcus Marcellus*. And yet I reade, that *Marcellus* highlye loued and favoured men of knowledge: whereby it is to bee credited, that surely himselfe was learned, though nothing (to that effect) bee written of him. And it may the more manifestly appeare, by the prohibition he made (as we haue formerly alledged) at the surprisall of *Syracusa*, that *Archimedes* should not bee slayne. And

a Philosopher of notable learning, but more especially vertuous and wise.

The house of Octavius Augustus for learning.

b A Nephew of Rome's famous for learning, small growth, and exceeding great riches.

c A Philosopher addicted to Epicurus.

No Captaine in electuon but they were famous for Learning.

Caius Marius and Marcus Marcellus.

The Authors advertisement to the Captains of these dayes.

And although he miscaied, notwithstanding his strict command to the contrary: yet it was not without great greefe of the said *Marcellus*.

Let then the Captaines of these our dayes, say what they list, that learning is not so expedient for them (I meane such as thrust the stile of Captaines on themselves) coueting with their owne opinion, or rather oblinacy, to cloud and couer their dulnesse and ignorance. It is sufficient for vs, that wee see how highly our grane Predecessors esteemed Booke and Learning, equall with the courage and manhood of infinite Captaines, worthily affected and addicted to learning; as we finde it vnparially set downe, in that iudicious Booke of warre, written by *Kobertus Valturinus*.

### CHAP. XVII.

Of diuers secret naturall properties, being in the Viper: and how he may be fed on, and eaten, without any danger.



THE Viper is a kinde of Serpent, sufficiently knowne to many: and although it bee little, yet notwithstanding it is very venomous, for with a little pricking, it can kill a man. But as our Lord God made not any thing but to profitable vs: euen so this creature, with all his venome, serueth man for diuers medicines and maladies, especially for any paine in the throte. It is a thing very excellently good (by a secret property in nature) to beare the head of a Viper about a man: for liuing, it killeth, and dead, it healeth. *Tiriacle*, or *Treacle*, as we vico to terme it, is properly good against venom: but in the making thereof, and in the confection, there is necessarily required some part of this beast, to the end it may be the more perfect, and of the greater efficacy. And it was named *Tiriacle*, because that the worde *Thirion* in Greeke, signifieth a Viper or venomous Beast. Some (and not vnjustly) doe giue another etymologie, and reason for this name. But before we report the benefits ensuing by the Viper, me-thinks it were not amisse, to remember what is said by *Pliny*, *Isidorus*,

and *Aelianus*. They report, that when this Serpent conceiueh, the Male putteth his head in at the mouth of the Female, whereby she receiueh such immeasurable delectation; that with her ouer-sharp teeth, she byteth off the head of the Male, becoming thereby widowed, yet violent in assaulting. The matter conceiued by her, groweth to bee Egges, which forme themselves within her body, according as the spawne of fishes doth: and of those Egges do Vipers ensue, at such time as she is to deliuer her young ones, yelding euery day, one, till they amount to twenty. Now because they are so many in number, they which remaine behinde, hauing no power to attend their fit time, do teare the belly of their Damme, so that by her death, they enter into the world, and liue. If it be so, surely it is a matter very maruailous: for it should seeme thereby, that (euen naturally) the children do reuenge the death of their father.

With this opinion of *Pliny* do many other Authors consent; as *Plutarch* in his Treatise against Scoffers. Neuertheless, there are a great many other, who do contrary it, denying that the Viper dyeth in her teeming: with which opinion, I also rest resolu'd, because the other seemeth to me not naturall; neyther haue I seene the experience thereof, or know any person that hath seene it. In like manner, *Philostatus* is flayly against it, in the life of *Apollo Thyanens*, introducing *Apollo* himselfe, who reporteth, that hee had seene a Viper, that after she had fully yelded all her young ones; licked them very louingly, and liued healthfully. As much may be gathered from the words of *Aristotle*, who setteth them downethus. *The Viper onely (among all other Serpents) deliuereth her young ones, because she first formeth them in her body of Egges, as the faine of Fishes is. Afterward, when they are formed, they remaine three daies wrapped up in a tender thinn skin; which breaketh at the limited time, and so affordeth the young ones liberty (in regard whereof, *Apuleius* in his Apologie, calleth them *Ouperes*, and not Vipers, as much to say, as engendered of Egges) and very often it happeneth, that that wrapper breaking (of it selfe) in the Dammes belly, they issue forth euery day one, so the number of twenty and more: these are the very words of *Aristotle*. In another*

Plin. in l. 9. c. 6. A. 16. in lib. 11. de Etrudage. Ael. ino in lib. de animal.

The conception of the Female Viper and deliuey of her young.

Plut. in Tra. de Scis. Afor.

Philostatus in vit. Apol. Thyd.

Arist. in lib. 2. de animal. c. 9.

His words concerning the Viper, deliuey of her young ones.

Apuleius in apolog.

ther place, I meane in his third Booke of Beasts, speaking of the reeming of Serpents, he saith. *Before the Viper yeeldeth her young ones, she formeth them within her body of Egges.* And I am perswaded, that hence ensueth those speeches, of the young ones tearing the belly of their Damme. For it seemeth to them that stand in defence thereof, that when *Aristotle* speaketh of this first fawning or reeming: hee purposed to say, that they did then breake or teare the belly of their damme.

But leauing these circumstances, I say that the viper, how dangerous soeuer it be, yeeldeth great helpe and succour to man. *Diocorides* saith, that the flesh of a viper, being boyled or sodden, may safely be eaten: being very medicinable for the nerues, and for the sight. But in preparation to the eating thereof, the head and taile must be taken away: then being fleaed and well dressed, it is to be tempered with strong Annise-seedes. He saith also, that there is made of this flesh, a certaine kinde of Salt, or salt-powder, excellently auailing to procure a good appetite, being prepared in this manner. You must take a new earthen pot, and putte the viper thereinto, vied as formerly hath bene declared; then put Salt and stamped figges to it, with a competent quantity of hony, and the pot being well couered, let it boyle and bake a long while in an Ouen. Which being done, beate and reduce it into a powder: and whoeuer afterward will make vse thereof with his other meate, shall finde it very pleasant and profitable for the stomacke.

*Paulus Aeginetus* saith also, that the flesh of a viper is singularly good against leprousie and meazeldnesse; making therefore great esteeme of the Salt-powder fore-mentioned, and affirming with *Plinius*, that a certaine nation in India, eateth the flesh of the viper. *Diocorides* auoucheth, that whoeuer will eate the flesh of the viper, shall liue long time, and very healthfully. Against the byting of this Serpent, there are store of remedies, whereof *Theophrastus* maintaineth one, saying, *Whoeuer is bitten thereby, melodious sounds and songs doe greatly benefite him*, because Musique is very medicinable, as we haue already, and shall prooue hereafter. *Galen* saith, that this beast ca-

retch not any thing all the time of winter: but hideth her selfe (as dead) in the earth; and whoeuer then findeth, toucheth, and handleth her, she cannot bite him: but when summer cometh, she then resumeth all her forces. The like affirmeth *Plinie*, of Lizards, Snakes, and all other kinde of creeping creatures.

*Aristotle* saith, that they containe themselves three or foure moneths, without feeding on any thing. *Aelianus* auoucheth, that those vipers which breed in the Provinces of *Arabia*, although they doe bite, yet their biting is not venomous, because they doe feede on the Baulme tree, and sleepe vnder the shadow thereof. *Aristotle* further saith, that they are very desirous to drinke wine; and many people doe take them, by setting vessells of wine in the places where they resort: for they will become drunk by drinking, and after they take them sleeping. There are many things more to be spoken, concerning the qualities and properties of the viper, which I doe purposely omit for breuities sake.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Of the admirable property of a little creature, the biting whereof is healed by the sound of Musique: likewise of many other infirmities, which are onely holpen by the same Medicine.*



at which we haue saydin our precedent chapter, vnder the authority of *Theophrastus*, concerning the biting of the viper, and that it may be cured by *Musique*; will make our present report to be the better credited, because it tendeth to the same purpose. *Alexander of Alexandria*, in his booke of Veniall dayes, and *Petrus Gellius*, a moderne Authour, doe affirme and say, that in *Apulia*, a Countrey of *Italie*, there is a kinde of Spider, which the Inhabitants doe tearme *Tarantula*. *P. C. Rodianus* calleth it *Phalangium*, which at the beginning of summer is so venomous, that whoeuer is bitten or stung thereby, except he be very suddenly succoured, hee loseth

all

all sense and vnderstanding, and dyeth instantly. But if any one (being so bitten) chance to escape death: yet he remaineth insensible, and wholly voyd of any capacity; for which dangerous inconuenience, experience found out a remedy, and that is *Musique*.

The iudgement of Authours hereon, speaking as eye-witnesses, and hauing scene the prooue thereof, is thus. So soone (say they) as any one is bitten or enuened, the best helpe is, to bring instantly before him, such as vse to play on Vialles, Flutes, and other Instruments, to play diuers Lessons, & sing many Songs: which Musique being heard by the party wounded, he will presently begin to daunce, deliuering variety of gestures and motions with his body, euē as if all his life time he had well inured himselfe to dancing, in which fury and power of dancing, he continueth, vntill such time as the venome be dissipated. *Alexander Alexandrinus* proceedeth farther, affirming, that he beheld one wounded by this Spider, to dance & leape about incessantly, and the Musicians (finding themselves wearied) gaue ouer playing: whereupon, the poore offended daunce, hauing vtterly lost all his forces, fell downe on the ground, as if he had bene dead. The Musicians no sooner began to play againe, but hee returned to himselfe, and mounting vp vpon his feet, danced againe as lustily as formerly hee had done, and so continued dancing still, till he found the harme asswaged, and himselfe entirely recovered. Heereunto he addeth, that when it hath happened, that a man hath not bene thorowly cured by Musique in this manner; within some short while after, hearing the found of Instruments, hee hath recovered footing againe, and bene enforced to hold on dancing, and neuer to cease, till his perfect & absolute healing, which (questionlesse) is admirable in nature.

*Aclepiades* writeth, that the found of Instruments, and voyces sweetly singing to them, hath wrought extraordinary cures on Lunaticks and mad men. We reade also, that *Esmeneas* the *Thebane*, healed many diseases and infirmities, only by his sweete and melodious playing on Flutes. *Theophrastus* and *Aulus Gellius* say; that Musique appeaseth the paine of the Sciatica, and of the Gout. We like-

wife finde it recorded in the sacred Scripture, that *Dauid* (by Musique) cald *Saul* of the passion, which the euil spirit wrought in him: so great is this property, proceeding from the entire amity, which the nature of man beareth to Musique. And if good consideration be made hereof, wee shall not account it strange, that infinite infirmities have bene cured by the means of Musique. For it hath evidently bene scene, that there are diuers beasts and other creatures, that kill by laughing, others by weeping, and others in sleeping, according as *Plutarch* writeth of *Cleopatra*, and as diuers other good Historians haue faithfully affirmed.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Of a strange medicine, whereby Faustine of Rome, wife vnto the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, was cured of an infirmity of dishonest loue: and of many other remedies against that powerful passion.*



Concerning that affection, or imprisonment of the will, as we may iustly terme it, which ordinarily is stiled by the name of Loue; whether it be a powerfull passion, working wonderfull effects in the soule or no: there need no further question to be made, but examination of such mens iudgements, as (by good experience) haue knowne it, and whose examples remaine notorious to vs. More especially, of very worthy and excellent persons, who haue suffered their wils to be so strangely transported thereby, that extremity of death hath ensued thereon. *Julius Capitolinus*, among diuers other examples, reporteth what happened to *Faustine*, Daughter to *Antonius*, and Wife to the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, who became so exceedingly enamored on a Fencer or Sword-player; that by ouer-abounding in desire to enioy his company, shee fell into such a consumption, as very greatly endangered her life.

This beeing vnderstood by *Marcus Aurelius*, immediately hee assembled a great number of Astrologers and Physicians, to finde some aduice and remedy for

San. 1.6. 23.

Many infirmities cured by the means of Musique.

Loue is the thraldome of the will.

Iul. in Capit. Aurelian. 4. d. Anton. cap. 3.

The Emperre excessive in affection to a Fencer.

Council given by Astrucius and Physicians for a strange remedy.

The conception of the illud Emperor Antoninus Commodus.

Enthusiasm in the Council.

\* A worthy Writer of Niterum. Suidas in lib. 3 de dictis. cap. 8. Quod in remedia.

Remedies advised against fond and foolish Loue.

Plinius in lib. 10. cap. 14.

Cardanus in lib. 1. de nat. lib.

for this extraordinary folly. In the end, it was concluded, that the Fencer should be put to death, and some of his blood be secretly given to *Faustine* to drinke, and after the had thus ignorantly drunke thereof, the Emperor her husband should company with her in bed. This remedy wrought very wonderfully, for it quite tooke from her that fantastick affection, so that (never after) shee did so much as once remember him. And the History saith, that of this her companying with the Emperor, *Antoninus Commodus* was begotten, who became so cruell & bloody, that he resembled rather the Fencer, of whose blood his Mother had drunke before his conception; then any iote of *Marcus Aurelius*, to whom he was Sonne indeed; in regard wherof, *Commodus* was a daily companion with the *Gladiatores* or Fencers, as *Entropius* witnesseth, in the life of the said *Commodus*.

Physicians among the *Greekes* and *Arares*, do reckon this disease of Loue with the most greivous infirmities of the body, and therefore haue disputed many remedies. \* *Cadmus the Milesius* (according as *Suidas* reporteth, in his Booke of Collections) wrote a Booke discoursing on particular remedy, whereby vtterly to expell this dangerous sickness of loue; as *Quid* also hath faide sufficiently, in his remedies against loue. Wherefore among all other remedies, which Physicians haue aduised against this infirmity, this is one; that the patient endangered, should vndertake some great affaires, importing highly his owne honour and profit, onely to this end, that his spirit being busie about diuersity of things, hee may the better retire his imagination, from the party by whom he is offended. They do moreover with him, to shun and forsake all embracings, or ouer-kinde conversation with other women. *Pliny* saith, that against this enflaming heate, it is very good to obserue where a Mule hath tumbled or wallowed, and to gather the dust of that ground, which must be cast vpon the amorous party, and powder his garments therewith, or elie with the sweat of a well heated Mule, as *Cardanus* also auoucheth, in his Booke of Subtilties.

Physicians likewise haue taught the meanes, whereby may be obserued, which

person is beloued of the amorous party. And that is the selfe-same rule, whereby \* *Erasistratus* Physitian to king *Selouchus*, vnderstoode the loue that *Antiochus* did beare to Queene *Stratonica*, his step-mother. For hee being sicke, euen to the vtmost extremity, and affecting much rather to dye, then any way to discouer the cause of this disease, and that it proceeded from the loue he bare vnto his Fathers wife: Vpon a sudden shee entred into the Chamber, euen as the Physitian was the feeling the pulse of his patient, which mooued so strongly vpon the Queenes entrance, that *Erasistratus* evidently gathered thereby, that not onely he was enamored of her, but also, that it was the maine cause of his desperate disease. Heereupon, he practised how to acquaint the King therewith: which at length (by good and acceptable means) he did, that would require too long time heere to relate, because the History is sufficiently knowne.

The case being likewise experimented by the Father himselfe, and he perceiving the danger wherein his Son was; thought good (although it went quite against his Sonnes intention, who desired death, rather then to be recovered by his Fathers losse) to deprive himselfe of his Queene, and giue her vnto his sickly Sonne. And to speake vprightly, the age, beauty of the Lady, and equality for marriage, agreed much more conformably with the youthfull Sonne, then the ouer-aged Father. And this was the cause, that *Antiochus* liued healthfully and pleasantly (for many yeares after) with his best beloued *Stratonica*; as the History more at large declareth, being recorded by *Plutarch*, in the life of *Demetrius*. And this is the reason, why Physicians do aduise to raste the pulse of any amorous person, and to recount diuers names to him or her, among which, may be the name of the party affected: for so soone as that is once vnderstood, the pulse will beate apace & strongly, by which meanes, the party beloued is knowne. By diuers other signes, it may be perceiued, when any one is in loue, and to whom the affection tendeth: which signes I cease to speake of, because they are knowne to too many.

The extreme loue of Antiochus to Stratonica his step-mother.

The kingdome made trial of the Physicians judgement.

Plinius in lib. 10. cap. 14.

Why Physicians haue thought meet to raste the Pulse.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XX.

Of the strange and furious loue of a young Athenian: and of the ridiculous loue of King Xerxes: and how Beasts haue many times affected both men and women.



OR a man to loue a woman, and a woman a man, it is a matter conformable to nature, and worthy to be beleued and embraced: but whe blind-fold folly attaineth to such a head, as those things wherof I am instantly to speake; it may well appeare to be impossible, and no way deterring any credite. Very learned and good Historiographers, haue written and recorded for truth, that in the City of *Athens* there liued a young man, descended of an honest parentage, of competent wealth, and sufficiently knowne, who hauing oftentimes earnestly obserued a Marble Statue, most curiously and ingeniously wrought, and erected in a public place of *Athens*; became so extremely enamored thereof, as he had no power to absent himselfe from the place where it was fixed, but would hugge and embrace it very affectionately, & alwayes when he was by it, hee found himselfe very ill and sickly disposed. At length, this passion grew to such extremity, as hee ran to the Senate house, and there before the reuerend Senators, he made very liberrall offers of money, humbly entreating the so much to fauour him, that hee might haue the Statue in his owne possession. This seemed no way pleasing to the Senators, neyther could their authority stretch so farre, as eyther to giue or sell a publike Statue. VVhen he perceiued his request to be denied, hee became much afflicted with greefe and anguish of minde, & repaying to the Statue, enriched the head thereof with a Crowne of gold, and the body with garments and jewels of vnuallable price. This being done, hee would stand amorously beholding it, and many times fall on his knees before it, offering all worship and adoration thereto: and so long he continued in this vnreprouable folly, till (being strictly commanded the

contrary by the Senate) he slew himselfe before it with rage and anger.

Doubtlesse, this was a case very admirable, and yet I must acquiue yee with another, much more strange & ridiculous, yet credibly auouched by so many good Authors, concerning the loue of King *Xerxes*; as it may well be said, that hee exceeded all men of the world in folly. He grew enamored of a Platane, or Plane-tree, a Tree sufficiently knowne, except in some few parts; and he would kisse & embrace it with like affection, as if it had bin a beautifull woman.

If these accidents haue happened among men endued with reason; what shall we say then of brute Beasts, that haue affected both men and women, and the same confirmed by great and famous Historians? As of *Claude* so extremely affected by a Ramme, that it would neuer be from her: and Dolphines also haue bene very admirably affectionate towards men. *Alanus* reciteth in his Booke of Beasts, a matter well deserving to be related. He saith, a Dolphine clyping young children playing on the Sea-shore; one among all the rest, which seemed to him the most lovely and beautifull, hee became so enamored of, that at euery time when the Dolphine saw him, hee would draw nere to the Bank, and shew himselfe vnto the childe, who (at the first) was much affrighted, and fled away from him. But afterward, by the perseuerance which the Dolphine vsed from day to day, expressing manifest signes of entire loue to the childe; he grew the lesse timorous, and by the pastimes which the Dolphine continually made before him, hee waxed bold and hardy, and would venter into the water to him, not fearing to mount vpon his back, making a signe, and commanding (as it were) the Dolphine, to swim a great way into the Sea with him, and then (vpon a contrary signe or command, and when he was weary) to returne backe againe with him to land. In this pleasure and pastime, diuers dayes were spent, for the Dolphine euermore would be ready at the Bancke, when as the childe came to make vse of this delight.

But one time, the most vnhappy of all other, the childe would needs put off his clothes (as formerly hee had not done), because he purpoled to swimme farre into

The ridiculous loue of King Xerxes to a Tree.

Of brute Beasts enamored of men and women.

*Alanus* in lib. 1. de animal. cap. 10.

The strange affection of a Dolphin to a childe.

he childe seemed to haue power & command ouer the Dolphin.

There is still done any thing, but it hath some danger attending on it.

Natural loue is euer allowable.

The history of the young Athenian.

A strange kinde of doing loue, yet agreeing to such misdoes, that came to this Senate.

Folly exceeding all compasse to beleeue.

A desperate conclusion of a brain sicke loue.

The child  
dies most  
unhappily.

The death of  
the Dolphin.

Plinius lib. 12.  
cap. 14.

Another Hi-  
story of a  
Dolphine  
lure to a  
childe.

Pliny lib. 12.  
cap. 14.

to the Sea, and being not carefull in sea-  
ting himselfe on the Dolphines backe, or  
how to sit for his safest holding on; it chā-  
ced, that one of the sharp-pointed finnes,  
which riseth out of Dolphines wings (for  
so are they termed by *Pliny*, and others)  
ran so far into the childes belly, & wound-  
ed him in such sort, that instantly he fell  
downe dead in the water. Which when  
the Dolphin perceived, and the blood of  
the dead childe trickling downe his sides;  
heooke vp his deare lou'd childe so well  
as he could, and returning backe to land  
suddenly, even as if hee intended to re-  
uenge this offence vpon himselfe; hee  
swam furiously on land out of the water,  
and presently dyed by the childe.

This Historie is also recorded by *Pli-  
ny*, with many other examples of Dol-  
phines, that haue declared great loue and  
kindnesse to men. Particularly hee re-  
porteth one, in the time of the Emperour  
*Octavianus*, that a Dolphine (in the very like  
manner) tooke delight in an infant, on  
the Sea-coast, neere to *Puteoli*, and when-  
soever this childe, being named *Simon*  
(for it is said, that Dolphines will sudden-  
ly runne to the very found of that name)  
came to the shoare; the childe would  
mount vpon his backe, and be carried in-  
to the Sea, passing and returning alwaies  
safely to land. He saith moreover, that  
the childe dying by sickness, & the Dol-  
phine often comming to the visuall mee-  
ting place, & not finding the childe there,  
dyed with griefe and sorrow. The younger  
*Pliny*, Nephew to great *Pliny*, declareth  
many meruailes of a Dolphine, in the 9.  
Booke of his Epistles: especially in that  
Epistle which beginneth, *Indicis in materi-  
am certam*.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Of a man, that by receiving a wound at his  
enemies hand, was delivered from a dead-  
ly danger, wherein he had long time liued:  
With sundry other examples to the same  
purpose.*

Wee haue formerly related, that  
Musique hath bene the meanes

of curing some diseases, and no way to be  
reputed incredible: considering, that wee  
finde by other stranger meanes, very great  
infirmities haue likewise bene holpen.  
*Plutarch*, in a notable Treatise by him  
composed, declaring how men may de-  
reine profit or benefite from their ene-  
mies, reporteth; that a man had a certaine  
enemy, named *Prometheus*, who hated  
him extremely, and sought all the meanes  
he could deuise to kill him. It fortuned,  
that meeting with him on a day, hee gaue  
him diuers hurts, and among the rest, hee  
chanced to wound an olde vicer, that had  
long lyen in the flesh, couered ouer with  
skinne, a matter of great danger to his  
life, and (for which) all helpe was utterly  
denied him. Neuertheless, this wound  
proued the onely meanes of his helpe,  
and safe deliuerance from the former dan-  
ger: for in thinking to kill him, and so to  
quench his malice, hee gaue him life and  
soundnesse of health. *Valerius* reciteth  
the very same history (among other note-  
worthy matters) in his Booke of miracles:  
but he affirmeth the mans name that was  
healed by this wound, to bee *Iason Phe-  
reus*.

*Pliny* writeth of another man, named  
*Phalerus*, who had an incurable disease,  
in regard of a fluxe of blood, continually  
flowing out at his mouth, caused by bre-  
aking a veine within his body. And finding  
himselfe in desperate conclusion of any cu-  
ring; he entred suddenly into an Army,  
without any Armes for his defence, that  
being there slaine among the enemies, his  
hope and helpe might both finishe toge-  
ther. It came to passe, that receiving a  
dangerous wound vpon the breast, there  
issued forth such an abundance of blood  
from that hurt; that the fluxe (hauing for-  
merly his vent at the mouth only) ceased,  
and Chyrurgions afterward, with the ad-  
uice of skillfull Physitions, consolidating  
the broken veine, hee remained soundly  
healed of all harmes.

I finde it also recorded of *Quintus Fa-  
bius*, that hee hauing had a Feauer quartane  
for many yeares together; giuing bataille  
one day to the \* *Allobroges*, now named  
*Sauoyans*, the extreme heate in desire  
which he had then to fight; quite expel-  
led the Feauer, and it neuer toucht him  
afterward.

I my selfe can testifie, that I both saw,  
and

Plutarch  
lib. 12.  
cap. 14.

An enemy  
may become  
a mans  
good as well  
as his will.

Plutarch  
lib. 12.  
cap. 14.

Plutarch  
lib. 12.  
cap. 14.

Where hope  
is least ex-  
pected, there  
is often hap-  
peneth.

Marshall  
lib. 12.  
cap. 14.

\* People of  
Savoy and  
Dauphiny.

Amater re-  
flected on the  
Authors know-  
ledge.

A King of My-  
sia, Hercules  
son by Auge.

and well knew the man, who had receiued  
a wound in his thigh, whereof he became  
stake lame, and voyde of all hope of any  
remedy, happening afterward into an vn-  
expected quarrell, he receiued an other  
wound vpon the same thigh, and lust in  
the place where the former chaunced.  
The Chirurgions in dressing this latter  
harne, did very well perceiue that the  
nerues which had bene cut before; be-  
ganne to stretch and restore themselves  
in such sort, that being cured of this se-  
cond hurt, his thigh was soundly recou-  
red, and hee went as vpright as euer hee  
did, and without the least limping. So  
did it happen to *Telephus*, one of the  
sonnes to *Hercules*, and King of *Mysia*,  
who being wounded in his owne Coun-  
tre by *Achilles*, could not any way be  
cured, till eight yeres after, he was wound-  
ed agayne by the same *Achilles*, and in  
the selfe same part of his body, before  
*Troy*, then besieged, and the rest of the  
same Speare that formerly had hurt him,  
proued to be his onely help.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Who was the first that planted the Vine:  
And vpon what time to put water into  
wine. To vvhom, and in vvhich maner  
the Romans did prohibite Wine: With  
many other notable things tending to the  
same purpose.*

Wine the pro-  
fitablest of all  
other liquors.

F all the fruites which the  
earth yeeldeth (I mean those  
whereof liquor is made) there  
is none (in my iudgement)  
more profitable then good  
wine; provided, that it be temperately  
taken. For this cause was it that \* *Anachar-  
sis* sayd, *The Vine produceth three Grapes:*  
*The first of Pleasure: The second of Drun-  
kenesse: And the third of Teares and Sad-  
nesse.* So that hee which passeth the first  
Cuppe, that is to say, a little, and mo-  
derately receiued; proceedeth on to shame  
and danger.

Prophane Authours, that neuer had  
any vnderstanding of the sacred Scrip-  
tures, doe name vs diuerse inuenters of

wine. *Diadorus Siculus*, in his fourth booke  
attributeth the inuention of wine, and  
first planting of the Vine, to *Promysus* the  
sonne of *Iupiter*, named *Nechus*, and *Li-  
ber pater*, so styled, for the liberty of wine.  
For this inuention a Temple was erected  
to him, vnderneath the Capitoll at *Rome*:  
where they celebrated his Feastes, which  
were called *Dionysians*, or *Bacchanalsians*,  
very dishonest, and full of great lubri-  
city. That the inuention came from these  
*Dionysians*, *Pirrol* giueth assurance, at the  
entrance into his second booke of *Gery-  
gicks*. Howbeit, *Marcianus Capellus* saith;  
that *Dionysius* only instructed the *Greeks*,  
in the manner of making wine. Others  
say, that *Icarus* father to *Erigone*, first  
taught the indultry of making wine to the  
*Athenians*: and becoming afterwards  
drunke thereby, the people slew him. In  
*Malie*, they say, that *Saturne* did first plant  
the Vine there, and brought the yong  
suckers and plants from the Isle of *Candia*  
thither. And *Plutarch* writeth, that *Ar-  
rus Hetruscus* brought Vines first in-  
to *France*. But the truth of historie, is  
that the first inuenter of wine, was *Noah*,  
and the first that made himselfe drunke  
therewith: whereof are Authours (be-  
sides that which is recorded in the ninth  
chapter of *Genesis*) *Lactantius*, *Firminus*,  
and *Iosephus*. *Noah*, at his comming forth  
of the Arke, planted the Vine with his  
owne proper hand, and drunke the iuyce  
of the raisin, whereby he became drunke:  
and discouering his nakednesse in sleep-  
ing, it happened to him by his sonnes, ac-  
cording as we reade in the same chapter  
of *Genesis*.

Afterwards, men attynying to know  
the fauour of wine, did drinke it, at the  
first, wholly pure of it selfe, and without  
the commixtion of any water: for, as *Pli-  
ny* toucheth, one named *Staphis* was the  
first that did put water into wine, to tem-  
perate and qualifie it. By the meanes of  
which aduice, great good and healthful-  
nesse ensued to the world: because, wine  
being so made moderate, procured verie  
good and excellent effects. In like man-  
ner *Plato*, alledged by *Macrobius*, in his  
second booke, sayth: *Wine moderately ta-  
ken, strengtheneth the vnderstanding of a  
man, augmenteth his force and vigour, ma-  
keth the heart chearefull and deliberate, and  
taketh away irkesome thoughts, and all offen-*

*Diadorus Sic-  
lus lib. 4. c. 1.  
Of the first in-  
uenter of wine.*

*Pirrol* lib. 1.  
c. 1. c. 1.  
Translating by  
the Gods me-  
thode in  
house, called  
Vine.

*Plutarch* lib. 1.  
c. 1. c. 1.

*Genesis* 21. 22.  
*Lactantius*, *Firmin-  
us* in lib. 1.  
c. 1. c. 1.  
*Iosephus* in 1.  
lib. 1. c. 1.

Wine drunke  
at the first  
pure of it selfe.  
lib. 1. c. 1.  
Who first min-  
gled water  
with wine.

*Macrobius* in  
lib. 1. c. 1.



*fine perturbations. Plinie sayth, The use of Wine, receiuing it temperately, multiplieth our forces encreaseth blood and colour in the face: The nerues are fortified by wine, sight strengthened, the stomacke made vigorous, and appetite awakned: It prouoketh urine, impeacheth vomiting, expelleth melancholie, maketh the heart sprightly, and serueth for many other good things. Asclepiades the Physition, wrote a booke by it selfe, wholly concerning the vertues of wine. And saint Paul writing to Timothey counselleth him to drinke a little wine tempered, to strengthen his stomacke.*

*Physitions doe make vse of wine in many medicines, because wine restoreth all the humours, re-enforceth blood where it fayleth, gladdeth a melancholic disposition, dissipeth and dryeth vp flegme, humecteth and helpeth to purge chollier. Plato, introducing Socrates, sayth thus in commending wine, Like as moderate rains doe encrease our heauens, and tempests and inundations of waters doe rent them up and destroy them: Even so, wine temperately taken, cheareth the spirites, and fortifieth the nerues of the body, whereas contrariwise, ouer much, and imtemperately receiued, destroyeth all. Not so much as the very odour and smell of wine, but it is highly commended (beyond all other odours) by our naturall Philosophers: because it is very comfortatiue, giueth great vigour to the spirites, and is exceeding liuely and piercing. But yet wee must consider withall, that the chiefe vertue of wine is euermore vnderstood, when it is qualified and made temperate.*

*The ancient Romans did wholly take away the vse of wine from women and children: as Valerius sayth, speaking of the customes and lawes of the Romans. So that, as Plinie affirmeth, at such time as Romulus reigned in Rome, a husband slew his wife, because shee had drunke wine; and in regard that the murder followed vpon this occasion, Romulus pardoned it. The vice of drinking wine, was held to be so odious in women, that Fabius Piccor reporteth, because a Romaine woman had deceiued the Clarke of a cellar, onely to drinke wine which was kept therein, her parents caused her to be starued to death. And heereupon grew the custome of fathers and mothers kissing their children on the mouthes; onely to*

*perceiue thereby, whether they had drunke wine or no. We finde it in good record, that N. Domitius being Iudge of Rome, hee depriued a woman of her Dowry, because shee had drunke more wine, then was allowed her for her health. Salomon in his Proverbs sayth, It is not for Kings to drinke wine, or Princes strong drinke, lest he drinke and forget the Decree, and change the iudgement of all the children of affliction. And yet we reade, that the Kings of Egypt were permitted to drinke wine, so it were moderately, and in a certayne measure.*

*Vpon a time, Romulus being then King of Rome, and invited to a bountifull banquet; he would drinke but very little wine, saying, To morrow I am to determine a matter of great importance. Aiscen sayth, In giuing children wine to drinke, it is an aduision of fire to fire. Aristotile exprefly forbade the giuing of wine to children, and likewise to the Nurseries that gaue them sucke. Plato by the laws which he made in his Booke, for the common-wealth, although he seemes in the first booke, to admit a tolleration of wines, yet in the second he sayth, A man ought to drinke a little, and welk qualified. This allowance stretcheth not to any one, till he had attained to 18. yeares of age, and so to continue till hee were forty: but it must be alwayes doone in the presence of olde men, to the end that he might be reprooued, when in the least manner hee exceeded. From forty yeares vpward, hee permitted that a little more then hee had formerly demanded, should be giuen him; to make the colde and melancholy disposition (of that age) the more temperate; and yet it must be doone in a certayne measure too. It was his charge also, that seruants should drinke no wine, neither Iudges, Magistrates, or any that held any publique iurisdiction: and as for young men that studied, he aduised them, not to drinke any. Aiscen alloweth Platoes law, in this poynt, as a rule for Physicke: And thereto likewise Galen consenteth. Alexander Aphrodisiens sayth in his Problemes, Hee which drinketh nothing but water onely, hath his sight and other senses more liuely, then he that drinketh wine.*

*Now, as concerning in what fashion and maner, wine should be tempered and qualified; there are many rules, and diuers*

Concerning the mingling of water with wine. Hesiodus in l. 3. diuina in l. 7.

The best is in track 9. cap. 5.

Wine giuen for three feuerall purposes.

Apuleius Pan. 4.

Sat. lib. 6. cap. 3.

Temperance recommended in Christian Religion.

Josephus in lib. 2. de antiquis.

Microbi in epi. 9.

*fities of opinions. Hesiodus the Greek Poet faith, That in one quart of wine there should be three quarts of water mingled. Athenius sayth, that the ancient Greekes vsed to put five partes of water into two partes of wine, and most times three partes of water, into one of wine, which is the rule of Hesiodus. Heere also is to be obserued, that the Greekes did not put water into their wine, but wine into water, and Theophrastus assureth vs, that by this way, both the one and the other are much the better mingled. Morauer, ancient men did not onely moderate wine in this manner, but albeit it was thus tempered, they would drinke very little thereof. Eubulus the Greeke Poet doth affirme, introducing Bacchus, to speake thus vnto the Sages: I will neuer make more then three giftes of wine: The first, for health: The second, for taste: And the third, for slepe; therest fauoureth of disorder and drunkenness. Apuleius Panastus, who wrote of meates, deliuereth the like Iudgement, attributing this manner to three feuerall daughters. The first, to the Graces: The second, to Venus: And the third, to shame and danger. Iulius Caesar was very temperate in drinking wine: as Suetonius witnesseth by the testimony of Cato, who was vnto enemy to Caesar. Demosthenes, the excellent Oratour, was the like. And Apollonius Thyaneus of whom so many famous things are written, did neuer drinke any Wine, or feede vpon flesh.*

*In our Christian Religion, temperance (in drinking) is much commended. Saint Iames the lesser, did neuer drinke wine, or strong drinke, nor did euer cate any flesh; imitating Saint Iohn the Baptist. Wee finde the like affirmed of Saint Stephen, King of Portuzall. Iosephus in his Antiquities commending the holiness of the Essens, (who helde one of the three Sects amongst the Iewes, whereof the other two were Pharises and Saducees) sayth: That the Essens did neuer drinke wine. In an Epistle Saint Hierome reprooued Priests, that addicted themselves to drinke wine, telling them, That Saint Paul the Apostle did forbid it, and that in the ancient Law, such as serued in the Temple, did not drinke wine, or any other drinke that might procure drunkenness.*

*Such as are reamed good drinkers, vse to say, that good wine ought to haue foure properties, to answere foure fences or vnderstandings of the body: To the taste, by fauour: To the smell, by a perfect odour: To the sight, by a neat and cleare colour: And to the care, by a good report of the Countrey where it was made. Of this good wine men vse to make vineger, which hath many good properties and inconueniences likewise: wherein I will be silent, because they are matters too vulgar and common.*

## CHAP. XXII.

*Of many dammages and daungers, which ensue by the immoderate drinking of wine. And how it hath bene held as a healthfull thing (by some Physitions) to be drunke sometimes.*



*Although the liquor called Wine, be apt and whole some for diuers infirmities: yet notwithstanding, so many harmes and annoyances doe arise, from the excessive immoderate taking thereof, that the euills doe superabound all the goods ensuing thereby. So that it appeareth, that it were better not to know it, but rather to content our selues with water, which God hath giuen vs for our drinke; because hee thought nothing meetier for vs, and all other creatures doe well content themselues therewith. Heereto also may be added, that wine hath bene the onely occasion, by which many haue become distracted in their senses; some haue lost their liues, and others not meanely endangered the saluation of their soules.*

*Now, although the harmes ensuing to men (by Wine) are too apparently knowne: yet notwithstanding, they are so far from shunning & auoyding them, that they daily seeke after new occasions, and strange deuised appetites for drinking. And in our best French language, these new appetites are titled by some;*

Four feuerall properties necessarily required to be in good wine.

All creatures but man onely doe well content themselves with the drinking of water.

New deuises haue beene deuised to procure superfluous drinking.

A spur or prouocation to a cup of wine; by others, A thooing horne, to draw on a quart or two of good wine, for that a llice of a Ganbone of Bacon, is held (in this case) for a precious relique, and few hours in the day or night doth passe ouer them, but the cup is kist with found deuotion in drinking; sometimes taking five or sixe cups more then are necessary. *Pliny* saith, eth, there are some men, who will drinke before they be thirstie, and wine onely (among all other drincks) hath this property, to cause it selfe to be drunke, before a man haue any need of it. He saith moreover, that some do drinke in such sort as they willy deferue, for it giues them (immediately) the due punishment to such sinners: for the vapour mounting vp into the braine, bereaueth them of all vnderstanding, so that they remaine as senselesse. And hauing plaid it off lustily (as they vse to teame it) for some quantity of time: it plaith with them as the Cat doth with the Mouse, either kills them outright, or (at least) engendereth so many harmes and infirmities, as are much worse then death it selfe: as Gouts, Palsies in the head, hands and feete, imbrodering the eyes with a scarlet coulour, burning vp the Litter, and ficing the face, beside diuers other such vndecent and scarce-gracefull qualities, no way fit to be vsed among men indeed.

*Cato* said, *Drunkennesse* is a voluntary folly. And *Pliny* saith, it confoundeth the memory, and procureth dreadfull dreames. *Seneca*, writing to *Lucullus*, saith *Wine maketh the legges and armes impotent, and causeth men to become luxurious*. *Dionysius Areopagita*, alleading *Plato* to haue spoken the words, saith: *Drunkennesse* is a lively and merry Mistriall, and yet it makes our legges to faile vnder vs, giuing (as wee vse to say in France) *a strip to our heeles, and lying vs along on the ground*. *Saint Paul* writing vnto the *Ephesians*, aduised them to shunne wine, because therein is luxury. And *Salomon* in his Proverbs, among the imperfections of wine, saith; *It is a deceiver, and whoeuer drinketh excessiue thereof, cannot conceale a secret faultfully*. Heereupon then arose the ancient Proverbe; *That wine walketh without any shoes*; that is to say, It treadeth secretly, softly, and without any noyse, because no one should perceiue the power thereof,

nor how it discovereth our secret and vicious qualities. To this purpose the Poet *Aeschylus* saide: *A Glaske or Mirrour maketh knowne the gestures of the body, and wine serueth as a Glaske to the soule & heart of a man*. *Plato* likewise said: *Wine principally laith open the manner and conditions of euery man*. We haue example thereof in *Noah* and *Lot*, for *Noah* being drunk with wine, discovered his parts of shame, whereby he became mocked and scorned. And against *Lot*, *Sodom* could haue no power; but wine ouercame him, & made him to lye with his owne Daughters: these are the benefits ensuing by wine.

Among the Lawes which *Solon* (one of the seven graue Sages of Greece) gaue to the *Athenians*, it was especially ordained, that the Prince, when hee became drunke, should be slaine. *Pittacus*, another of those wise men, ordained, that a drunken man committing any delict or great offence, should bee doubly punished: once for the fault it selfe, and next for drunkennesse, which caused him to do it.

*Aristotle* in his Problems, yeeldeth a reason, why such men as are ouer-much addicted to wine, are greatly dislikeable in the begetting of children: and likewise, why some drunkards are very pleasant in their drinke; and others terrible, some sad and weeping, others iocund and dancing.

Neuerthelessse, some Physitions (among who are *Auicene* and *Rasis*) haue helde opinion that it is a wholesome thing to be drunke sometimes: but the reasons which they giue in this case, doth not content me any way, neither doe I allow of their opinion. And yet I must needs confesse, that very great personages haue bene subiected to wine: whereas on the contrary, if they had stood cleare and free from it, their glory and renowne had bin farre greater.

*Alexander* the Great, was as greatly taxed with this vice, so that (as diuers good Historians doe affirme) being ouercome with this fury, he slew one of his most intimate friends; and comming (afterward) to acknowledgement of his fault, he would haue slaine himselfe. Beside it is further alledged, that the cheefest cause of his murders and slaughters, was onely this poyson to all goodnesse.

Marke

The words of the Poet Aeschylus.

Plato in lib. 2. de Rep.

Gen. 9. 21.

Gen. 19. 33. 34.

Solon's law to the Athenians.

The law of Pittacus against drunkenness.

Arist. Prob.

Aeschylus the Poet.

The Emperor Bonitus, a great drinker, yet neuer drunke.

Alexander being ouercome with wine, slew his dearest friend Cleitus.

Marke Anthony one of the Roman Emperours.

Tiberius the great drinker called also Biberius.

Dionysius the younger.

Cleomedes King of Sparta.

Aeschylus the Philosopher.

Anacreon the Poet.

The Emperor Bonitus, a great drinker, yet neuer drunke.

King Antiochus the great drinker and sleeper.

*Marke Anthony*, who was one of the three chiefe Commanders in Rome, and married with the Sister to *Octavius* the Emperour: being addicted to wine, and (consequently) to lasciuiousnesse, with *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt; lost at length both his state and life, and was vanquished by *Octavius*, because hee suffered himselfe to be conquered by wine. The Emperour *Tiberius* was defectiue in many things; but in regard hee was a great drinker, it was the sole cause of all his other imperfections: and whereas his name was *Tiberius*, as a nick-name, they would often call him *Biberius*, and his ende was miserable.

*Dionysius* the younger, a Tyrant of Sicily, was so extremely affected to wine; that it did eate his eyes, and made him to become sturke blinde. *Cleomedes*, King of the *Spartans*, would needs pursue and imitate the *Scythians*, in excessiue drinking of wine: but in the end, he became a foole, quite insensate, and without iudgement. It is saide, that the Philosopher *Aeschylus* died in notorious drunkennesse.

The Poet *Anacreon* was a very great drinker, and as he was drinking, he strangled or choaked himselfe, with the stone of a Grape or Raisin, which entred into his throate vnauidedly.

*Flavius* the Bishop, an Historian of worthy credite, writeth, that the Emperor *Bonifolius* was so addicted to wine, that *Aurelianus* said of him: *Hee was not borne to lye, but to drinke*. And heerein hee had an aduiseable quality, for notwithstanding the immeasurable quantity of wine, which he dranke daily, yet hee was neuer drunke. I guesse that this ensued, by his continuall auoydance of vrine, which went from him as fast, as hee tooke in his wine. Neuerthelessse, his ende was auerfable to his deserting, for beeing vanquished by the Emperour *Probus*, he was hanged or strangled. It is recorded, that King *Antiochus*, who was conquered by the Romanes, vsed to drinke so much wine, that he slept the most part of his time. In regard whereof, he gaue the cheefest authority of his kingdomes government, to two of his choyest fauourites, and because himselfe was addicted to banquets, and the amorous embracings of a young Gentlewoman: when he came to fight a-

gainst the Romanes, his Army became broken, and vtterly vanquished. *Athenius* writeth, that *Aeschylus* the Greeke Poet, would diuers times be drunke, whereupon *Sophocles* said vnto him. *Aeschylus, those things which thou dosteest or writest, are done by chance, or at aduenture: and not by any knowledge remaining in thee, or that thou dost rightly vnderstand them*.

The prooue of Sophocles to Aeschylus the Greeke Poet.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Certaine aduises and instructions, against such forward affection to Wine. And some reasons deliuered, why two things doe appeare to bee thre, to such as bee drunke.*



Some haue said (how certainly I know not) that there are diuers receipts, whereby Wine, in how great a quantity soeuer it be taken and drunke, shall not procure those yke some effects, which are related in the former Chapter.

*Pliny* and *Solinus* do both of them affirme, that there is a blacke Stone, hauing Vermillion couloured veynes in it, and named *Dionise*, which hath such a property, as if it bee layde in water, it yeeldeth the perfect fauour and rellish of wine; and whoeuer drinketh of that water, euen so much as himselfe pleaseeth, shall neuer be drunke therewith. Physitions say, that if a man will preuent drunkennesse, he must first eate Honye, or some other sweete things: And hee that is drunke, must be vrged to vomite, and then giue him a morsell of bread steeped in Honye, which will immediately recouer him, because Honye hindereth all vapours from ascending vpe into the Head.

*Drusus*, Sonne to the Emperour *Tiberius*, had a Physition, who gaue him very

The iudgement of Physitions for the preuention of drunkennesse.

Plin in lib. 9. cap. 11. Solinus in lib. 3. cap. 7.

Drives his  
Physioun,  
whole physide  
kepe him fro  
drunkennesse

Bitter Al-  
monds are ef-  
fectual helpe  
against drun-  
kennesse.

Plin in lib. 12.  
cap. 14.  
The Swadish  
route.

Saffron.

Plin in lib. 12.  
cap. 14.

Arist in Pro-  
blems, part 2.  
Aduice in lib.  
1. cap. 14.

\*The sinewes  
which con-  
duct the ver-  
tue of seeing  
to the eyes.

admirable physick, to preferue him from being drunke, albeit he daily drank more wine then any other one man of his time: for he could not drinke all commers, yet neuer be drunke, or bereft of his iudgement. But in the ende it was knowne, that (visually) before hee entred drinking, he would eate hie or fixe bitter almonds, whose power and naturall property was such, as it impeached the wine from alienating his spirits. And experience thereof was afterward made, for when they abridged him from the meanes of eating bitter Almonds, and he vsing to drinke as formerly he did he became as soon drunk as any other man. That these Almonds haue this peculiar property, *Pliny* affirmeth it, adding further; that eating a Radish roote before hard drinking, auoideth drunkennesse. He saith also, that Colewortes eaten before hand, keepeth a man from being dis tempered with wine: and being eaten after drunkennesse, they remove instantly the distemperature, as Saffron also hath the selfe same power. There are many other remedies for this imperfection, wherein I will be silent, speaking onely of one, recited by *Pliny*. He saith, that taking a quantity of wine, mingled with the egges of a Chough, and being drunke two or three mornings together, he that drinketh it, will hate wine in such fort as he will neuer after drinke thereof. Heere to he addeth, that a Swallow being taken and burned to ashes, then beaten into powder and mingled with a little Myrrine in the wine; whosoever receyueith a draught of this potion, shall neuer be drunke, for this was experimented by *Horus*, King of *Affrya*.

*Aristotle*, in the third part of his Problems, and *Auicenne*, in his sixt Booke of Beasts, do yeeld a reason, why in drunkennesse, when a man locketh vpon any one thing, it appears to him as if it were two, and a beir they doe both produce diuers reasons, yet will I alledge but one from each of them. The first shall be *Aristoteles*, who saith, that thorow excessive heat of vapours in the wine, ascending vp into the brayne; the little nerues, called \**Optici nerui*, which go on directly to the eyes, do worke and mooue with such power, that the visall vertue, and the spirits of fight (altering in their motion) do cause whatsoeuer drunken men gaze on, to stirre ve-

ry strongly and quicke; because the Organe of sight moueth it selfe in that manner, and maketh the common sense to receiue the Images of things, in a multiplyed quality to the eye. For such kinde of motion, maketh single things to seeme double, and because this motion is so flud den and insensible, it causeth two things to seeme as one to the sight. As any man may easily make tryall of, by laying his finger vpon his eye-lid, and then removing it thence, it will appeare to him, that it is the thing remoueth it selfe, which he beholdeth. *Auicenne* deliuereth another reason, saying: The vapours of wine, which ascend vp into the head of him that is drunke, are moist, and because the little nerues and muscles which reach to the eyes, doe engrosse or swell themselves by this humidity, so much more the one (then the other) doe thereby mount themselves the one higher, and the other lower. From hence ensueth, that the visible rayes do not equally diuide themselves forth-right from both the eyes, neither by a direct or right line: which is the cause, that the Images of things visible, doe extend to eyther eye by themselves. In this respect only, things simple and single, appeare to be double, the common sense receyuing & apprehending two images for one: and for the maintenance of this opinion, *Auicenne* yeeldeth the selfe same example, as *Aristotle* did.

## CHAP. XXV.

In what manner a man may know and measure the rotundity or round compasse of the whole earth: and how much it is reputed to containe, in the circumference or circling round about.



Well I know, that the subject of this Chapter, will hardly seeme pleasing vnto all Readers; in regarde, that for the better vnderstanding thereof, of some of the principles of the Mathematicks, are necessarily requi-

Principles of  
the Mathema-  
tical Sciences

The chief F-  
undaments of the  
Mathematicks

Genesis 1.9.

Aduice at-  
tributed to the  
earth.

Earth's  
begin, and  
breadth,  
mountaines,  
valleys,  
woods, and  
Forch.

How the ro-  
tundity of Land  
and Sea is mea-  
sured.

The Starrie  
heauen or firm-  
ament.

Helps on a  
Quadrant or  
Sextant to  
measure in  
ce.

required to be well apprehended. Neuertheless, I am the more willing to speake somewhat of the argument, onely for the delight and contentment of such mindes, as are inclined to the Science whereof it discourseth. Wherefore concerning our present purpose, it is needfull to presuppose the first and cheefe Elements of such a Science: which because they are common, shall require the lesse labor to proue them. The first is that whereof wee are now treating, the greatnesse of the earth, carrying with it both Land and Sea: because God did dispose them in such manner, when he said; *Let the dry land appeare*, for they both being united together, made one body perfectly round. So likewise is it to bee vnderstoode in all those actions which are giuen to the earth, the Sea is also therein comprized: For, when a man sayth, the earth hath so many degrees in roundnesse, or it containeth so many degrees from one place to another; the sea is therein as well vnderstood as the land. So in like manner are considered the Echples, heights and breadths, to hold one and the same certitude: and yet notwithstanding, Mountaines, and Valleys are not comprehended in this roundure, nor Woodes or Forrests likewise, which the earth containeth in it selfe; because such things are not worthe of any account, w<sup>ch</sup> are the greatnesse of this wonderful bodie.

This rotundity of Land and Water, is seated in the midst of the circuite of Heauen, in such manner, as the point & center of that round body, composed of Sea and Land, is likewise the center and number of the whole world, as well of heauen, as of the Elements.ouer and beside this definition, there is another, true and absolute, to wit, that the land and water (in regard of the starry heauen, which we call the Firmament) are so little; that all these two Elements liewe thereto but for a center, and is cūten but as a small point, in respect of his circumference. So that in whatsoeuer part thereof a man best liketh to helpe himselfe, by meanes of a Quadrant or an Astrabe; his labour fortheth to the like effect, as if hee made the same for the center of the earth. For in whatsoever place of the earth we are (provided that it be not in any deepe or hollow bottom) we shall discouer the moiety of hea-

uen; which proceedeth by reason of the incomprehensible distance, that is from hence beneath vp to the Firmament, with his incomparable greatnesse. That this must needs be true, it is most euident, that the verie least Stare which we discern in heauen, is much more greater then the whole earth; and yet neuertheless, it appeareth to vs but as a small point, in regard of the heauens large spaciousnesse; by the least of which things, a man may make prooue in sufficient demonstration, but it sufficeth that experience hath apparently shewne the same.

*Ptolomy* approueth it, in the 10. chapter of his first booke of Geography, *Alphraganus*, in his fourth Difference, *Cleomedes*, in his first Booke; *Geler*, in his second Book; and *Iohn de Sacrobosco*, as the like do all other that haue written on the Sphaere.

This then being thus presupposed, let vs imagine in our mindes, that the vwater and Land do make one round circle, and that heauen is another, but much more great, as indeede it is; and that these two circles haue no other, but one common center within them. VVhich being so imagined, let vs lay two lines of equal greatnesse, which may extend themselves (in common) to the circumferences of all the two circles, according as *Euclides* enstrueth, cutting and diuiding the two Circles by equal portions, each portion being iustly equalled, in regard of each one of them: that is to say, that if those two lines passe on right in such manner, they will make eight parts of a great circle, and so shall make as much of the lesser, I vnderstand and meane each eight part, in respect of each ones greatnesse.

Our elders in former times, in their manner of measuring the world, gaue aduice to diuide the heauen into three hundred and threescore equal partes, which we do now cal degrees, & by consequent, the roundnesse of the earth into as manie parts, by imaginations of lines, parting from the center, and making the diuision in such manner, that the like quantitie which each one of the degrees hath, in respect of the whole heauen; the verie like shall be that of each one of the degrees for the earth, hauing regard to the roundure and circuite thereof. And as these portions or degrees, if you please so to terme them,

The least Stare  
is greater the  
all the earth,  
by euident  
prooue.

Plin in lib. 12.  
cap. 14.  
The Swadish  
route.

How this mat-  
ter may be  
easily imagi-  
ned in the  
minde of man

Euclides in lib.  
4. de Element.

The aduice  
of our Fore-  
fathers, for  
measuring of  
the world, by  
diuision of  
heauen.

Concerning  
the nature of  
a degree, and  
how our El-  
ders observed  
the knowledg  
thereof, acor-  
ding vnto the  
height of the  
Pol.

A measure of ground containing 127 paces, or after five feet to the pace.

An infallible:  
rule for mea-  
suring by de-  
grees.

The greatness  
of each de-  
gree within it-  
self, how much  
it containeth.

them, are equal among themselves, so that some one may appear to containe the scope of miles; the like may be easily gathered, by multiplying what distance is contained in all the rest. To know then the nature of a degree, they made this observation. The Pole is a fixed point in heauen, whereon the whole heauen maketh his mouing, yet it remaineth firme & stable. Therefore with an Astrolabe, or any other instrument proper thereto, being in some apt vncovered place, they would take the height which the Pole contained aboue the Horizon, within the limite of the selfesame sight, and noting the place which appeared conuenable to the eleuation or height of the forelaide Pole: they went directly on thereto, without wandering to the Meridian, vntill such time (as with the selfesame instrument) they found it in one degree more higher, then in the first place, and therby they knew, that they had gone one degree of the earth frō that place whence they first parted, iusto that ground wherethey were arrived, considering, that they had paced by the respect of heauen, in regarde of the fore-named rules of both the circles. Then they would measure that which this degree contained, either by Stades, or thousands of paces; and this being thus knowne by them, they would make their account after this manner. If one degree contained for many miles, the whole roundnes of the earth did containe as many: considering, that therein was to be obserued three hundred and threecore degrees, such and as great as the same were. This was the forme and manner by them obserued, and it may wel be continued to these times, for measuring of the whole earth, as being the most certaine and infallible.

And yet neuerthelesse we are to know, what greatnessle each degree of the earth containeth in it selfe, and so (by consequent) how much it tendeth to in the roundity, measuring it according vnto the whole greatnessle, answerable to the experience of both ancient and modern men, skillfull, and well studied therein. The most common opinion of all other, is; that each degree or portion of three hundred and threecore, containeth five hundred Stades of ground, and every Stade is valewed to six score and five paces by our Geometricians, and according to theyr

Geometrical paces, each pace containing as much as two of our common paces. So that the degree contains sixty two thousand and an halfe, which amount to sixtie two thousand Geometricall paces. *Plolamius* auoucheth the same; as the like doeth *Martinus Capellus*, and the most part of the wisest ancient Cosmographers: beside, this is the opinion in common, of the greater part of our moderne men.

*Orontius Phineus* holdeth the fame indig-  
ment, and fayeth, that this may easily be  
experimented by traailing from *Paris* to  
*Tholou* (i. *Claremont*, & *Antony* de *Lebourg*,  
being both of them learned men, & di-  
ligent searchers into these matters : they  
do both affirme, that they haue made the  
like experience, holding the same to be  
most certaine. Albeit *Erastophilens*, and  
some other *Grecians* hold opinion, that  
all degrees had seauen hundred *Stades*,  
wherein (it may seeme) they were abufed,  
by measuring their places ouerflowth.  
I say then, that each of their degrees, con-  
sisting of three hundred and sixty, far off  
from five hundred *Stades*: the whol three  
hundred and sixty, will containe together  
twenty two thousand, and five hundred  
thousand paces, which do make an hun-  
dred and eighty thousand *Stades*. By the  
which account, the round compas of the  
whole earth, comprehending therein the  
whole machine of water, beinge reduced  
to a thousand paces, will containe twentie  
two millions, and five hundred thousand  
paces. And if you would know how many  
French leagues or miles the whole Earth  
containeth, we must then allow vnto each  
League, the length of two Italian miles.  
Then, if we diuide twenty two thousand,  
five hundred paces in twaine, we shal find  
that the circuite of the earth, may containe  
eleuen thousand, two hundred and fiftie  
Leagues of *France*. And if we diuide the  
by foure; all the enuironing of the Earth,  
will containe five thousand, sixe hundred,  
and twentie five miles of Germanie; for  
four Italian miles, do make but one Ger-  
maine mile. Thus haue we discoursed on  
the earths dimension, according vnto the  
most common opinion receiued among  
men.

The know-  
ledge of a  
State by Ge-  
ometrical pa-  
ces.

Orig. Folio in  
lib. de G. 1.

1. *Gutierrez*

The opinion  
of some Ger-  
mans concern-  
ing degrees

An estimate of the whole compass of the earth by paces, and by French miles.

Division according to German miles.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

*Of the reason, why Snow (being covered with  
straw) doth preserve it selfe in his entire  
colde, and warme water in his heate:  
considering, that two contrary effects are  
wrought by one and the selfesame thing:  
with some other secrets beside.*

The wo  
Nature  
great be  
by their  
ledge.

Snow c  
with S  
keepeth  
naturall  
pelle.

Alex. Ap  
in Lib. 1.5

Straw a  
without  
quality  
yet app  
deth the  
lity of an  
thing th  
with 'co  
ned.

A contr  
effect w  
by the la  
means t  
water, ke  
ing it in  
caire be

**T**O men of spirit, such as affect the contemplation of Natures workes, nothing can so lightly present it (self, or appeare to be of so slender esteeme; but some one notable matter or other may be found therein, to yeild contentment to their mindes, after they haue attained to the knowledge thereof. No doubt but there are many men, of whom if we demanded, vpon what occasion, Snow (being covered with straw) conferreth it selfe (for long time) in his true coldelesse, and without melting, they hardly know how to make anie answer. Whereunto *Alexander Aphrodisiens*, that excellent Peripatetician, maketh this reply. *Straw hath no manifest or known quality at all, for it is neither hot nor colde; therefore diuers haue reputed and termed it, to be a thing without any quality.* For this cause, being a matter so singularly temperate and delicate, euen as reaching to such a degree, that it may well be saide to be neither hot nor colde; it easily conuerteth it selfe into the quality of anie such thing, as is thereto annexed. So that conuering or laying Snow therein, which is colde, the straw apprehendeth the colde quality thereof, and by that means is holpen and assisted, in the true coldelesse of Snow: euen as a thing of one qualitie aydeth another, without yeelding any heate thereto, because it is not in it selfe. Therefore, snow being accompanied with his owne coldelesse, & defended against heat, which it draw preferueth against the left entrance; it is thus conserued in his enyre condition for long time, euen as if it were not covered with straw at all.

By the selfesame reason, a contrarie effect happeneth in warme or hotte water; defending the ayre that it cannot coole it,

for it being likewise couered with Strawe: the strawe immediately entertaineth the quality of the warme water; and being so sodainly heated, it helpeth & conferreth the water in his warmth, and keepeth the ayre off, that else would coole it. The same reason guides vs to vnderstand other doubts and difficulties, which some curious questionists may impose vpon vs, like vnto those before alledged. I am sure wee are not to learn, that ouer and befide our inward naturall heate, that which occasioneth our warme in Summer time, is the ayre onely, which (in that season) is much more hot then in any other time of the year; so that the warmer the ayre is, so much the more are we sensible of heat. If it be so then, how commeth it to passe, that we feele more freshnesse and coole-nesse, and lesse heate, when wee take the ayre in Sommer, and in mouing and walking to receiue it; considering, that (according to *Aristotles Motion, or moouing, causeth our heate to be the greater?* For the ayre, by reason of this agitation, must needs cause the more warme in both in it selfe and vs, then if wee rested and sate in quiet.

The reason ensueth this: VVee haue then more warmth in our bodies, then there is in the ayre: as wel in regard of our owne naturall heat, as also that which the ayre worketh in vs. For the ayre coming with a fresh and coole gale (I speake this because it is more temperate then we are) it maketh vs some-what the more temperate: but being filld and neree vs, it warmeth it selfe in our heate. Euen in the like manner as we haue spoken of straw; for so it conserueth (yea augmenteth) our heate in vs; albeit, when it is fired, and freshly mooued, in comming more temperately vpon vs, then we our selues are; that temperature and difference which wee then feele of lesser heate, doth in the like manner qualifie and moderate ours in this. This is the answer of the fore-named *Alexander*, but especially of *Aristotle*, vnto this question.

Neuertheſſe, it is to bee noted, that if we find an ayre more hot then that where in we dwell; agitation or ſtirring in ſuch an ayre will not prouoe ſo good as our owne, becauſe wee ſhall there feele farre greater heate, as in diuers places oftentimes we do. An argument in this caſe,

may

The Ayre is  
more here in  
Summer, than  
all the year  
else beside.

diff. in lib. 2.  
d. an. m. cap. 7.

More heat in  
our bodies in  
Summer time  
then is in the  
Ayre.

How the quality in straw is allied to our bodies.

Difference of  
the Ayre in  
heat, & harnie  
thereby colu-  
ing.

may bee framed by hottē water, that if a man put his hand rashly thereto, he can hardly suffer or endure it. Notwithstanding, let him hold it firmly therein, and it yeldeth then lesse cause of passion then if he mooued it vp and downe. In regard, that the lesfer part of the water enuironeth the coole hand, whereby it causeth some small temperature round about it: but being plunged and mooued about the water, it reneweth fresh heate, and at each time appropriateth new power to it selfe; for the more potent, must needs worke nouenly vpon that which is much weaker.

It may be likewise demanded, for what cause it is more hot at the end of Iune, & all along the month of Iuly, the Sun being then the furthest off from vs, then it is at the beginning of Iune; considering we are then in the Solstice of the Sunne, and more directly finitten with his beames? Heereunto answereth *Aristotle*, in his second Booke of Meteors, and the ninth Chapter, that the heate of the Sunne is not the cause thereof, neither is there any more heate felt by the Sunnes being nearer to vs, then when hee hath longest time to abide ouer vs. For in the months of Iune and Iuly, hee hath a great length of time in approaching towards vs; as also in declining, hee causeth the greater heate, because (in descending) hee heateth that part and tract of the ayre, which hee formerly had well warmed in mounting aloft.

CHAP. XXVII.

*Of sodaine death hapning vnto diuers great  
Persons, that haue thereto bene wisshed or  
threatned, by such as they haue vniuertie  
put to death before, and their deaths haue  
ensued to them in such manner, & at such  
times, as haue bene assigned vnto them:  
With the notable history of an Archbishop  
of Mentz or Mayence.*

**V**hen all helpe in man hath  
ceased, concerning such to  
whom great wrongs and in-  
juries haue bene done ; yet  
the powerfull arme of God

hath neuer failed them. And albeit it hath  
not ensued so speedily, or else to visibly as  
they could haue wished; yet GOD, who  
knoweth both how and when to be auen-  
ged on them that are the oppressors of in-  
nocents, hath wrought to graciouslie for  
his own glory; that trecheries haue come  
to light in due and meete times, & mens  
false iudgements haue felt his seuerer con-  
demnation, and publickly enough for  
others mens forwarning. In this case we  
could alledge many memorable exam-  
ples; but being loth to trouble you with  
ouer many, these few commendable Col-  
lections shall serue for this time.

I read of a Knight amongst the *Tenn-  
plers* (of whome wee have spoken in our  
former Volume) who being (in the opi-  
nion of many) sentenced to death verie  
vniuſly; as the Officers led him towards  
the place of execution, hee eſpyed Pope  
*Clement*, the ſiſt of that name (by whole  
meanes he was condemned to death) look-  
ing out at a window; and by him ſtoode  
*Philip le Bel*, then King of France. The  
Knight being an *Italian*, borne at *Naples*;  
beholding the Pope with an vndaunted  
countenance, with a lowde voyce ſpake  
thus vnto him.

*Most cruell Clement, seeing that there is no Iudgement in this world, before whom a poore innocent man may call in question the vnjust sentence which thou hast giuen against mee. I appeale from thee, a most vnjust Iudge, to the rightest Iudge of all other, Iesus Christ himselfe, before whom I giue thee warning, and likewise King Phillip there by thee, to make your appearance, to answeere the false iudgement of death which you haue giuen against me. This appearance of yours before the Tribunnall seate of God, I do assigne to bee made within Iesse thine yeare, to me right there, where I may safely haue my cause determined, without any awaice or passion at all, as herebye both haue dealt with me. The poore Knights desire fortified with his wordes, for about the same limited time, the Pope beinge painted with a great greefe in his stomack, died; so did K. Phillip: but howsoeuer it hapned, it was thought to proceed from the iust iudgement of God.*

The very like fortune hapned to *Ferdinand* the fourth, King of *Castile*, who hauing caused two worthy Knights to bee executed, more by his owne wrathfull & angry spleen, then any warrant of iustice, being

The history  
of a Knight  
Templar, put  
to death in-  
justly.

The Knights  
latest wordes  
to the Pope,  
and King of  
France, as he  
was ledde to  
death.

The judgment of God  
on the K. and  
Pope.

The history  
of Ferdinand  
the 4. King of  
Castile, & his  
cruelty to two  
Knights.

being no way to bee dissuaded from this violent cruelty, either by teares, intreats, or earnest solicitations; they (in very like manner) cited the King before the Tribunal of Iesus Christ, and to make his appearance within thirty dayes. And it is credibly auouched, that on the last of those thirty dayes, the King dyed.

The like also befell to a Captain of the Gallies, which belonged to the inhabitants of *Geneway*, whereof *Baptista Fulgo* maketh this report. This Captaine making a fall forth vpon the Sea, tooke a Foyst or small Gallie appertaining to the of *Cathelognay*; wherein there was another Captaine that neuer had done any iniurie to the *Geneweyes*. Notwithstanding in regard of the mallice which the *Geneweyes* bare to the *Cathelognians*, hee gaue command, that this Captaine thus taken prisoner, should forthwith be hang'd. The Captaine, shedding many teares, humbly requested, that he might not so shamefully be put to death, considering that he had neuer offended him, or his Nation. But in the end, finding no fauour or mercy in him, he made his recourse to the Diuine Iudge of al men, speaking thus to the cruell Captaine; *seeing thou wilt needes execute on me this most vniust sentence, I haue no other friend but God to appeale vnto, who is the iust auenger of iniur'd innocents. And therefore I humbly desire, that this instant day) thy soule may appeare with mine before him, to yeeld an account for the wrong thou hast done me.* Not many houres, after the *Geneway* Captaine also dyed, and doubtlesse went to render a reason for his most extreme cruelty.

I could alledge many examples more, aptly fittest to this purpose; but for the strength of all, I will relate what happened at *Magonce* or *Mentz* in *Germany*, which generally cost most deare vnto the whole City, according as it is briefly reported by *Gantier*, that renowned Poet, who wrote the life and actions of the Emperour *Fredericke*, first of that name. *Conradus* also the Bythop, declareth the fame in his history, among many things happening in the time of that *Fredericke*, and of *Henrie* the sixt his sonne; the History ensueth in this manner.

In the Citty of *Magonce* or *Mentx* in  
*Germany*, in the yeare one thousand, five  
hundred and fifty, little more or leffe, ther

liued an Arch Byshop, named *Henrie*, a man singular in all vertues. This Arch-bishop, according to the duty and office of a faithfull Pastor, as indeed hee was, did feuerely chastise publike finnes and offences, because he was very ielous of Gods honour, and loue of one neighbour vnto another, the which made him to haue the greater care of his flocke. Hereupon wicked and dissolute persons grewe hatefull against him, deuising many false and slanderous accusations, where-with the Pope was plentifully informed, imposing so many crimes and delicts vpon him, that he was reputed vnnicere for such a digni-ty.

These matters thus understood by the Pope, who always thought him to be a iust and holy man; being no way able to deny audience to such a crowde of accusers as desired iustice; at last he advertised the Arch-bishop of these foule accusations. The good reverend man, to make cleare his innocence, elected (among all his other friends) a man whom hee most affected, and on whom hee had bestowed more especiaall favours, then on any man else beside. Hee was a Priest by profession, named *Arnold*, advanced unto many great dignities, as being a man of rich spirit, eloquence, and abounding in the wealth of the world beside.

Arnolde coming to *Rome*, being instructed and pressed on by the duell; concluded in his private thoughts, to deprive his Lord of so high a dignitie, and make application thereof to himselfe. Which that he might the better compass, having brought great summes of money thither with him, he surned two wicked Cardinals, who, in stead of speaking in his Lords favour, should enforce all matters more against him. For they affirmed, that they stood more obliged to God and truth, then to worldly respects or favours of mē: and therefore maintained, that the Archbishop was apparently culpable of all the crimes inferred against him, and thereby fully deserved deprivation. The Pope being thus abusively perswaded by they report, thought to have sent two Priests thither, to acquaint him with this information confirmed against him: but (in deede) he sent the two Cardinals considered with *Arnolde*, to perfect the Proceffe, by them concluded for present execution.

The perfor-  
mation  
of the  
Cardinals  
with Arnolde  
against the  
Arch-bishop.

They were no sooner arrived in *Germany*, but they summoned the Arch-Bishop to come before them, where his hearing was admitted in such sort, that sentence was given against him, whereby he was deprived of his See and dignity, and *Arnolde* advanced into his place, who had sold his Master, even as *Indas* did our blessed Saviour. In pronouncing the judgement, the Arch-Bishop *Henry* then present, delivered these wordes. *God knoweth, that I am most uniuersally condemned: neuertheless, I care not for making any appeale to the further censure of men: because I am assured, that yes shall bee better beleued among you, then truth can be in mee. Therefore I receive this sentence, as some iust punishment for my sinnes, and yet doe appeale from your iudgement, to the eternal iust iudge Iesus Christ: before whom I asswaure you three to appeare.*

These wordes were no sooner heard by the Iudges, but they fell into extremity of laughter, saying; That if he pleased to go on thither before, they would follow him at their leysure. This sentence was given in the yeare one thousand, five hundred, fifty six, which the deprived Arch-bishop endured with admirable patience; & being retired into his Monastery, he ther remained the rest of his life, yet without acceptance of the habite. To conclude, God would not permit this wickednes to passe vnpunished, to the end, that innocence might the better bee knowne; but about a yeare and an halfe after, this *Hermigilde* dyed in his Monastery in great holiness, and doublelesse attained the glorie long time desired.

Newes of his death being brought to *Rome*, the two Cardinals being very merrily met together, one of them, said: The Arch-Bishoppe *Henry* is gone, and must not we in hast follow him? Indeed (quoth the other) so wee made him promise; but let him tarry (wherefore he is) till wee come to him. Not many dayes after, one of them, being sodainly smitten by one of his seruants vpon the shoulder, fell downe so greuously afflicted with paine, that his bowels and entrailes issued out at his fundament, and instantly died. The other falling into phrensie and madnesse, did cate off his owne hands, and dyed very strangely. Now as concerning false *Arnolde*, hee exercised such cruelties and seditions a-

mong the people, that he became so hated and despised of them all, as being one day beisedged in a Monastery, hee was there slayne, and afterward left lying naked in the common ditch of the Citie; where all the people, both men, women, and children, performed all cruelties vpon his body, that possibly could be deuised by them.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the cruelty which *Alboutine*, King of *Lombardie*, vsed to his Queene & wife *Rosamond*: And by what meanes he reuenged her selfe on him at length.



Among those warlike people, which yssued out of *Germany*, and the Northern partes, to descend into *Italy*; the *Lombards* are named, who for the space of two hundred yeares & more, seized all those Lands, which (till this day) is called *Lombardie*, and vntill such time as *Charlemaigne* expelled them thence, according as in the History is amply related, written by *Paulus Diaconus*, in the particular Booke which he made for that purpose. He saith, that when they left *Hungary* (where they had for sometime dwelt) to passe into *Italy*, they had one named *Alboutine* their King: a man of great spirit, and verie valiant in actions of warre. For he conquered in battayle *Cunimon*, King of the *Girpides*, and afterwarde, causing his head to bee smitten off, made a drinking Cuppe thereof, wherein hee vsed to drinke, and in triumph of his conquest and victorie. At which time, he detained (as his prisoner) a verie beautiful daughter to the fore named King, called *Rosamond*, whom he made his wife, and then afterwards hee went to subdue *Italy*, carrying his Queene along with him, in the yeare, eight hundred, sixty two.

When he had conquered many towns and Cities, he came (at length) to the City of *Paulis*: where (since that time) the succeeding Kinges vied to keepe their leate and continuall residing, as the very principall City of their Kingdome. Having reig-

The large borders new named Lombards.

Paulus Diaconus hath described this.

Cunimon & of the Girpides conquested by Alboutine, and his head used for drinking cup.

Paulus the ancient feast of Kings.

The words of the Arch-bishop, at his deposition, before Arnolde and the Cardinals.

The scornfull answer of the offenders.

The death of the wronged Henry.

Scorning left by the two Cardinals, at the death of Henry.

The justice of God on the two wicked Cardinals.

The Queene forced to drinke in the Cuppe made of her fathers head, whereupon she concludes the Kings death.

Nothing can be compared to the inward contentment made of a woman, when she will needs compass her will.

The Queene discouereth herself to Paradine, and reuengeth on him the King murdered.

A hard choice in such an extremity.

reigned three yeares and three moneths, and being then at *Verona*; he appoynted a solemne feast, where hee drunke to his Queene in the Cuppe made of her fathers head, and forced her to pledge him: whereat shee conceived such griefe and displeasure, that the intire loue which shee had formerly borne him, was converted into deadly hatred, with an absolute resolute and conclusion to kill him, in iust reuenge of her fathers death, & cruelty extended to her. And to assist her in this determination, she conferred with a gentleman named *Hermigilde*: who presently tolde her, that to the execution of such an important busines, she should require the ayde of a valiant knight in the Court, called *Paradine*. Which instantly hee did, but he would not yeeld thereto, because hee tooke it to be too horrid a treason. Finding her hope frustrated, and fearing lest his intent would be discovered, yet desiring nothing more in the world, then to compass the height and pitch of her enterprize: she set aside all care of honour and honesty, & being advertised by *Hermigilde*, that *Paradine* earnestly affected one of her attending Ladies, she desired thereby to effect her purpose. Being acquainted with the secret resort where *Paradine* & his louer alwaies met together; she found some other employment for the Lady, & made vse of her place for the time, *Paradine* keeping her there company a long time, imagining no other, but that it was the mistresse of his affections.

The Queene, who had spent all this while in soft whispers and dalliance, not vsing any one word whereby shee might be discouered; perceiving opportunity to apply to fit her, spake thus vnto him. Knowest thou *Paradine*, who it is that keepeth thee company? Full well (quoth he) with my Mistresse, and then named her. Thou yest (false traytour,) replied the Queene, I am *Rosamond* thy Soueraignes wife, whom thou hast dared to abuse in this manner, and dye thou must by the iust wrath of *Alboutine*, except thou saue thy life by killing him: aduise thee therefore, whether his life or thine owne is dearest to thee. When *Paradine* considered his dangerous estate, without any meanes of helpe or escape; hee resolved to kill the King: and for his better further-

rance therein, both hee, the Queene, and *Hermigilde* tooke counsell together, plotting the proiect in this manner.

The King vsed to sleepe in the heate of the day, and all else auoyded the chamber, the Queene onely excepted, and hee being a King of courage and high resolute, euer slept like a Souldier, with his Sword girded about him: which at this intended time of treason, the Queene had tyed so fast in the scabbard, as hee could by no meanes helpe himselfe therewith. *Paradine* and *Hermigilde* waiting the houre, which was vpon the Queenes issuing forth: they entred, and for all their foot treading, the King heard them, and started from his bed. VVhen he beheld two men armed with weapons, and at such a time of no suspection: fury, not feare made him take no knowledge of them, but sought to defend himselfe with his weapon. VVhich failing him, by the meanes of so false a Queene, and they with their weapons euery where wounding him: hee caught vp a stoole, and therewith made his defence so long as hee could, till in the end they deprived him of life, yet neither noise heard, nor any suspicion of murder.

The King being thus dead, and all well carried with a smooth countenance: *Hermigilde* possessed himselfe of the Pallace, intending to make the Queene his wife, as immediately hee did. But notwithstanding all their close packing; the *Lombards* (not long after) came to the knowledge of their Kings death, and in what manner hee was murdered, which they purposed to reuenge with all possible speed. Wherein they were prevented, for *Rosamond* and her complices hauing packed vp most of her Jewells & treasure Royall, fled away thence, carrying with them *Aluifinda* Daughter to King *Alboutine*, by his first wife. And for their safer security, they went to *Rauenenna*, where then governed a Lieutenant of the Empire, named *Longinus*, who kept that place for *Tiberius*, Sonne to the Emperour *Constantine of Constantinople*, by whom they were curteously entertained.

Not long after, *Longinus* becomming enamored of *Rosamond*, & desirous to enioy her in marriage, whereto hee found her very tractable; counselled her to procure the death of *Hermigilde*, & then hee would marry her. Shee that had lost all loue and

The manner of the Kings death determined by the Queene, Paradine and Hermigilde.

The valour of Alboutine against his murderers, even in his death.

Hermigilde assisted with Rosamond the Queene.

The flight of Rosamond & the murderers to Rauenna.

Rosamond desirous to aduance herselfe by marrying with the Lieutenant, concluded the death of Hermigilde.

N n fearc



fear of God, respect of womanhood, and dreadlesse of the shame of men, coueting withal, to aduance her downefalne estate, by marrying with the Emperours Lieutenant; gaue to *Hermigilde* an impoysoned potion at his coming forth of his Bath, perswading him, that it was most foueraigne for his health; by which perswasion he dranke a good part thereof. But when hee found it afterward to afflicke his body, so as he plainly perceiued himselfe to be poysoned; drawing forth his sword in extremity of rage, he compelled *Rosamond* to drinke vp all the rest that remained in the Cup, so that at one instant time they both were iustly required for the death of *Albanine*. Tying her of being brought to the Lieutenant *Longinus*, he caused the young Lady *Alminda* to be seized on, and sent her (with all her jewels and treasure) to the Emperour *Tiberius*, at *Constantinople*, with *Paradise* also as a prisoner: where hauing his eyes pulled forth, he liued a while, and then died most miserably.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Of a pleasant, witty, and honest deceit, which a famous and virtuous Queene used to her on her husband, whereby Iames, King of Arragon was begotten, with other remembrances barto of his birth and death.*



Well remember, that in reading the Chronicle of the Kings of *Arragon*; I finde, that *Don Peter*, Count of *Barcelona*, who was the thirtieth King of *Arragon*, had *Madam Mary* in marriage, daughter to the Earle of *Mount Pessulin*, Nephew to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, the being a very beautiful and virtuous Lady. All which notwithstanding, the King was much addicted vnto other women, and vied such slender testimony of loue towards his Queene, that hee refused to keepe her company, as (in the duty of an husband) he stood obliged to doe. This strange

behaviour in the King, did much afflicke and greeue the Queene, because they had no childre to succeed in the Kingdome; the greatest misery (of all other) that can happen to a well settled Estate. Heerevpon, by aduice of one of the Kings Pages of his Chamber, who (it may be) had formerly done seruice in the like affaires; shee compassed the meanes (vnder title of some one of the Kings cheefest fauourites) to bee brought that night to lodge with the King. Such familiar entercoourses hauing passed betwene them, as in such wanton seasons are commonly required, the King perceiuing the day-light neere approaching, in regard both of his owne honours safety and hers, made meanes to her for her speedy departure, but the taking hold of lo good an occasion, spake thus vnto him.

My gracious Lord and husband, I am none such as (perhaps) you take mee to be, but hee well assured, that this night you haue slept with your true Queene and VVife. Vse what violence you shall please to mee, for I purpose not to leave your bed, vntill some man, well deserving faith and credite, may be witness of my this nights keeping you company. To the ende, that if the fauour of heauen hath bin so gracious to me, that fruite (long desired) may ensue by this aduerture; the world shall take true notice, that it is your owne. The King perceiuing this honest deceit of his Queene, appeared to bee well pleased therewith, and called two Gentlemen of his Chamber, to testifie the truth, according to her desire, and as (indeed) stood best with his honour. It so pleased God, that at fit and conuenient time, the Queene hauing at that instant time conceived with child; at such due season as the custome of women alloweth them for trauaile, shee was deliuered of a goodly Sonne, euen on the first day of February, in the yeare one thousand, one hundred, ninety sixe. Soone after it was borne, the Mother caused it to bee carried to the Church, and (which is a thing deserving memory) as they which carried the childre entred into the Church, the Priests began to sing, *Te Deum laudamus, We praise thee O God*. Passing from thence vnto another Church, as they were entring likewise thereto, the Priests began to sing the

Wants of the full story the greatest misery of any kingdome.

Shewes how shee came to light day-light.

The word of the Queene to the King, before shee would depart from his bed.

The conception & birth of Iames, King of Arragon.

The carrying of the child to two several Churches.

Psalme of *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*; *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel*, which gaue a great prognosticating & vndoubted hope, of some excellent vertues to succeed in the childre.

The Father and Mother, not knowing what name to giue him, caused twelue Torchcs (of equall length and making) to be all lighted in one instant, the twelue Torchcs bearing the fenerall names of the twelue Apostles. With this conclusion, that the name of the Torch which first sayled, or became extinguished; the selfe same name should bee giuen to the childre, which happened to be that of *S. Iames*. Heerevpon he was named *Iames*, because it was the name, which the men of *Arragon* gaue to that Apostle. Hee proued to be an excellent Prince, and of admirable gouernement, both in peace and warre, for hee made a cruell invasion vpon the *Moors*, being much more very liberal to all his Souldiers. Among other most notable matters, hee leuied a great Army, which he conducted into the Isle of *Maioica*, that then was in the *Moors* possession, where hee fought many stout battailes. But after he had a long while besiedged the City, he won it in the ende, and likewise other neighbouring Islands beside. Then coming into his kingdome of the *Moors*, especially to the City of *Carthage*, hee proued still the Conqueror, and neuer sayled in any of his attempts.

He had many children, as well sonnes as daughters, on whom (during his life time) he bestowed great gifts and goodly estates. *Don Peter*, that afterward was King of *Arragon*, was his Sonne. Likewise *Don Iames*, King of *Maioica* and *Minorica*. He had another that was Archbisshop of *Tolledo*. Madame *Tollant*, who was Queene of *Castile*; and Madame *Isabelle*, that was Queene of *France*; and Madame *Fragua*, who was married to *Don Emmanell*, Prince of *Castile*; and *Don Peter*, who espoused the daughter vnto the King of *Nauarre*. He liued seventy and two yeares, and dyed religiously, taking on him (before his death) the habite of a Monke. For he had a greuous discafe, which made him renounce his royall Scepter, with deliberate purpose, that if he might recouer his health againe, hee would employ the rest of his dayes in the

seruice of God. But weaknesse encreasing more and more vpon him, he dyed in the City of *Palencia*, Anno 1266. and at the beginning of the Moneth of August.

## CHAP. XXXII.

*Of an ancient and memorable Custome, obserued by the Inhabitants of the Prouince of Carinthia, at the Coronation of their Prince: and how cruell their punishment is to Thebes.*



One *Pius* the second of that name, who was a man of great learning, & a diligent inquisitor for the truth of Histories, as wee haue in many places formerly

alleged, saith in his description of the world; that the Prouince of *Carinthia*, is enclosed within the territory, and vnder the gouernment of *Austria*. Hee likewise relateth a custome, which the Inhabitants of that Prouince haue anciently obserued, at the election and Coronation of their Princes; appearing somewhat strange, yet honest and very commendable. Vvhich custome is also confirmed by *A. Sabellicus*, in his tenth Decade: and by *Sebastian Munster*, in his composed Cosmography, which is after this manner.

In this Prouince of *Carinthia*, there is a very great and spacious plaine of olde ruined buildings, which seeme to bee the foundation of some former auncient City.

In which place also there is a great stone, and when obedience is to be giuen at the new creation of a Prince; there is a day appointed, and a country labourer, or meane husbandman (allowed to this preheminence in regard of his lineage) hath order to seate himselfe vpon that same stone. On his right hand

N n 2 standeth

A treacherous woman, wickedly met withal, by her owne deitie against her husband.

The Authors introduction to the ensuing history.

A strange manner of naming the Childre, by lighting of twelue Torchcs, to witte the twelue Apostles.

The vertuous qualities remaining in the Prince.

Hee winning the Isle of Maioica, and the Count of Cardigo.

The issue descending from Iames King to Arragon, & their great good fortune.

King Iames became a Monke before his death.

Adrian Sylvius in Cosmographia lib. 10. c. 27.

A. Sabellicus in Decad. Hist. Scyth. lib. 10. c. 27.

Preparation to the Princes election.

The manner  
of the Prince  
coming to his  
election.

The Prince  
being at the  
Stone before  
him that must  
elect him.

The severall  
questions of  
the poore  
husbandman.

The Earle  
that carrieth  
the cheefest  
Standard, his  
answer to the  
poore man.

The Prince  
created with  
a booke on the  
cure.

standeth a poore Cow, that hath lately calued, which hee holdeth fastened by a corde, and on his left hand standeth a very leane and wretched Mare, tyed in like manner, and round about him is no meane crowd of labourers and country Boores. In this place, and at this Stone, the Prince that is to be entailed, must make his apparance, attended with a great number of men on horse-backe, ryding in very formal order, with twelue Banners borne before him: among which there is one more large and sightly then all the rest, carried by an Earle, thereto admitted by especiall priuiledge.

The Arch-Duke, Prince or great Lord howeouer ye meane to tearme him, clothed in a Shepheards habite, cometh to the Stone wheron the poore man sitteth, & as he perceiue him to approach somewhat neere, hee demandeth with a loud voyce, what he is, that cometh towards him with such glory and felicity? Answer is instantly made him, that it is the man, who cometh to be created Prince of the Country. Then as it were with a voyce like thunder, the labourer cryeth out, Is he a iust Iudge? Will he wel maintaine iustice? Will hee preferre the defence and safety of this Country? Is hee a man franke, and free-borne? Is he valiant, vertuous, and worthy of honour and reuerence? Is he a Christian? Is hee a Defender of the faith of Iesus Christ? And all the company maketh answer, that he is such a man, and will so continue. Then hee beginneth againe, and maketh another demand, By what right or reason cometh he to disposseffe me of this place, which belongeth onely to me? To which question, the Earle that beareth the cheefest Standard, replyeth thus. If thou wilt quit and forsake this place, threecore Ducates of gold shall be frankly giuen thee, & this Cow, as also this Mare shall both be thine owne, beside the rich Robe, which our King did last of all put off, shall also be thine: moreover, thou and thy family shall be free, from paying any manner of tribute. After these words, the Prince approacheth neere to the Stone, & the poore man giueth him a gentle blow on the cheeke, commanding him (in any case) to be a good Iusticer: & so descending from the Stone, he leadeth along with him the Cow and Mare, and departeth.

Then the Prince dismounting from his horse, ascendeth vp, and sitteth vpon the stone, where drawing forth his Sword, and turning to each side of the stone, still flourishing the weapon round about him; hee maketh a solemne promise before all the people, vttering the words as loud as he can speake, that he will be a iust Iudge, and a good Prince. This done, one bringeth him (in a Shepheards bonnet) a small quantity of water to drinke and so descending from the stone, hee re-mounteth on horsebacke, and rydeth on to a Church with all his company, there to heare Mass. Which being finished, hee changeth his former plaine and rurall garments, to very Royall and Princely habites: and after a pompeous Dinner with his whole train, he returneth againe into the open field, where hee heareth all the Officers of Iustice speake vnto him, to entrust him in the lawes of the Country: and these are the vusual ceremonies, obserued at the creation of every Prince.

There is another custome in vse among these people, for the punishment of thefts and robberies; which I hold to be vniust, and ouer-cruell, especially to be vied among Christians. For hauing but some note or apprehension onely, that such a man standeth in repute to be a cheefe thief, they forthwith send him to execution, without any other proceeding against him. Then three dayes after his death, they examine the witnesses with all care and diligence; when if it shall appeare by solemne inquisition, that hee proueth to be guilty of the crimes alledged; they suffer him to hang vpon the Gibbet, vntill his limbes fall peece-meale from him. But if he be found to be innocent, they take him thence, and giue him honourable obsequies and funeral, with many prayers and almes-deeds, for the saluation of his soule.

With this severity doe they chastise theeuers and robbers, neuertheless I read of some other Nations, that greatly haue supported and countenanced them therein. As the *Egyptians*, of whom *Aulus Gellius* writeth in his *Attick nights*. And the *Lacedaemonians* likewise, who permitted their children to bee theeuers, and learne climbing in at windowes, and wandering abroad in the night season, that they might be the more bolde and hardy for warre. Notwithstanding, *Draco*, hee that gaue

The Prince  
mounteth on  
the Stone.

The Prince  
promiseth be-  
fore all the  
people.

The Prince  
changeth his  
habitable gar-  
ments.

A cruell cer-  
emony, for the  
punishment of  
thefts &  
robberies, too  
barbarous for  
Christians.

A poetere-  
composeth  
the Iolls of a  
man's life and  
reputation.

*Aulus Gellius*  
writeth, that  
the Iolls of a  
man's life  
were  
11.

Draco his  
lawe was  
against all  
manner of  
thefts, and  
Solon  
mitigation  
thereof.

At what time  
the hanging  
of theeuers  
was first or-  
dained.

Men are na-  
turally desir-  
ous to know  
all things  
whatsoeuer.

The benefit  
of contempla-  
tion and study  
in high and  
difficult mat-  
ters.

Lawes vnto the *Athenians*, made one among the rest; wherein hee commanded, that euery kinde of theft should be punished with the penalty of death. In regard whereof, *Solon* saide, that hee had written that Law with blood, which made him (afterward) to allay and mitigate it. The custome which yet to this day is obserued for hanging of theeuers, was first of all appointed by the Emperour *Fredrick*, the third of that name; according as *Lodowicus Vines*, that learned man in all Artes and Sciences, writeth in the third Booke of his *Disciplines*.

### CHAP. XXXIII.

In what part of the Zodiacke the Sunne and Moone, and likewise the other Planets were, at their first creating. Also of the beginning of yeares, and the course of times.



HE learned Philosophers say, that men are naturally curious & couetous of knowledge. Moreover, such is the zeale of their affection in this case, and the bent of humane vnderstanding so full of strange questionings, as they cannot content themselves to know such things as they may with some ease comprehend onely: but ouer and beside, they are scrutinious and searching (through bold presumption) to know such causes as are very hard, and almost impossible. Nor hath this painefull desire bene altogether fruitlesse and vaine, though many times it fayled, and came farre short of expectation: because by contemplation and continuall study, they haue found out such matters, as seemed before vtterly impossible and supernatural, or that they should any way be attained vnto by the capacity of men. As namely, the motions of the Heauens; the course of the Planets and other Starres, with their severall influences and power, and the like things beside: a-

mong which is comprized my present intended argument, and what in this Chapter I purposed to discourse on, to wit: how to know the beginning of times & yeares; and on what day the world began, or to speake better; when, or in what season God created the world; when began the yeare and times; and where was the Sun, or where God placed it at first, when hee began his course; & likewise the Moone, with the other Starres and Planets.

*Aristotle* did little care for these questions, and infinite other Philosophers beside, who thorow defect of the light of faith, did verily beleue, that the world was eternall, without any beginning or ending. But such as haue declared themselves not to be ignorant in these things, but verily beleued the beginning of times, seeme to stand diuided betwene two opinions. There are some among them, who say, that in the instant when the world was created, the Sunne was found to be in the first point of *Aries*, or the *Kanune*, which is in the Equinoctiall of Summer, the time coming then to the eleventh day of March. Others say, that the world began, the Sunne then being in the first point of *Libra*, or the *Balances*, which is the other Equinoctiall of Winter, commonly happening in these our dayes, on the thirteenth or fourteenth day of September. Of this opinion were diuers *Egyptians*, *Arabes*, and *Greekes* likewise; according as *Lincolniensis* reporteth, in a Treatise of the world, which he wrote to Pope *Clement*; & *Vincenius* in his historical Mirrour.

Such as haue followed this opinion, alledge a reason for it, which (in my judgment) is very weak, and of no force. For they say, that then the principall fruites of the earth were fully ripe, and in the very best of their fauour, because it was most requisite, that (at the beginning) the earth should present it selfe in the height of perfection. To this purpose, they produce authority out of Deuteronomy, where it is said; *That God made all things perfect and complete*. There are some others, who affirme, that the entrance of times, and of yeares, was on the very greatest day of all other; which was, then, when the Sunne entred into the signe of *Cancer*, as now it is the eleuenth or twelfth day of Iune. *Julius Firmicus*, an

The Authors  
purpose in  
his Chapter.

Curious ques-  
tions, re-  
cited to be  
knowne.

*Aristotle* and  
the other Phi-  
losophers; here  
of opinion of the  
world.

Two opinions  
concerning  
the Sun and  
Moone at the  
worlds crea-  
tion.  
*Equinoctium  
v. canale*.

*Equinoctium  
Autumnale*.

*I. Livetia, in  
Tract. Mund.  
v. canale, in  
Min. H. oris.*

A reason al-  
ledged for the  
evils perpe-  
trated at the  
beginning.

*Deut. 31. 3.*

The entrance  
of times and  
yeares.

The figure Leo  
the house of  
the Sunne.

The most pro-  
bable opinion  
is all one.

S. Hierome,  
S. Ambrose,  
S. Basil.

The full agree-  
ment of all  
together.

On what day  
was the pas-  
sion of our cur-  
red Saviour.

Concerning  
the first Mo-  
neth of the  
year.

\*Containing  
part of March  
and part of  
April.

Vincen-  
tin.

Alto in Tract.  
Astrolog.

ancient Author, and of great authority in Astrology, which he wrote of the worlds creation, saith: *That when the world began, the Sunne was in the first degree of the figure Leo;* which is the figure wherein hee hath most dominion, because it is called the house of the Sunne: the like he saith, in discovering the other Planets, by their order and degrees.

But that which relistheth of most reason in all these opinions, and appeareth most conformable to truth, is; that when both time and the heavens began to bee mooved; the Sun was in the first point of Aries, which is (with vs) in March, and at which time is the entrance of Summer. This is affirmed (beside all other reasons that we can alledge) by the greater part of Historians, as well Christians as Heathens; among whom are S. Hierome, S. Ambrose, S. Basil, and others, who doe all maintaine, that the beginning of the world, and likewise of the year, was in the Equinoctiall of four Summer. And although there may appeare some difference among them, because some will haue the worlds beginning to be in March, and others in April: it may well be endured, for they all agree together, that it was in the Equinoctiall, which now is in March. Notwithstanding, as wee have formerly affirmed, the Equinoctiall is not alwaies fixe or constant for Iesus Christ suffered his passion on the five and twentieth day of March, which was then the Equinoctiall, and now it is the eleuenth day of the same Moneth, whereby may well be presumed, that heere tofore it was in April.

For this cause, some would haue April to be the first Moneth, and others March; yet notwithstanding, they all say, that when the Sun enters into the first point or degree of Aries, then is the Equinoctiall. This opinion is grounded on the Scripture, especially on the twelfth Chapter of Exodus, where it is said: *The Moneth Nisan (which is March with vs) is the entrance to your year.* Vincentius, in the beginning of his historical Mirrour, saith: *The Hebrewes began their year in March, because in the like Moneth was the Equinoctiall, when as the world began.* This opinion was likewise helde by some of the Gentiles; as Elpasus in his Astrological

Treatise, where he saith: *The Chaldeans being very great Astrologers, beleued likewise, that on the first day when the world was made, the Sunne entered into the first point or degree of Aries:* and this is also confidently maintained, by the most part of Astrologers, both ancient and moderne. Therefore when the Sunne came in his course thither, or to that Signe; then was the beginning of the year, and thence ensued the principall or beginning day. For it is a matter most manifest, that the first day wherein the world began to be made, was also made the first day of the year: considering, that till then, there was neither time nor year. And therefore the figure of Aries is reckoned (about all the rest) to be the first in order among the twelve signes.

Now, as when we come to judge of the revolution of yeares, and things to happen therein, as of necessity we must equal the figures, by the beginning of the world; even so it is as easie to prooue, that God placed the Sunne in the first degree of this figure, at the beginning and creation of the world. And this may bee conjectured without any great labor, by our professed in the first Chapter of the seventh Book, in our first Volume, where discoursing on the time and day, when as our blessed Lord and Saviour suffered; it is affirmed, that the Sunne was in the selfe same at the creation, as it was when the great Sunne of righteousness made the regeneration of the world, suffering death and passion in humane flesh, and that happened (as is formerly saide) in the Equinoctiall of Summer, which is an argument and presupposition, that even so hee placed it, when as he created it.

Moreover, it appeareth very credible, that it was so made, because such as know any thing in Astrology, and in the Sphere, do well perceiue, that the Sunne entering into the degree of this figure, and making his revolution by the space of a whole day: there is not any part of the world, which he leaueth vnloukt on with his bright splendour. And this he doth not in any other place of the Zodiacus, because in what place elsse hee is; there are some parts of the earth where he is not seene that day; but being in this first degree, as we haue saide, there is no place where he is vnseene, as hee walketh along

Concerning  
the beginning  
of the year,  
what Moneth  
and on what  
day.

At what time  
the world  
began, in  
the Equino-  
ctiall of winter.

Of the time  
and day when  
as Christ suf-  
fered in the  
flammyng  
red with the  
day of the  
worlds crea-  
tion.

At what time  
the Sunne il-  
luminated  
the world to-  
gether with  
the cleare  
of the day  
became.

A reason al-  
ledged of  
good conse-  
quence for  
the Sunnes  
first appea-  
ring.

Against such  
a maxime  
the world  
beginning  
in the Equi-  
noctiall of winter.

At what time  
the begin-  
ning of the  
Spring.

Of the Ro-  
mane yeares,  
beginning the  
first day of  
January.

Marc. Porro  
in 16.  
Microb. in Lib.  
1. out in 54.

The first sea-  
son that Ad-  
am and Eve  
saw in the  
world was the  
Spring time.

along in his diurnal course, or dayes journey. And it standeth with good reason and conueniency, that the first day of the Sunnes setting forth on progrease, hee should begin in such a place, where hee may best visite the whole world with his beames. And that it should be in the figure Aries, rather then in that of Libra, appeareth plainly by our former relation, that on the day of our Lords passion, the Sunne was in the selfe same place, therefore there is some particular power in this figure.

Holding this opinion then for the most certaine, I say, that the reason alledged, by such as would haue the beginning of the world, to be in the Equinoctiall of September, is very weak. For it is not sufficient to say, that all the fruites were ripe and mellow; in regard it is no vniuersall rule: for when the fruites are ripened towards the Northerne latitude, they are not so in the South, but wholly quite contrary. And therefore I craue no helpe of their reason, who say, that the Equinoctiall of March (already prooued) is the beginning of the Spring-time, & of flowers ouer all the earth, all things beeing then in procreation; for if with vs it be the beginning of Spring-time, it is then winter in the Southerne parts. Let our reasons then suffice, & the authority of such worthy men, to cleare all other doubt or scruple; although the Romane yeare, now in vse, seemeth to begin the first day of Ianuary: for this matter came so to passe, onely through the superstitious deuotion, which the Gentiles had to their God *Ianus*, coueting to haue their year beginne with his name, as the Christians began theirs with the Natiuity of Iesus Christ, albeit the yeare doth not then begin.

The Romanes (in like manner) began their year in March, according as *Marcus Varro* writeth, and *Macrobius* in his first Booke, *Quid in his Fastis*, and many more beside. Also God shewed his immense goodnesse, in placing our first Parents *Adam* and *Eve*, in the Northerne parts of the earth, when he banished them out of the terrestiall Paradise; & that the first season which they saw in this world, was the Spring-time, finding the earth to be Greene & flowry, with the ayre milde, sweete and temperate, which was done for the consolation of their misery and

nakednesse, and so they could not haue found it, if it had not bene Spring-time.

This matter being sufficiently prooued, wee must know that there are other Planets, and especially the Moone, as being one of the principall, whom some do maintaine, to be set by God in conjunction with the Sunne, on the first day of her creation. Others say, that she was in opposition, and at the full. Saint *Augustine* reporteth these two opinions, in his booke vpon Genesis, the first Chapter, saying further, that such as maintaine her to be in opposition, and at the full; do alledge for their reason; that it was very inconuenient, that at her beginning, God should create her any way defectuous. Others vrdge the contrary, and say it is more credible; that she began her first day in conjunction, increasing in her age answerable to our account. But to quic this controuersie, I say (in mine opinion) that God at such time as he created her, made her at full, and in opposition of the Sun. And it seemeth, that this iudgement is the most received, as of S. *Augustine*, in the place before alledged, and *Salomon* on the twelfth Chapter of Exodus, saith the very same. This appeareth conformable to holy Scripture, where it is saide: *God made two great lights, the greater light to gouerne the day, and the lesser light to illuminate the night.* Now in the very same instant as the Sunne began his light, hee gaue splendour to the moity of the world, because in that moity or halfe part, hee made day. But the other moity could haue no light of the Sunne, by reason of the earths shadow; therefore it seemeth consonant to reason, that in the other moity of the earth, where it was night, the Moone should extend her office of shining. For like as they were both created at one instant; so should they both fulfill their offices in one and the same instant, and the one to gouerne the day, as the other the night, according to the words of the Text, verified apparently, that the world was wholly lightened at one & the same time.

Contrariwise, if the Moone had bene in conjunction, the light common and vniuersall could not haue come till fiftene dayes after; and beside, three or foure dayes must needs haue passed, before the could lend any light to the earth, and that

Of the Moone  
how to be in  
conjunction  
with the Sun  
at her crea-  
tion.

Aug. in Gen.  
cap. 5.

Others hold  
her to be in  
opposition.

The Authors  
iudgement in  
this case.

Salomon in Ex-  
od. cap. 12.

Gen. 1. 16.

The Generall  
Offices of the  
Sunne and  
Moone for  
night & day,  
to be both  
done at one  
instant.

Against the  
conjunction  
of the Moone  
with the Sun  
at that time.

must be but very little too, euen as when we see her to be but four or five daies old. Therefore it was very conuenable, that these two famous lights shold illuminate the earth at one instant. Ifay moreouer, that the Moone then being in opposition with the Sunne, shee must needs haue her being on the other side of the signe *Libra*, for in her so being, she performd the same day the effects as the Sunne did, illuminating all the world, by her measurable pace of that dayes iourney; which else she could not haue done, if she had bin in any other place of the Zodiacque. Heereby it appeareth, that this opinion is the most likely; although *Iulius Firmicus* will needs say, that the Moone (at the time of her creation) had her first seating in the fiftenth degree of the signe *Cancer*, where shee affected most to be; & of this opinio is *Macrobius* in his first Booke of *Scipios* dreame.

As for the other Planets, it is very difficult to certifie them, and lesse profitable to know them: in which respect, I am willing to bestow the lesse paines on them. Neuerthelesse, *Iulius Firmicus*, in his second Booke before alledged, is so bold as to name the places where each of them is seated, saying: *Saturne* should bee in the signe *Capricorne*; *Iupiter* in *Sagittarius*; *Mars* in *Scorpio*; *Venus* in *Libra*; & *Mars* in *Virgo*; which are the signes wherein they haue most power, and being signes likewise appointed to these Planets. *Elpacus* himselfe maintayneth as much, according as *Ioannes Agricanus* declareth in his Summary, entitled *Agricano*; with *Macrobius* in his fore-named Booke of *Somno Scipionis*, and thereunto consenteth *Iulius Firmicus*, naming expressly the same signes, yet there are others, who haue thought, that in the recited instant, all the Planets were found to be in coniunction with the Sunne. *Gautierus* the Monke, in his booke of the Ages of the world, saith, that the ancient *Indians* held firmly this opinion. As for my selfe, I am of the minde, that God did then set the Planets in such distant places, one from another, especially from the Sunne; that on such a chosen day, each one of them might illuminate the earth with his beames. VVhich could not be, they being in coniunction with the Sunne, because his presence, within any certaine space or proportion, so hindereth the greatest luster of their light, that

they cannot bee discerned on the earth. Notwithstanding, being created according to the will of God; it sufficeth (saith *Augustine*) that they were made, in being perfected by the hand of God, whose workes (in what kinde soeuer they be) are perfect.

## CHAP. XXXV.

That men may learne examples by Birds, Fyres, Wormes, and other Creatures, to leade the course of a vertuous life.

WE haue already declared in our first Volume, how Beasts & Birds haue enstructed men in a great part of the properties appertaining to Physicke, by purging and preserving themselves from harmes: now I am briefly to entreate, how their example may bee profitable to vs, both in body and soule. And vndoubtedly, who soeuer wil consider & contemplate, on the nature & properties abiding in beasts, shall not only thence deriue good enstructions for life and safety of our humane bodies; but rules and examples beside, of good, commendable, and vertuous manners. VVhy do not men strue to purchase peace with their neighbours; feeling what concord and amity is among Beasts of all kindes, and how they keepe company, vnite themselves together in each kinde, and stand defensive one for another? VVhy shame they not to bee slothfull and negligent, perceiving & observing the care and sollicitude of the Ant, and after what manner shee maketh her provision in Summer for VVinter? VVhat vassals and subiects are they, that will not serue and honor their good Princes, noting with what loue and obedience poore little Bees serue and honour their King, and that which they doe for him beside? In which respect, such Common-weales as haue no Prince, but enioy all things in common; may not they learne an example of living in peace and concord, by imitation of the poore Ants, who are so great in multitude, and yet preserve an order of peace & iustice among themselves? And why do not great Lords and Princes consider, what manufacture and clemency all of them are obliged vnto; when

As in Gen. cap. 6.

In the fiftenth Chapter of the 7. Booke.

Concord and amity among brute beasts, exemplified to man.

Slothfull and negligent, reproved by the Ant.

Loue & duty to Princes taught by Bees.

Against covetousness, which hath no Prince.

Of clemency and manufacture.

when they but behold the King of Bees, who doth no offence, neyther worketh any displeasure to the very meanest and filliest of his Subiects?

Our great Seigniors and high-minded men, may learne humility of the Camell, who falleth on his knees, to accept a heauy and ouer-chargeable burden. True and loyall married couples, may take example by the good custome among some Birds: especially Pigeons and Turtle-Doues, noting both in the Male and Female, that nothing but death can impeach their continuall companying, or hinder cyther from their first choyse. I finde written moreouer, concerning Turtle-Doues, that the one dying, the other remaineth in the condition of a widdow, & finisheth the remainder of her life in widowhood. Saint *Ambrose* writeth, that widdowed women may learne chastity of the Turtle-Doue. As touching continency, all beasts (well nere) do lesse son vtherin: for after the Female hath conceived, she neuer seeketh, or hath any appetite to the Male, till her full time be determined. They are likewise examples of temperance in all vices; because they eate no more then sufficeth to maintaine life, neyther sleepe they any more then necessity requirith.

To keepe our selues well and discreetly gouerned, the Peacocke may be our direction. For defence and maintenance of our houses, as also to lue liberally among our people; what better enstructer can we haue then the Cock? For he will part with the food out of his owne Beake, to giue it to his Hens, and when need requirith, he will expose himselfe to all perils in their defence. The great obligation, wherein children standeth bound to their Parents, and how they ought to serue and asist them, the Storke plainly witnesseth, by nourishing their aged Parents in their owne nests, as they fedde and maintayned them in their youth. Why should not men blush and be ashamed, to commit frailty and sinne through feare, knowing the inuincible courage of the Lyon? Faithfulness, friendship, and acknowledgement of receiued benefites, we are notably taught by the meere behaviour of Dogs; that neuer forget the Masters they haue serued, but continually loue them, neuer ceasing to bee thankfull for

the poorest bread they eate. If a man would benefit himselfe by the vse of another mans goods, yet without any harme or injury done him; let him so carry himself in that case, as doth the little laboring Bee, who draweth honey out of the fairest flowers, and yet no wrong at all done to them.

VVhat meanes and order we should daily obserue, for healthfull conseruation of our liues, we are not to learne it of any one beast onely, but of many, that know what food doth soonest offend them, as also in with-drawing from one place to another, according to the mutation of times. Moreouer, they will lue in such soyles, as are answerable to their complexions and natures: excelling men here in as well as in all other things beside. VVhy should not men be absolutely learned, and ignorance in any thing quite remoued from them, being endued with hearing and vnderstanding: considering that an Elephant learneth what soeuer is shewne and taught him; a Dog attrineth to many familiar qualities; and Birds can speake, being thereto enstructed? He that heareth the Nightingales sweet Songs, and some other melodious Birds; how can he but desire to sing musically? VVhy couet not men to be excellent builders, beholding the Swallowes skilfull enstruction; what arte shee declareth for her owne dwelling, and with what diuersity of matter it is composed? VVhat better Geometry, then that of the Spider? What better Astrology, then that of the Ant, & likewise of a Fish (according to *Galen*) called *\*Francofopos*, that hauing but one eye, yet looks continually vp to heauen? Haue men reason and iudgement, and yet are meere ignorant in these Artes?

How many other industrious and excellent perfections are in brute Beasts, which men either haue, or else may learne of them? Passages vnder ground, making of Caves in the earth, and knowledge how to dwell in them; came they not first from the Mole and Fox? There are certaine little VVormes, in Latine called *Seres*, that enstructed the meanes and manner to spin and make Silke. Next, the Spider taught how to spin thred for cloth, & so to make Nets, whereby to catch Birds. Men learned of Beasts to swim in the water, for there is no one of them but can do

Benefit receiued without prejudice.

Healthfull preservation of life.

Absolute learning, and vnderstanding.

Skill in Musique.

Arte in building.

Geometry.

Astrology.

*Galen* in lib. 4.

\* A Fish whose eye is always directed vpward.

Dwelling vnder ground.

Making of Silke.

Making of cloth. Catching of birds. Swimming in the water.

Of her then being in opposition with the Sunne.

*Macrobius* in lib. 1. de Som. Scip.

*Iul. Firmicus* in lib. 2. de creat. mundi.

*Elpacus* in Tract. Astralog. Itean. Agrican. in Sum. Agric. *Macrobius* in lib. de Som. Scip.

*Gautierus* in lib. de Mund. cap. 5.

The Planets not then in coniunction with the Sun.

Rules for phisick, & knowledge in wear-ther.

Our wearing garments and food.

The cheapest support of our lues.

Examples concerning the lues.

All moral Pa- trils grow- ed on beas- ts.

Beasts com- mended to vs in holy Scrip- ture, for our instruction.

Reasonable- men instructed by exam- ple of brute beas- ts.

Augustine lib. 14. chap. 2.

it; yet men cannot attaine thereto, but by practise and learning. What Physicall rules they haue taught men, and knowledge in the changes of weather, hath elle where bene handled; and yet notwithstanding we make such prouision of them, for supply of hunger and other necessities, as I know not how wee could liue without their helpe. Our garments are made of theirs, and their fleish is our best Foode: both being brought home to vs from far remote countreyes, and whatsoeuer is needfull for vs, or else we send abroad to seeke after them. They labour, and make the earth playable for our vse; whence we get our bread, and the best fruites of sustentation, so that they are the principall maintenance of our liues. And although they are forelaboured, pursued, and enuill entreated by the spleenes of men: yet are they still obedient, both knowing, following, and euermore dooing them seruice.

Come wee now to examples concerning the foule, as a matter of higher Argument, and much greater importance. Whence can a man cerue more worthie examples, both for vertues and good manners meete to bee in men, then from beas- t? All those Vertues which naturall Philosophers hath perfwaded vnto vs, are grounded on the similitudes and parables of Beasts: Oratours serued their turnes with them; and all that haue spoken or written elegantly.

God and his Saints haue oftentimes in sacred Scripture, instructed and perswaded vs, by the properties & conditions of beas- ts, for the perfection of our liues: And the rules of vertue and ciuill manners do tell vs, that we should be wise like Serpents, and simple as Doves; milde, like Lambes, and strong and constant as Lyons. In like sort, by the example of brute beas- ts, and voide of reason; we are taught to become men reasonable, and spiritu- ally affected. We finde many Offices & estates in the Church, applyed and fig- ured by beas- ts, and according vnto their properties. By Oxen (according to S. Augustine, writing on the second Chap- ter of S. Iohn) such men are signified, as doe publish and preach the holye Scrip- tures: for they till and plough vnto the knotted furrowes of our soules, sowing therein the seedes of Gods most glorious

word.

Saint Paule, and Salomon in his Pro- uerbes doeth say; *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Ox that laboureth*, Rom. 9. verse 7. Prouerb. 12. chap. 14. The holy Doctors and Preachers of the Church, that with Doctrine and good Lawes doe gouerne and defend it, are termed Dogs. Saint Gregorie speaks it on the wordes of Iob: *Quorum non dignabitur patres ponere cum canibus gregis mei*. The same Saint Gregorie, inuitheth men vnto a contempla- tiue kinde of life, by the imitation of Goates, that alwayes climbe vp to high places, spending there their time in con- templation as it were: the wordes in Ze- lutticus seem his motive thereto, Leuitic. chapt. 12. verse 12. *Out of the Herd let the Goate be offered*.

Moreouer hee sayth, that Preachers should imitate the Cocke; as ground- ing on the wordes of Iob, who sayde; *Who hath giuen vnderstanding to the Cock?* Ad- ding withall, that (like vnto the Cocke) they proclaim (in the dinnie darkenesse of this life) the glorious light that is to come, and awake vs with their shrill voy- ces, out of sleepe finnes, saying with S. Paul, *The night is past, and day approacheth*. And againe, *It is time for vs to arise from sleepe, looke abroad yee inist, and sinne not*. Phil. 1. 12.

The Church her selfe, pure, holy, and immaculate, is compared to a Dove, as Salomon declareth in his Canticles, say- ing. *Beholde, thou art faire as my Loue, thine eyes are like the Doves*. And againe in an- other place: *O my Loue, O my Dove*. We see likewise, that of the foure Euangelists three are figured by three beas- tes. If I wold continue longer on this argument, I could finde matter enough to discou- re on. But aboue all other, that of our Sa- uour and Redeemer Iesus Christ, is the most notable, who would bee figured by a Beas- t, as Saint Iohn speaketh in his Ap- ocalypse, chapt. 7. verse 14. *The Lion of the Tribe of Iudah hath bene victorious*. And David sayeth in his Psalmes, *Roar as thee like a Lion*; and so in many other places, which were too long to rehearse. Be- side, in S. Mathew, he teacheth himselfe a Hen, saying; *O Ierusalem, Ierusalem how often would I haue gathered thee & thy chil- dren together, as the Hen gathereth hir Chickens vnder her wings, and ye would not*. Seeing

## Chap. 36. Of Neglect in Military Discipline.

Christ works compared to the proper- ty in beas- ts.

Man more of- fensive vnto God then all his other cre- atures.

Some men do giue worse examples to men, then brute beas- ts can do.

Seeing then, that Christ compareth his workes to the properties of Beas- ts; men may doe well to receiue instruction from them, in leading a good and holie life. And contrarywise, what shame and confusion is it to vs, to see and know, that all kinde of Beas- ts do follow their nature perfectly, and men (onely made reason- able) vse their owne so badly, abusing that super-excellent gift very viley. For, he that ought most to honor God, doth most of all offend him, and farre beyonde all o- ther creatures, dayly perverting and adul- terating his workes. So that there are some beas- ts, of whome men may learne much better examples, then from some kind of men among whom they liue. For they haue more apprehension of iustice, and offend farre lesse, then men that knowe what is their dutie, and yet do it not. And therefore, God deliuereth it by the mouth of the Prophet Esay: *The Ox knoweth his Master, and the Ass his Cribbe; but Israel knoweth him not, neither will his people vnder- stand him*.

### CHAP. XXXVI.

*Of neglect in Martiall Discipline: and of an Army of Christians, that lost all their liues thorow drunkennesse, and want of following such courses, as are to be obser- ued in Military affayres.*



EE haue already declared, how Bayan Chinsan, Lieuten- ant to the Tartarian Em- perour Cublay, and director of his Military forces, tooke 12 Cities and Townes (by assault) at his first annuall, for conquering the great Pro- uince of Maugy, before all the rest would yeeld themselves tributary. One of them was vterly ruined to the very foundation and worke vfed then any other known to be, during the Empire of the said Cublay, which was about fixe and thirtie yeares. This City being called Cingunguy, was the second in wealth, greatnesse, and mul- titude of inhabitants, in all the rich King- dome of Maugy, and the reason why it was wholly ruined, followeth thus.

Bayan Chinsan, pursuing his Conquests, was much whitlood by a strong Cattle, builded vpon a small mountaine, very po- tent by naturall situation, and artificiall construction. For therein continued a powerfull Garrison, that preuayled with great advantages on his Army, passing a- long the foote of that Mountain: and this was the reason that he would proceed on no further, till hee had deriued some better correspondence from the people of this Garrison. And yet he durst promise to himselfe, that (within some small di- stance of time) he should preuaile against them, as afterwarde it prouoed true in- deed.

In the meane while, and at the selfsame instant, the explorators or scouts were come backe againe, which he had sent to surueigh the estate of Cingunguy, who made knowne vnto him, that the people of the City appeared, to knowe nothing of his coming, neyther stood vpon any guard, or preparation to expect a besie- ging. This was the cause (to the end hee might the better preuent them) that hee forthwith dispatched a Squadron of thirty thousand men, armed at the lightest, and very good soldiers, all of them being Chris- tians (which came among the Tartarian Idolaters in open liberty, as the Iews haue done from all times of antiquity, and dayly yet doe) to possesse themselves of the Citie, and hinder the entrance of any suc- cour, either by way of power or victuals, assuring them likewise, that he would fol- low them with all conuenient speede that might be.

This warlike band of Christians, made such speedy diligence, that (within three dayes) they arrived before the City, and lodged themselves on the Ditches side, before any in the City took notice ther- of. They made the Escalado in so many fe- uerall places, and disposed their Archers so conueniently, as no one durst peep out at any of the battlements, or elsbe scene vpon the walls. At length, the besieged (imagining the army that had thus engirt the, was of far greater strength then it was indeed) being overcome with feare, ren- dered themselves to the discretion & mer- cy of the assaillants, to the end, they might finde the more humanity at their handes. The gates being set open, the Christians entred, taking vp their lodgings in feue- ral

A strong Ca- ttle builded by Bayan, gat- taged.

Return of his scouts from Cingunguy.

The comma- d that Bayan gave to his Squadron of Christians.

The Christi- ans annuall before Cingunguy.

The men of Cingunguy yeeld to the Christians.

In the eight chapt. of the 1 Booke in the 14 volume.

For Christ compared to a beas- t.

Psalmes 110.

Cingunguy the second Citie in the kingdom of Maugy.

The careless neglect of Christians in their victory, continuing still in surfeit and drunkenness.

all houses. And these indiscreet conquerors, without any other care of military discipline, finding the City well furnished with victuals of all kinds, & whatsoever was needfull for the life of man, but (above all) plenty of rich wines; fell to making themselves good chere, and drinking hard, after the German manner, till they fell asleepe with the pots in their hands.

Hereupon the Inhabitants finding themselves deceived, in yeelding to so final a number of people, that had no better vnderstanding in actions of warre, neither knew how to vse the fortune so fairly befallne them; began to consult heereon with themselves, and how to worke their deliuerance with as much speed, as they were ouer-hasty in losing their liberty. The Christians continuing in this drunken behauiour, without any feare at all of the Inhabitants, that lodged the Soldiers in their houses, though not halfe so many as they were able to receiue: in one night it was fully concluded, that euery host should kill his guest, and so it was accordingly performed. Afterward, they threw their bodies into the great Riuer, which runneth through the middle of the City, saying: These are the renegados and faith breakers, men of Christian Religion, of whom the Emperour *Cublay* made no great account, but suffered them to carry crosses in their Ensigns, to shame them the more in their least ill demeanour.

The strong Castle taken by Bayan, & rydings brought him of his mens slaughter.

Bayan *Chinsan* hauing surprized the foresaid castle, commanded the Captains to be hang'd, and the castle quite ruined; but pardoned all the Soldiers, iourneying afterward on to *Cinguinguy*: but within less then two dayes iourney, hee heard how all his men were slaine, therefore hee brought a strong sieg before the City. The Inhabitants were not a little amazed, beholding so powerfull an Army to beset them, and conducted by a man so highly renowned: and therefore desired to haue a Parlee before any farther proceeding, which accordingly was granted. The summe of the Oration propounded by the Deputies, was thus. That they could not deny a manifest truth, but that they had slaine a number of runnagates, masterlesse men, seeming to haue no faith or honesty, neither shewing any open ap-

A Parlee required before further proceeding, and answer returned by them of Cinguinguy.

parance of their power; but suddenly surprized their City. Moreover, that they were all Christians, more addicted vnto wine and gourmandizing, then any respect of valour or manhood: in which regard, his losse was little or none at all, by the deferred overthrow of such careless people, and they humbly desired pardon, if in this case they had transgressed.

Bayan returned his answer brauely and succinctly, saying. His men were warriors, that had no other direction in this businesse, but command from his mouth onely, and he had beene well informed, that they took the City by faire order of warre; without offending any one in their goods, or violence offered to wiues or maydes, or disarming any Inhabitant, but suffering them to continue in their wonted liberty. And in being Christians, they did not therefore deserue death, because he could as well tollerate them, as his Master the Emperour, who not onely suffered them to liue in all his Countries, without the least injury done vnto them; but hauing conquered kingdomes, wholly Christian, he neuer inuaded any matter touching their Religion. Moreover, the greater part of Officers in his Court, and the very worthiest of his warriors, were all Christians, being men more faithful, and of better conseruation, then any other Religion whatsoever.

As for their neglect in martiall discipline, he did not allow it in them, but confessed, that they deserued death therein, which (doubtlesse) himselfe would haue inflicted on them; condemning them for beeing so forward, in executing any authority belonging onely to him. For which boldnesse (with an absolute denyall of pardon or fauour) he vowed to be reuenged on the men of *Cinguinguy*; because (against all fidelity) they had slaine his men, and declared monstrous ingratitude for their extraordinary manuetude, and thence hee pretended to deriue his reason.

Hauing thus spoken, hee would see them no more, but in this rough manner dismissed them. About an houre after, he caused his Rammes and other Engines of battery, to be mounted, for destruction of the walles and houses, and within few dayes after, took the City, with-

Wine and gourmandizing more respected than manhood.

Bayan reply to the men of Cinguinguy.

The Christians defended in their profession, and whole kingdomes conquered, yet suffered to be the better of their religion.

Bayan denieth pardon or fauour, vowing death and bloody reuenge.

In what manner Bayan destroyed the City of Cinguinguy.

Children sold into Gueury, to who gaue musicke.

The description of the situation of the City of Cinguinguy, and the commodities made therein.

Cinguinguy the second or third entry in all those parts.

A view of some of the disorders among our felles.

without any great resistance, putting all the men to the sword, that were about 14 yeares of age. Women and maides went whither themselves pleased; but for their children, they were sold at the Out-cry, to such as would giue the most money for them: for there were certaine merchants of *Sezga*, which followed the army that did trafficke onely in such kinde of merchandise, and so do yet to this day. Afterward, vittails beginning to faile, & the warlike enemy, hauing emptied the citie of all the wealth; he commanded it to be set on fire, and that the Army should not boudge thence, until it were intirely consumed.

This City was seated on a goodly riuer, large and nauigable, whereby, the comerce which it made with other countries, returned infinite profit and wealth. In it was made the richest & fairest works wrought with the needle, both in cloth of gold and siluer, as no other City in the world beside had the like. There were also made sumptuous vessells (for all vses) both of gold and siluer, by most admirable cunning, and in great plenty: besides costly clothes of fine Cotten, gold, siluer and like. In briefe, it was the second or third City (as then) in all those parts: which was thus destroyed, thorow the drunkenness of *Neistorian* Christians, and by the perfidy of the Inhabitants, euen as *Troyan Ilum* by luxurie & whoredome, since when it was neuer rebuilded, or inhabited. The ruines thereof may be seene to this day, whereat full many haue stood amazed, it being situated in so potent a territory: but it was thought to proceed from the iust displeasure of God, and for the bloody massacre of so many Christians.

We may now come homeward, and nearer to our selues, and speake of the like faults, as were among these *Tartarian* Christians, thorow lacke of knowledge, how to make vse of victorie: As not long since was seene in *Francke*, in the first battaile giuen neere to *Dreux*, betweene the *French* Protestants and the Catholics, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1562. vnder *Charles* the ninth. The Prince of *Conde*, being chief of those Protestants, overthrew with his horsemen (wherein he was strongest) a great part of the royall Catholique Armie,

whereof *Anne de Montmorancy*, Constable, was commanded, putting the *Switzers* to flight, and the sayde Constable taken prisoner. Hereupon the Protestants becoming insolent, and vterly vnmindfull of Militarie Discipline: left their ranks, brake their order, gaue the chase, pursuing after certayne runaways, and, before they had fully conquered all their enemies; they beganne to gape after pillage with the *Smart-ruters* and *Launce-knights*. During this disorder, *Monsieur de Guise*, a most wise and valiant Capitaine, hauing yet left him a bond of braue men, beganne to set vpon those negligent fellows with his troups, and running on the Protestants (who imagined they had the whole victorie, which they knew not how to holde) got the better of them, and tooke their Leader the Prince of *Conde*, becoming sole maister of the field. Thus, not knowing how to vse Militarie Discipline, by breaking their ranks, following the chase, and scraping for pillage, when they had gotten the better of their enemies safe and soundly, yet not hauing wholly overcome them: did they not declare themselves very vnadvised, becoming guilty and well worthie of death: I am perswaded, that all good warriors are of that opinion. And so it happened, for thus the Protestant Armie was vterly foyled, which was (wellneare) equal in great Capitaines and good men to the Royall. But such losse doth almost daily happen, where Military discipline is not obserued.

They that (at so cheape a rate) tooke the City of *Cinguinguy*, should haue disarmed the Citizens, seized the strongest places into their owne power, planted Courts of guard in all the most frequented parts of the City, imprisoned the chiefe persons, expelled out of the City, a greater part of the youthfull and most forward men, if they would not kill them, without vsing such courtlesse after conquest. In so doing, they had kept Martiall discipline on foote, and auoyded the losse of their owne liues, besides the reproach, to their great infamie. But ouer and aboue all the rest, they should (as much as in them lay) haue abstayned from wine: For there is not anie thing, that sooner bereauech a

The fault of the Protestants in the battaile at Dreux.

The Duke of Guise a wise worthy and tried warrior, overthrew the Protestants, and took the Prince of Conde prisoner.

The Protestant Army vicerly foyled.

What the Christians ought to haue done, vpon their victorie at Cinguinguy.

Wine most hurtfull to any good Souldier.

O o good



good Souldiour of manly iudgement, and maketh him merely brutish in behaviour.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

*Of the miserable ends, and other strange traueses, endured by diuerse Kings, Emperours, Dukes, and other great Princes, within an hundred and fiftie yeares of thistimes.*



According to the imitation of *Petrarke*, I am desirous to describe the vnhappie ends, and other aduersities, happening vnto diuerse famous Christian Princes; as Kings, Emperours, Dukes, Popes, and other Prelates, liuing within an hundred and fiftie yeares of these dayes, some of them being familiarly knowne to vs; omitting such as the *Greekes* and *Latines* haue set downe in their writings, because I would not be troublefome to the Reader, by repeating Histories else-where to be read; (and perhaps) knowne to him before. And if it come to passe, that any worthie person, constituted in some eminent dignitie, chauce to feele the sickenesse of Fortune, by such occasions as shall ensue in this Chapter; let him take comfort, and forsake all sadnesse; for it is no meane consolation to the miserable, to haue store of companions ranked with them in their disasters.

We will begin then with a king of *Bohemia* named *George*, who liued in the yere 1466, who was reputed to be a man of great wisdom, and was elected (*in fide vacante*) or *inter-regnum* after the death of *Ladisslaus*, who died on the very day of his marriage, solemnized at *Prage*, the capitall citie of his Kingdome, hauing taken in marriage *Madame Magdalen*, daughter to *Charles* the seauenth King of *Fraunce*. This *George* hauing obtrayned the amitie of many in the Kingdome, and making himselfe much feared beyond many other; was installed King, and gaue his daughter in marriage, to *Matthias* King of *Hungarie*. In his elder yeres

*Ferdinand* King of the *Romaines*, brother to *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, possessed himselfe of his Kingdome, he holding then but a small portion thereof, because hee was molested many yeares before, by the Kings of *Poland*, *Hungaria*, and some Emperours, by the solicitation of Pope *Paul*, the second; for fauouring of the *Infinites* Doctrine, in which cause he was so vehemently afflicted, that it shortened his dayes. He dyed much bemoaned; for in his youth, while his body held the strongest vigour, hee performed many notable and worthie exploits in warres against the *Turkes*.

Another Prince, some short while before, *Charles Bourgoyn*, Sonne vnto *Phillip*, one of the most potent and vndoubted Christian Princes, that was in those times, being in the yere of our Lord God, one thousand four hundred and two and twenty. Hee vnderstoode himselfe to be so rich and mightie, that hee pretended to create himselfe a King. But *Fredericke* the third of that name, being then Emperour, would not admit such an aduancement of his Countrey. His father left him great store of coyne, and many large reuenues of diuerse Seigneuries: hauing lent foure hundred thousand crownes to *Charles* the seauenth, holding all the Townes and Countreies, on, and about the riuer of *Somue*; as *Amiens*, *Abeuille*, *Saint Quintines*, and others beside. Hee held also (by way of mortgage) of *Sigismund*, Archduke of *Austria* in *Germany*, the lands to him belonging, both on this side, and beyond the Riuer of *Rheine*, and the Earledome of *Ferrat*, for three score and tenne thousand florins: whereby ensued, the Governour which hee placed ouer those Lands, was the cause of diuerse mis-happes and ignominies, that followed vpon him very suddenly.

Moreover, hee was Lord of foure-teen goodly Prouinces; as the Dutchy of *Burgogne*, the *French Court*, of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Friesland*, *Hennault*, *Artois*, *Namures*, *Guelldres*, *Luxembourg*, *Vtrecht*, and *Embourg*, all which Countreies valewed well a large Kingdome.

And in regarde of his pompe and wealth

King George was with the Hungarians.

Charles Duke of Burgoyne, sonne to Phillip.

George King of Bohemia, who liued in the yere 1466.

The greatnesse of Charles Duke of Burgoyne, with the fearefull lands that he was Lord of.

wealth, he became so proude, that hee durst vnder take the boldnesse (vpon some small suspition conceiued, that *Lewes* the cleuenth King of *Fraunce*, had intelligence with them of *Liege*, being then his enemies) to imprison the sayd King in the great Tower of *Peronne*, where they met both together, vnder the colour of friendly conference. And there he made him condiscend to follow him (like a water Spaniell) in the warres, which hee had against the Inhabitants of *Liege*, euen vntill hee had ruined theyr Townes, and all the Countrey: Heere seated *Edward* King of *England*, being expelled from his Kingdome; giuing him mony, and an armie by Sea, to bring it to passe.

Afterward, hee would needes coape in Armes with the Emperour, and (almost) all the Princes of *Germanie*: besieging the Towne of *Muz* (which is not farre from *Cologne*) for the space of a yere, but all in vaine. Euery one reputed him to be great, happy, and inuincible: but we shal soon perceiue the contrary, and how (by little and little) hee trode the path to his owne ruine, as briefly I purpose to relate. It fortuned, that this *Charles* had intimated as Governour ouer those Lands, which he held mortgaged by the Arch-Duke of *Austria*: a thicke and tyrant, named *Peter de Hagenbach*, Counte of *Thierstein*, who (so much as in him lay) tormented both them of *Mulhouse*, and the *Switzers*: whereupon, they took him prisoner, and hauing proceeded against him by due forme of Lawe: they degraded him of his order of Knight-hood, and afterwards beheaded him in the open Market place.

Next, the seauenty thousand florins were assigned ouer to a Banquer of *Basil*, and to the Duke it was signified by an Herald, that hee held no more right ouer the Countrey, then what the Arch-Duke had mortgaged vnto him. Hereat hee grew verie highly offended, and sought all meanes how to be reuenged; especially for the death of *Peter de Hagenbach*. Then hee assembled an Armie, being assisted by the Duke of *Milane*, and the Dutchesse of *Sauoy*; taking *Lansanna*, which was confedered with the *Switzers*.

Thence hee went and besieged the

Towne and Castle of *Granson*, soliciting them to yeeld themselves. They hauing humbly submitted themselves, the Duke commaunded foure score of them to be hanged, and an hundred more to be drowned, in the neerest Lake adioyning to the Cittie. This inhumane act did not onely moue the *Switzers*; but likewise them of high *Germanie*, who with an Army belonging to the Arch-Duke of *Austria* (whereof *Harman d'Extingen* was the conductor) expelled the Duke from *Granson*, and slew a great part of his Army; taking beside, his Artillerie and furniture for warre, which was great and rich. Afterward, taking downe all their friends, which the Duke had caused to bee hanged, in their places they hung vp as many *Bourgoyns*.

The moueables of his house, which hee would alwayes haue carried along with him, were of extraordinary valew: for among them were so many rich tents, all of costly silkes, and vessels both of golde and siluer, embellished with store of precious stones, that it would require too long time to recount them. There were some *Switzers*, that sold great store of siluer plates, for two great blankes a peece, not knowing their valew and estimation. A Diamond, thought to bee the greatest and clearest, that those times afforded; and, esteemed more worth then fiftie thousand crownes, was sold for twelue Sols. A faire bathing tubbe of siluer, richly gilded, wherein he used to bathe himselfe, was sold for foure pounds. I cannot heere set downe, the rich clothes of Tapistrie, wrought with v-nuallable workes of silke and golde, for him to treade on wherefoeuer hee went. To be brieue, the Reader would be wearied in rehearsall of the incredible wealth and riches, which this vnfortunate prince lost, and whereof his greatest enemies made their triumph.

Then falling into a long and greuous sickenesse, at the length hee recovered, and taking courage to himselfe againe, hee returned the second time against the power and force of the *Switzers*. Hee had formerly taken *Nancie* from *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*; wherefore the sayde Duke of *Lorraine* forthwith ioyned his forces with the *Switzers*.

An Armie assembled by the Duke.

A most inhumane act done by the Duke.

The Duke chased from Granson, and his furniture for warre taken.

The Duke's moueables carried away with him in warre.

The great simplicitie of the Switzers, in making sale of the Dukes creature.

Lewes the cleuenth King of France, imprisoned by Duke Charles.

The bold presumption of Charles Duke of Burgoyne.

Peter de Hagenbach Counte of Thierstein, Counte of Mulhouse, and the Switzers: whereupon, they took him prisoner, and hauing proceeded against him by due forme of Lawe: they degraded him of his order of Knight-hood, and afterwards beheaded.

The beginning of the Dukes downfall and misfortunes.

Fasick Temp.  
Mater Histor.Rene Duke  
of Lorraine.A third battell  
vnderaken  
by the Duke  
of Bourgogne  
and Iost alio.The vanity of  
the Bourgogne  
not concern  
the Dukes death.Naucler, in lib.  
7. cap. 10.The vnfurrow  
note end of  
great a  
Duke.Vladislaus K.  
of Poland and  
Hungaria, &  
howe little a  
while hee en-  
joyed both  
his Kingdome,  
through his  
owne folly.

The Duke of *Bourgogne* being before *Morat*, the people of the Towne ysted forth, and so beset the army of the *Bourguignons*, that twenty thousand (according to *Fasciculus Temporum*) or twentie two thousand, and seven hundred (according to the *Mother of Histories*) were ther slain. The spoyle was left to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who likewise recouered *Nancy* againe afterward.

A third time likewise, the Duke of *Bourgogne*, being not a little offended, that he should be vanquished by so mean a Prince as the Duke of *Lorraine*, and hee recouering the Towne of *Nancy*; returned with fresh forces, and besieged it againe with fourteen thousand able fighting men, beside some other bandes in expectation. The Duke of *Bourgogne* was discomfited, and all his army; but by no means could his body be found. The *Bourguignons* could not be perwaded that hee was slaine; but hauing escaped from the field, hee had retyred himselfe into *Germanie*, where he had vowed to liue in seven years penitence.

There were some *Bourguignons*, that made sale of precious Stones, Horses, and such like things, to be paid againe vpon his returne, and namely to *Brachelles*, in the Diocesse of *Spire*. There was a poore Begger, imagined to bee the Duke of *Bourgogne*, because he liued in the like estate of penance; which made verie many traualle to see him, and bestow very liberrall almes on him. *Naucler* reporteth, that he saw the poore man begging in the same place. The King of *France*, hearing the Duke was dead, seized on *Montdidier*, *Roye*, *Peronne*, *Abbeville*, *Montreuil*, *Arras*, *Hesdin*, and the two *Bourgognes*, to wit, the Dutchy and Countie. The men of *Gauins* tooke his Daughter, that gouerned his estates very poorely, and married her as herselfe pleased; she hauing put to death the Chancellor, and other of his best officers. Thus you see how this great Prince ended his life, accompanied with many misfortunes.

*Vladislaus*, King of *Poland*, a young and gallant Prince, was called by the *Hungarians* to be their King, in the yeare 1440. He conceiued such glory by seeing himselfe King of two such mighty Kingdoms, that he thought himselfe to be inuincible. Whereupon, being desirous to employ

his valour in warre against some enemy, that might take notice of his courage and power; he brake faith and Truce, which the *Hungars* had made with the Turk the yeare before. In the first battayle hee gaue, he was quickly slayne, and hadde but a short enioying of his two Kingdomes; for, thorow the inconstancie of Fortune, his pretended felicity was soon cut off, and all his supposed power utterly quailed.

The Emperour of the East, *Constantine Paleologus*, some fifteen yeares after, went to keepe company with this young King *Vladislaus*, in the other world. For *Constantinople*, the Metropolitane Cittie of his Empire, was besieged and taken by *Mahomet* the second, sir-named the Great, thorow the negligence and treacherie of *John Iustinian* of *Geneway*; *Mahomet* hauing 300000. able fighting men, and four hundred Cannons, and the siege continued threecore dayes. The Emperour (in flight) was met withall, and murdered nere vnto the Gate: his head being carried vpon a Launces point, and so conueighed quite thorow the Cittie, while his body was trodden vnto dirt with their feete. *Mahomet* also caused a Crucifixe to bee erected, and wrote vpon it (in scornfull derision) these words: *This is the GOD of the Christians*: commanding likewise, that euery one should cast dung and filthe vpon the fayre Image.

The wife to the Emperour, with her daughters, and the very Noblest Ladyes attending on them, were brought before *Mahomet*; and after all reproach was done vnto them, euen the verie greatest Villanies in the world, their bodies were hacked and hewne in peeces.

Some few dayes after, there was another King (but of three dayes standing) put to death likewise. VVhich I may by no means omit, because it was the forenamed *John Iustinian* the *Genouefse*, a traitorous Villaine. For hee had concluded with *Mahomet*, that if he would make him King, he would yeelde vp *Constantinople*, or be the meanes whereby hee should surprize it. *Mahomet* kept promise with him; for hee constituted him a King for three dayes space: and on the fourth day, hee commanded his head to bee smitten off. So sayeth *Fasciculus Temporum*; and that

Constantine  
Paleologus,  
Emperour of  
the East.The power of  
Mahomet the  
second, Constan-  
tinople.The Emper-  
our body no  
dore vnder  
toore, and his  
head cut off.The shame  
done vnto the  
Empress and  
her daughter.The Treason  
of John Iustinian,  
and his  
surrender, being a King  
of three dayes  
standing.Of Charles  
the eighth, K.  
of France.His conquest  
of Naples,  
Calabria and  
Apulia.What fate  
hath aduyn-  
ced to many  
crueltie, he  
enjoyed.Little care  
had of so fa-  
tuous a King,  
& in to great  
an extream-  
ty, to let him die  
in his thinking  
aplace.

that these things happened in the yeare, one thousand foure hundred fifty three, about the Moneth of May.

I am sure few people are ignorant, in what Beds of state, the noble Kings of France vnto take their rest, and vnder what rich Pauillions; yet the inquiry of our times hath bene such, that a Kings lodging hath bene more vile then a laxe. I speake of King *Charles* the eight of that name, who returning home to his kingdome, hauing bene in *Italy*, where hee conquered the kingdome of *Naples*, and the great Dukedomes of *Calabria* and *Apulia*, and wonne two famous battailes in those countries: vpon a Palme Sunday Eene, being the seuenth of Aprill, one thousand foure hundred ninety eight, lea- ding his Queene by the hand, *Anne of Britaigne*, to see certaine Gentlemen play at the Tennis, in a Ditch belonging to the Castle of *Amboise*, entred into an olde, broken, vncovered Gallery, where he gaue his head a great blow against the upper part of the doore, albeit himselfe was but of lowe stature. Taking hold vpon some staves for his recovery, nere vnto a noysome place, where euery one that would (by custome) vied to let passe their vrine, and other vnpleasantness of the body; he was contented to endure it, and stood there merrily discoursing with the Queene, and other noble persons there present, iudging who deserued best of them that played. Suddenly hee was ouercome with a rheume or catarre, which taking from him all his strength and motion in euery part of his body, he was deperied likewise of his speech. This was perceiued by all there-about him, and how he lay vpon the ground, in such a foule, stinking, and vncomely place; yet no one had the care, or subiect-like affection, to beare him thence to his royall bed, which was not about twenty paces off.

Hee languished in this manner, for the space of nine houres, and dyed there in that noysome place. Is it not a matter deseruing admiration, that so worthy a King should dye in so vile a place, being in his owne house, among his Officers, and many of the Nobility? Hee that was King of the sweete smelling Flour-de-Luce; to expire and end his dayes, not among heards or flowers of pleasing sa-

uour: but in a place full of filth, then which, the whole world could yeelde no worse?

And to shew yee, that great Princes are as subiect to dye in battailes, as the simplest Souldiours: *James*, King of *Scotter*, may serue as an example, for hee was slayne in the field, with twoo Bithoppes, a great part of his Nobility, and many men of warre, that happened in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and thirteene. And the yeare following, *John d'Albrot* King of *Nauarre*, lost his Kingdome, which was seized by *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, because hee stood accursed by Pope *Julius*, for assisting King *Lewes* the twelfth, in warre against him; and above all, in the battaile of *Raenwa*, which vntill this present his Successours neuer enioyed.

And *Lewes Sforza*, Duke of that rich and goodly Countrey of *Milaine*, was led prisoner into *France*, Aying before the *French* to *Nauarre*, a City of his Dukedome; hee was confined to imprisonment, within the great Tower of *Bourge*, where (in great want and penurie) hee finished his dayes.

What shall wee say of King *Francis*, first of that name, the Father of Learning, whose wisdom and magnanimitie, could not warrant him against the Ambulcadores of Fortune, no more then any of them before remembered? Hee fell into the hands of *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, enuious of his greatnesse, and had bene his competitor in the Empire, opposing himselfe against many of his designes. Hee detained him prisoner about a yeare; during which time, hee had a most yrekesome discafe, which compelled him (for enioying of his liberty, to yeeld to many hard and grieuous conditions. As, to renounce and disclaime a multitude of rights, which hee pretended to many Dukedomes, Earldomes, and Kingdomes. Beside, he gaue so great a quantity of money, as well for his expences, as discharge of martiall affaires, and his ransom withall, that his kingdome (for euer after) felt the smart thereof.

And not onely haue temporall Princes felt the rigour of inconstant Fortune; but Ecclesiasticall persons also,

James the  
fourth, King  
of Scotter, slain  
in battaile.John d'Albrot  
King of Na-  
uarre lost his  
kingdome.Lewes Sfor-  
za, Duke of  
Milaine, con-  
fined in pri-  
son, where he  
died.Francis the  
first, King of  
France, the patron  
of learning.The hard en-  
forcement of  
King Francis.

The Author  
speakesh now  
of spirituall  
perions.

Pope Iohn  
depouled and  
imprisoned.

The bishop of  
Liege, Bro  
ther vnto the  
Duke of Bour  
gogne, a lord  
both spirituall  
& temporal.

The burthen  
ing of an arch  
Bishop, and  
4 Cardinals.

Pope Clement  
taken priso  
ner & Rome  
rouaged or  
pilld by gree  
dy Soldiours.

howsoever high and great degree they haue carried in the world. For in the year 1410. Pope Iohn was put in prison, flying from the Councell of *Constance*, and was g uen in guard to *Lewes*, Count *Palatine*, depouled from his Office, and one called *Martine*, fite of that name, seated in his place, being likewise very inhumanely entreated, for the space of three yeares. Afterwardes, by the humanity of the sayde *Martine*, he was set at liberty, and created Cardinall: whereby every man may perceiue, how farre this Iohn was falne from his former degree.

In the year 1466. the byshop of *Liege* brother to the fore-named Duke of *Bourgonie*, by his wife, who was of the house of *Bourbon*: beside his Office, hee was a Prince of the Empire, a Lord both spirituall and temporal, and holding so great and rich a country, as that of *Liege*. He was taken prisoner by his subiectes, and a great fort of his friends and officers (among whome were ten Abbots and Protonotaries, or Canons, al of worthy houses) massacred in his presence, & himselfe kept prisoner for long time, and in great misery. At length hee got safely away, hauing (by money) won his Guards content thereto.

At *Florence*, in the year 1448. the arch-Bishop of the side place, being clothed in his habitments of Priethood, and saying Masse, was sodainly surprized, and hanged or strangled at a Window, by the hands of the hangman: beside foure Cardinals massacred by the people, and many other Ecclesiasticall perions beheaded.

And although Popes (as hath beene held) by their great and spirituall authority, might impose silence vpon Christian Princes, from vndertaking warres, but to keepe themselves in quiet, and likewise to take armes at his command, for the affairs of the Christian world; yet it came so to passe, that Pope *Clement* was taken prisoner, and locked vp seuen months space in his castle of *S. Angelo*, kept by a guard of *Spaniards* and *Germanes*, and all of them Heretikes (wel-neere) about him. The City of *Rome* was greuously pilld, the Temples ransacked and prophaned; all which happened by the Souldiers of *Charles* the fit, a Catholike Emperour, in the year 1527.

After these men of Ecclesiasticall profession, it shall not differ much from our purpose, to conclude this chapter with the death of three potent Kings, that died all three in one day: to the end, wee may obserue how vnhappy it is for Princes, to thinke that they can well manage their affaires, in meddling amongst the quarrels of other Princes, as pusillat euery way as themselves.

It came to passe, that two Princes contended for the kingdome of *Fez* and *Marocco*, situated in *Barbarie* of *Affrica*: the one of them being named *Muley Mahumet*, Nephew to the other that demanded these Realmes, called *Abdelmelec*. This *Mahumet*, who enioyed those Kingdomes ten or twelue yeares, was assailed three or foure times by *Abdelmelec*, hauing gotten assistance of the Turke, and wonne till the best in foure fought batailles. So that in the end, the inhabitants of *Fez* and *Marocco* receyued *Abdelmelec*: because *Mahumet* was a Tyrant, had very few friends, contemning euery one, and trusting altogether in his strength and Treasures, after all his losses in those former Batailles.

*Sebastian*, King of *Portugall*, made offer to him of his ayde and friendship, but hee refused it, vntill such time as hee had neyther place or person to retire vnto, nor any to follow him. Moreover, hee had spent the great heapes of money which hee had gotten together during his reigne, & now withdrew himselfe into the Mountaines, which are fixe Leagues off from the City of *Marocco*. There hee liued about feauen or eight months, like a theefe or robber, with some few companies of needie persons, which yet againe were cut off by the troopes of *Abdelmelec*; and *Mahumet* constrained to wander in the most vnacceffable places of the Mountaines, where he endured a million of miseries, for the space of a whole yeare, liuing in continual feare and distrust, onely thorough his conceyued opinion, that hee should bee taken, or betrayed in his secret walks.

In breefe, necessity compelled him to repent his former denials, and to require the friendly succour offered him; by that braue King of *Portugall*, *Sebastian*: vnto whom he sent an expresse Messenger, and (afterward) two of his Captaines. In the meane while, he found the means to defend

The death of  
three Kings,  
all in one day

The memorabi  
lity of Ma  
homet & Abdel  
melec, King  
in Barbarie.

Abdelmelec  
expelled Ma  
homet out of *Fez* &  
*Marocco*.

Sebastian's  
offer to Portugall  
offered vnto  
Mahumet,  
& is denied.

The citizens  
of the city  
consisted  
Muley Mahumet.

Mahumet is  
enforced to  
request the  
ayd which he  
had formerly  
denied.

\* An old City  
of Mauritania,  
henceforth called  
Tingi.

King Sebastian  
always seeking  
opportunity to  
enter *Affrica*,  
and his pre  
ference, for the  
advancement  
of Christian  
Religion.

King Sebastian  
passed into  
*Affrica*, to  
gain the op  
inion of all  
his friends.

The Army in  
full preparation  
on the field  
from *Portugall*.

The rate of  
Abdelmelec,  
to encounter  
with his ene  
mie.

cent from the Mountaines, by wayes of little or no resort, and fought for his safety in *Tanger*, a Towne which the *Portugales* held in *Affrica*: where hee was well entertained by the Gouverneur, who knew some part of *Sebastians* minde towards him, and therefore furnished the two Captaines with well armed hostemen, for the dispatch of their Embassie in *Portugall*.

King *Sebastian* was very ioyfull to see these Ambassadors, because he was naturally addicted to Armes, and the disposition of his person (ioyned with his height of courage) incessantly spurred him on to this businesse. And in this respect, hee did but awaite some apt ouerture, for making his passage into *Affrica*, forming his pretext, vpon an earnest desire (as hee would alwayes say) which hee had to aduance Christian Religion, and to extirpate that of the Mahumetists. Whereupon he suddenly promised (without any better consideration of the businesse) to succour *Muley Mahumet*, and to re-seate him in his kingdomes againe: hee made promise (I say) to such a one, as himselfe had before sought vnto, for this effect, by so large a passage over the Seas, and two feuerall times had beene misprized by him. The Pope, the King of *Spainne*, and many other great personages, could not dissuade him from this enterprize, but till hee persisted in treading the path vnto his owne death, death that followed him so hard at the heeles. So did hee set on into *Affrica*, with thirteene hundred sayle, as well of great as small Vesselles in that Fleet, the very fayrest and goodliest that had bene in those times. His Army was composed of Lance-knight, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Portugales*, and some small number of *Affricane Moores*, which took part with the *Portugales*, and thirty fixe Pieces of Ordnance for the field, well fitted and furnished. In all, there was not aboute sixtene thousand men of warre; setting aside the Soldiours boyes, Waggoners, Strumpets, Castadours, and other such like people very vnprofitable for the field.

*Abdelmelec* (wee may well perswade our selves) slept not all this while carelessly, for hee brought threecore thousand men to the field, as well Pykes as Harquebuziers, and twenty fixe Peeces of Orde-

nance for the field, well appointed & gouerned by most expert men. *Abdelmelec* was very sorry, that he should haue any conquest against Christians, in regard hee bare them much affection; not because hee feared the *Portugales*, but as foreseeing, that *Barbary* would proue the graue to the King of *Portugall*; who (indeede) was too weake to encounter with him, that went so farre beyond him in power. And in due consideration of the case, hee would oftentimes thus say to himselfe. *King Sebastian should bee more resolute, then so vnaduisely to runne vpon his owne ruine: for he would take two kingdomes from me, which in right and iustice doe appertaine to me, and giue them vnto a Negro, wherein Christ endome can no way be eased or accommodated, neyther is it a thing which God (being iust) will permit.*

The report and rumors spread abroad, of *Abdelmelec*s valiant carriage, was the cause that euery one came to offer him seruice and obeyesance; and from euery Prouince they brought humgody presents and gifts of inestimable value. Many Christian Kings tooke pleasure in his friendship, and embraced him as their kinde well willer: esteeming themselves happy in his acquaintance. So that from diuers places, great store of Christians traiailed into his countries, where they receiued gracious entertainment, and hee shewed them much better countenance, then to any other men that resorted thither, helping them liberally in their necessities. On the contrary part, *Muley Mahumet* oppressed the Christians all the time of his reigne, or else permitted, that all greefes and molestations should be done vnto them: wherefore King *Sebastian* (in this respect) did greatly forget himselfe.

Now to deteine the Reader no longer in suspense, the two Armies disposed themselves for the encounter, and mette in a field, which contained about two miles in spaciousness, so euery and plaine, that there was not any tree, grasse, brambles, or stones, to offer the least hinderance. The Army of *Sebastian*, had the River of *Arache* behinde it, and that of *Abdelmelec*, the River of *Alcassar*. *Muley Mahumet*, for whom this Tragedy was to be acted, contrary to his oath and promise, did not bring with him any ayde for *Sebastian*; hauing

How Abdelmelec did  
torture every  
man at the  
call of King  
Sebastian.

The loue, rici  
dies, and ter  
uice voluntar  
ly offered to  
Abdelmelec  
by Christians  
and others.

Muley Mahumet  
oppressed the  
Christians.

How the two  
Armies came  
to encounter  
in the field.

The treachery  
of Mahumet  
with King  
Sebastian.

having formerly made him beleue, that more then halfe the Army of *Abdelmelec*, would come and ioyne with him: which came not so to passe, for both the Armies meeting together, each side fought valiantly for it selfe, and the Christians sustained the worse. *Muley Mahomet* was one of the first that fled, shapung his course towards the river of *Arache*, where thinking to passe the foord, & it being choked with mud and slime, and his horse sticking fast therein, he gaue him the spur so furiously, that losing his stirrups, and not knowing how to helpe himselfe by swimming, hee fell into the water, and so was both drowned and suffocated in the myre. As for *K. Sebastian*, after that all his men were slain, or (at least) put to flight; he was asslaid on all sides (having but 7 or 8 knights with him) among whom also he was slaine, & lay on the ground among his owne people, that fought for their liues as much as men could do.

Now concerning *Abdelmelec*, some 8 or 10 dayes before the battaile, he fell into a greuous sicknesse, by eating a messie of milke in a neere adioyning Village, which so curdled on his stomacke, as hee could not compasse any auoydance of it. Neuerthelesse, on the day of battaile, hee would needs mount on horse-backe, and pae into the thickest of the fight, where finding himselfe more weake then euer; he was conuayed into his Litter, wherein he died immediately. But his death was very closely concealed, vntill the battaile was finished, and won on his side. Thus we may see, that (in one day) three Kings died by three severall meanes: for *Muley Mahomet* was drowned; *Sebastian* finished his life in fight; & *Abdelmelec* died by sickness. Their bodies also received divers sorts of handling or vlage: for the body of *Mahomet* was flayed, & the skinned stuffed with haire, was carried thorow all the Cities in the kingdomes of *Fez* & *Morocco*, in signe of open infamy. The body of the king of *Portugall*, *Sebastian*, was buried in the Town of *Alcajarguibet*, without any Priest for the funeral obsequies, or any sheete to couer his body; but stark naked, according as it was found, when acknowledgement was taken of it among the other dead bodies: yet one of the groomes of his chamber, depoyling himselfe thereof, gaue him a poore paire of

linnen breeches, & a most wretched doublet, which was no way disliked by the *Abdelmelecans*. The fore-said *Abdelmelec* faued himselfe miraculously, for once whole Christian Army, either Soldiers or other, there did not escape 200. *Abdelmelec* was carried away dead in his Litter Royally apparelled, and more then twenty miles off from that place, hee was buried in a costly Sepulcher, among his Predecessors, and there was granted rents and reuenues, to diuers Priests of the *Abdelmelecane* Religion, to pray to God (after their manner) for his soule.

Their successors also were as strange and diuers; for to *Muley Mahomet*, succeeded his mortall enemy, *Hamed*. To *Abdelmelec*, not his owne children, albeit he had diuers; but his bastard Brother, the said *Hamed*, for the father would haue it so. To King *Sebastian*, Philip King of *Spain*, who was (a farre off) a kinsman to him, yet then the neerer that could be found, because the other was neuer married. Here we may apparantly perceiue, how fortune playeth with miserable life, or vnsuccessfull ending in the very greatest, or of highest aduancement in this world, as well as those of much meane condition; & that thorow some secret iudgement of God, who can & will dispose of all things, according to his owne good will and pleasure. These matters happened in *Africa*, in the kingdomes of *Morocco* and *Fez*, on Monday, being the fourth day in the Month of August, and in the year 1578.

I could heere alledge many other examples of Christian Kings and Princes, whose endes haue bin scarcely honorable or happy, and that within thirty year of this instant: but because I know, that these times do afford some passionate spirits, who take no delight in such sad relations, and others are of a freer temper, but as void of pitty, as the other are too forward in compassion, not carrying any meane betweene such two extremities; I will forbear to proceede any further in this argument, & enter into some other more apt discourse.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

That People are commonly such in their actions, manners, and pietie, as they perceyue their Kings, Princes, and Rulers to bee.



Here neede no doubt to be made, but that it was verie true which *Theodorick*, King of the Gothes (writing to the Romaine Senate) alledged: That the course of Nature (shoulde sooner faile, then people bee any other then their Princes. This is not onely to be vnderstood of their vertues and vices; but likewise of the gesture of their bodies, yea euen so farre as to their wearing garments. This may easily be proued; for *Alexander* the Great but bending his Neck a little towards his right shoulder, al his yong Princes, and other cheefe followers in his Court, did bend theirs also in the very same manner.

*Alphonfus* King of *Arragon* and *Sicilie*, having a wry necke, all such as followed and affected him, enforced to wry their neckes like his; as being perswaded, that it was most commendable in them, because their King and Maister carryed his necke so: as wee finde it recorded in the Booke of the Courtier, and in the life of *Pyrrius*.

King *Frances*, the first of that name, vsed continually to wear his haire verie long, and (as it was saide) looking out at a Window, he receiued a wounde on the head; by meanes whereof hee was enforced to cut his lockes, and wear them a great deale shorter then formerly hee had done. Many of his Courtiers, especially such as wore their haire as he was wont to do, caused their long lockes to be cut likewise, and ware them in the same manner as he did. Heereupon afterwarde, diuers Noble and high defended French-men, left off from longer wearing false Lockes and Periwigs, or *Gregorians*, which they reputed as a signe of Nobility and comelineesse, for holding some place of eminenencie in the Commonwealth, & thence-

forward esteemed it as a ridiculous fashion.

*Charles* the fift, Emperour, wore his beard long, but cut round below, in shap of a pouch or purse. In imitation of him, the Noblemen of *Spain*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Bourgonne*, with some other that were his subiects, made their beards after the felicitate fashion, which they termed to bee an Imperiall Beard. King *Charles* the ninth, King of *Fraunce*, being at *Metz*, where the Count of *Manfeld*, and *Marquesse of Baden* came to see him, because he shoulde shew them a gracious countenance, he tooke off the *Marquesses* Bonnet from his head, and put on (insted thereof) his owne, which he commonly vied to wear, that was a German cap, great, thicke, thrummy, and flat, in forme of a Cheefe. In regard whereof, all the attendants in his Court (which was a great company at that time) would needs wear Bonnets after the same fashion. And it grew to such an extremity in affection, that such Cappes and Bonnets, as were vsually sold in *Metz* for thirty *Sols*, within three dayes after, could not be bought vnder three French Crowns; and yet (as so deare a rate) they were not to be had, albeit the Bonnet-makers laboured night and day in making them, the crowd and presse for them was so great, without any other profite or commoditie ensuing by them, but only that they would be in the Kings fashion.

King *Henrie* the third, by reason hee had some Vlcers in the fore-part of his head, was subiect to a continuall paine & greefe: therefore he wore thicke gummy haire, bound vp behinde (like womens) to couer that defect. The Noblemen and Gentlemen of his Court, had their haire gummed and bound vp in like manner, although no paine thereto prouoked them: whereupon some were verily perswaded, that men would fall likewise to wear womens garments, they were so forward in the fashion of their haire. If I would insert all the courses and behaviour of the people, in imitating their Princes fond fashions and habits, I must needs be too troublesome to the Reader: therefore I will now discourse on their vertues and vices, with as much breuiaty as I can.

The onely cause why men traualled into *Egypt* fro so many parts of the world, and

Charles the 5 and his manner of beard.

Beards Imperiall or after the Imperiall fashion

The K. changed Bonnet with the Marquess.

Ten French Sols, make an English shilling.

The kings fashion is a great matter,

Henrie the 3. King of France whole Courtiers imitated his gummed haire, like vnto Womens.

Muley Mahomet dying from the right was drowned in the River of Arache.

King Sebastian slaine among his own Soules, but hardly known

Abdelmelec fell dead before the battaile, and died in his litter in the midst of the night.

Three Kings ended their liues in one day diuersly.

The death & buriall of three Kings bodies very strange as it hath bene heard of.

Theodorick, K. of Gothes, writing to the Senate of Rome.

The Courtiers of Alexander, and of K. Alphonfus.

Plotinus, Pyrrhus.

Frances, King of France did wear long haire and cut his locks, his Courtiers fell into his fashion

False lockes & Periwigs reformed.

The cause why to manie men trauailed into Egypt.

The example of a Learned King, is no mean motive to his Subjects to offe & learning.

The words of Plato the great Philosopher.

Manfor, Emperour of Affrica, and all the Spaines.

Great vertue in Man for a louer of Learning, & a famous example to his successours.

Leo Affrican, in his de Temp. Of the women of Libya.

and from Greece more then any other country (as did many great and excellent Philosophers, amongst whom were *Plato*, *Democritus*, and others) was for no other end; but in regard of a King of that Countrey, named *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, the onely louer of Learning, and seeker after such men as were learned. And in imitation of him, the Egyptians his Subjects added themselves so studiously, to ground their vnderstanding in the most laudable Sciences, and that for such long continuance of time, as a man was reputed to haue seene nothing, if he had not trauayled into Egypt. Whereupon it is sayde, that *Plato* (admiring their wonderful full erudition) cryed out by way of exclamation: *The Greekes are no better then Children in knowledge, being compared with the Egyptians*. Heere we may obserue, what honour this good King *Philadelphus* won to his Subjects, because by his imitation they made themselves vertuous, and giuen to all commendable qualities.

The like happened vnder the reigne of *Manfor*, Emperour of *Affrica*, and all the *Spaines*, who gouerned in the year of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, & sixe. This King was such a louer of Learning, that he caused all Bookes written in Greeke, eyther concerning Philosophie, Physicke, or Historie, to be translated into the *Arabian* tongue. He founded many Colleged, wherto he gaue very great rents, for the maintenance of poore Students, and professors of learning, whereof a great many are at this day to be seene, in the Cities of *Fez* and *Marocco* in *Affrica*, in *Trenissen*, *Tunis*, *Argiere*, *Hippona*, and else where, although he was a Mahometane in Religion, yet many other of his successours, that afterwards followed him, and the people themselves (to this day) in those *Affricane* countries, doe relish of the good conditions, maners, and vertues abiding in that King, adding themselves to Learning. Nor appeared this in men onely, but likewise in Women, according as *Leo Affricanus* testifieth, saying, *The Women of Libya, in these our dayes, are very Learned and studious, and about all things else, they are sooner busied in good Bookes: then medling with clothes, Garments, or other trifles belonging to house hold*. And I dare boldly main-

taine (with many other Learned men, well read in Histories) that but for this King *Manfor*, and his *Arabian* successours: Physicke had neuer bene halfe so fertile in remedies, as we finde it now to bee in these our dayes.

*Garcias d'Horta*, Physitian to the Viceroy of the *Indies*, who liued within lesse then thirty yeares, sayeth, that hee had conferred with many Kings both of the *Arabes* and *Affricans*; and found them to be learned, as also notably skilfull in the Mathematickes. The like is affirmed by him that hath written the generall historie of *India*, that *Almanfor*, King of *Tidora*, one of the verie greatest Ilandes of the *Molucces*; was one of the greatest Astrologers in our times, and that the people are not so rude and barbarous, as heere among vs they are reputed to bee. Before *Manfor*, none of them had euer seene the Bookes of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, and other Greeke Authours, in any other Language then the Grecian.

In the time of this King *Manfor*, flourished great store of Learned men and Philosophers: such as were *Auerroes*, *Mesfau*, *Rafis*, *Rabbie Moses*, and diuers others, whose works (at this very day) are read in our Vniuersities, and Commented vpon, by diuerse and sundrie great Schoolemen, and it is not to be doubted, but posteritie (for euer) will rest beholding to them.

The manner of founding Colleged, wherein to instruct poore youths in good Letters; Hospitales, for the lodging of maymed, sickely, and needie persons; Conuents and Abbeyes, for the dwelling of godly and religious men, wherein to pray for the augmentation of the Church, and prosperity of Christian Princes; were first by Kings and Emperours, and in their imitation, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Popes, Cardinales, and Bishoppes, besides other rich men (among the common people did the like. As *Charlemagne*, *Leues* the ninth, *Phillip* Duke of *Bourgonne*, and diuers others: which is a most plaine and manifest testimony, that all Christiendome remaineth yet to this day, embellished with so manie faire and rich Arch-bishoppicks, Bishoppicks, Abbeyes, Priories, Colleged, and Hospitales.

Physick plentifully increased.

Garcias d'Horta, Viceroy of the Indies.

Affrican and Arabians, who confounded in their doctrine.

What learned and worthy men flourished in the time of King Manfor.

Christian Kings & Emperours, who founded Colleged, Hospitals, Conuents, Abbeyes, & Monasteries.

All Christiendome remaineth yet to this day, embellished with so manie faire and rich Arch-bishoppicks, Bishoppicks, Abbeyes, Priories, Colleged, and Hospitales.

King

Francis King of France, after that manner, as a Prince is to be.

Offenorable and learned Ladies, both the two famous Queene of Navarre.

Learned Ladies in Italy.

Elizabeth the famous and learned Queene of England.

King Henry the fourth, who was the first man in all Battails, &c.

King Mithridates a notorious drunkard, and his people follow his example.

King *Francis*, first of that name, because himselfe was learned, and cherished men of learning and knowledge; beheld his reigne furnished with a great number of learned and vertuous Schollers, more then any other that went before him. In the same minde continued his Sonne, successor to his Crowne, and all the children of his successour, not meanelly cherished and enriched by king *Henry* the fourth. *Margret*, Grandmother to the King now reigning, was a most learned Lady, of whose excellent & most elegant Poems, we haue great store remaining among vs. As also of *Isabel* Mother, both of them being Queenes of *Navarre*, (and in their imitation) many other great Ladies of honour, gaue their mindes to the reading of graue Authors, as well Greeke as Latine. Nor is it any matter of meruayle, if in these dayes, wee behold so many Ladies well seene in good Sciences, and among the rest, that *Italy* affordeth such plenty of studious women: the custome of the countrey prohibiting, that women should be any great walkers, or so much seene as they are in *France*. And because that famous Queene of *England*, *Elizabeth*, was very skilfull in many Languages, and deeply read in the fayrest and most commended Sciences, as in the Mathematickes, & diuers others: it was also credibly reported, that her house and Court, was bounteously stored with learned and most vertuous Ladies. And that which filled *France* with such plenty of bold and hardy spirits, was by the means of king *Henry* the fourth, then reigning: who in all battails, encounters, and charging of the enemy, was alwayes the foremost man himselfe; which taught his Captaines & Souldiours to do the like, onely by imitation of his vnpareld exploits.

Now on the contrary, if the Prince be vicious, his Subjects will fauour of the selfe same taste. As we read of one named *Mithridates*, king of *Anatolia*, who because he was a notorious drunkard, and accounted it as a vertue to drinke immeasurably: his people addicted themselves to that foule vice, so that the most part of them were full of diseases, as goutts, conuulsions, palfies, & alienation of vnderstanding. *Marke Anthony*, who rearme himselfe Emperour of the East, so wallowed with his beloued *Cleopatra*, in the delights of *Egypt* (that the

degenerated quite from the vertues of their former King *Philadelphus*) and became so addicted to drinking & drunkenness, intermixing rich flowres and precious stones among the wine they dranke; that he gaue such example to his men of warre, and to the people thorow the East, to drinke and gourmandize after the same manner, that they would be drinke euery day, and held it as an admirable vertue: forgetting the honest policy of the *Romans*, who would drinke no wine while they were in Armes. And so *Marke Anthony* (albeit hee was a great and worthy Captaine) and all his followers, by hauing discontinued the vertuous exercise of Armes; when hee should come to cope with *Octavius Augustus*, was (with small labour) surmounted. And the best generous acte, that *Anthony* could then devise to do, and for his latest piece of seruice, was to kill himselfe, like another brutish *Sardanapalus*.

*Darius* also, the great Monarch and King of the East, about three hundred yeares before *Marke Anthony*, euene like to him, had (beside his married wife) a multitude of concubines, bardecaching boyes, filders, vaulters, dancers, tooles, players, and other people of as small account in his Army, eating and drinking, before eyther hunger or thirst vrged any necessity. His Captaines and men of command, with all the rest of his Army, he licenced to the like liberty: for each of his Souldiours might haue his two concubines, beside as many *Gammades*, and cheefe men tripled, or (at least) doubled them. In the ende, his Army, thought to consist of eight hundred thousand able fighting men; there could not bee found twenty thousand among them all. For according to the example of their king, they were altogether addicted to luxury and drunkenness, and became as people vtterly vnmeet for warre. Therefore both he and they were overcome by *Alexanders* forces, with small trauaile, or losse on his side; because his men were fobber, continent, and stout fighting Souldiours, as the king himselfe was. So the Persian Empire, and the Babylonian also, was lost and dissipated in a moment; in regard that their king was lasciuious and of soft temper, which caused his Subjects to imitate his example.

Marke Anthony showed his discontent in all our dayes, threw all the East.

A wonderful reflection in to famous a Souldier.

Darius the great Monarch of the East.

Where no president of goodnesse appears, vice the sooner preuaileth.

The cause of the downfall of Darius.

Princes

The Authors  
advertiseth  
to Kings and  
Princes in  
these our  
times.

Princes then, and others, that are advanced to governe ouer people, may be aduised by these examples and reasons formerly alledged, to addit their mindes and bodies to vertuous exercises, to speak discretely, to be no blasphemers, to liue in all sobriety, and to declare modestie in their adions and apparrell: but about all the rest, not to swerue from vertue and true piety. For therein (doubtlesse) their people will follow them, and make their time of rule the more setled and assured: for where vice reigneth, rebellion (often-times) the sooner ensueth.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

*Of the Originall of Triumphs: why they were first granted and used in Rome: How many they were that triumphed: What a Triumph is: and that there are two sortes of Triumphs.*

Two things that moue men to high matters.



O speake morally, & as men should doe, there are principally two causes, which incite men to vndertake great matters, as well in peace as warre. The first is Honor and renowne; the second is profite and commoditie, Magnanimous, Noble and Heroicke spirits do chiefly couet the first; & base and vnworthy foules seeke for salary and hire. Cicero faith in his Oration which he made for *Archias* the Poet: *We all are drawne to desire commendation, and they of greatest place and expectation, stile with full gale after honour and fame: conueing no other recompence, or greater guardon for their Vertue, then glory onely.* The same Cicero, in another Oration made for the defence of *Attila*, faith: *Wise and valiant men do not so much labour in exercise of their vertue, for the recut of wages, as for the honor that ensueth thereby.*

\*A Poet of Antioch, much loued of Tully and Lucullus.

A Romaine, much maintained by Tully.

The carefull consideration of the Romaine to honour men out of eric: and how Rome grew to be the Emperie of the world.

afforded the resort (more then any place beside) of no meane number of worthie men, excelling both in Armes and Government, that by them shee attained to sway the Empire of the whole world. In regard whereof, for example and instruction to these instant times, as also to delight such as enquire after Antiquities: I thought it very conuenient, to supplye this place with some breefe declaration, of the manner obserued amongst the *Romaines*, in yielding honour and renowne to such men, as had obtaigned any victory for them.

Now because among all honors whatsoever, Triumph was reputed to bee the very greatest; we will discourse thereon, according as we finde it set downe for our instruction. Triumph was a forme of entrance, or (as we may well say) a kinde of Welcome, which they vsed in Rome, to their Captaines and Generales, with the verie greatest pompe and solemnitie that could bee expressed vnto men. And albeit Triumphs were much vsed among the Romaines, yet were they not the first inuenters of them. For *Dionysius Siculus*, and *Pliny*, doth both say, that *Dionysius* called *Dionysius* in Antiquitie, and named also *Pater Liber*, was the first that euer Triumphed in the world. It appeareth likewise, that the *Carthaginians* vsed to Triumph: for *Iustinus* (among the other honours of *Hanniball*) faith, that the *Triumphed* foure times.

Moreover, wee reade of Triumphs among the Kings of Egypt, and especially of King *Sesestris*. Neuerthelesse, to speake truly, Triumphs were neuer so solemnized in any other Nation, as they were among the Romaines: for vpon the day that any Captaine triumphed, the people of Rome ceased from all kinde of Workes whatsoever, and nor any matter (concerning profite) was permitted to be done.

And to make this soleinne Triumph the more compleate, the people of all places neere neighbouring thereto, came thicke and threefold thither to behold it. And all the Citie, Temples, Streetes, Gates, and Windows, were enriched & hung with clothes made of Gold, Silver, Silke, Leases and Flowers of sweete smelling fauour, beside all other magnificencies & costs that might expresse any signe

Triumph, the greatest thing among all Honours, & what was signified by the word Triumph.

Chariots of siluer, gins and pyeases.

Did stand as a signe in the way.

It is said that

No Nation comparable to the Romaines for Triumphs.

The access of people from all neighbouring parts to behold the Triumph.

The Senate, the whole Nobilitie of Rome, and generally the better sort of people, went forth into the fields very honourably appa-  
relled, to entertayne the Triumpher: who entred Rome, clothed in purple, crowned with Laurell, and mounted on a golden charriot, drawne by foure milke white horses. All his prisoners went before him, attired like slaues or seruants, hauing their heads close thorne or shaven: and the Captaine or King of the prisoners by him vanquished, went nearest to the Chariot before any other.

The manner of the Triumphers entering into Rome, Proconsuls.

His owne Souldiours.

Chariots of siluer.

Chariots of siluer.

Gins and pyeases.

Conquered cities and houses exactly painted.

The triumphs lasted three dayes sometimes.

Triumph not allowed, but according to lawe for the papacie.

A hill whereon S. Peters church now standeth.

Such men as might lawfully triumph.

of joy. The Senate and all the Priests, with the whole Nobilitie of Rome, and generally the better sort of people, went forth into the fields very honourably appa-  
relled, to entertayne the Triumpher: who entred Rome, clothed in purple, crowned with Laurell, and mounted on a golden charriot, drawne by foure milke white horses. All his prisoners went before him, attired like slaues or seruants, hauing their heads close thorne or shaven: and the Captaine or King of the prisoners by him vanquished, went nearest to the Chariot before any other. The Souldiours of his owne Armie entred in due order, bearing branches of Laurell in their hands. Then followed before him, Chariots and Waggones filled full of armour, which hee had taken from the enemy: beside other waggones laden in like manner, with Plate of gold and siluer, money, iewells and other rich shapen or trophies, with such gins and presents, as hee had receiued of Kings, or any other friends to Rome. Great Castles, Towers, and other Engures of wood, made artificially, representing conquered Cities and Fortresses, were like wise carryed before him: making lively representation, as they marched along, of such battailes as had happened in the last warre, and so exactly to the life; that they were very dreadful to the beholders. These things were so many in number, so mighty, and of such rare diuersitie, that the Triumph (sometimes) required the vse of three seuerall dayes, because all the representations might be the more amply noted and conceiued. The Triumph consisted of various inuentions, with many rare deuices, too long to be reported.

Nor was this honour of Triumph, allowed and granted to euery Captaine or Victor; but there were Lawes set downe, and notable occasions to be considered, before such fauour could be obtained. The Captaine that meant to demand it, came not at all into Rome: but abode at the *Vaticane*, and thither the Senate returned him answere, whether such grace might be permitted him, or no. First of all, no chiefe, or commander of an Army might triumph; except hee had bene Consul, Proconsull, or Dictator; for Triumph was neuer granted

to any of meane condition. In regard whereof, *Marcus Marcellus* had triumph denied him, albeit he had worthily conquered *Syracus*; and *Scipio* also, although he had subdued *Spain*. For, it was necessarily required, that the battell must be great and notable against the enemy, and aboute five thousand men at the least slayne therein. Of these matters, *Valerius Maximus* is Author. We likewise reade, that *Cato*, and *L. Marcius*, being Tribunes, made a Law, whereby they ordained seuerall punishment for any Captaine, that deliuered a false report of the number slayne in fight. Nor was it enough for a man to win the battell, how doubtfull & bloody soeuer it were; but hee must subdue the whole Province or Country, & leaue it peacefully to his successor, bringing home his army braue & victoriously; which was the cause (saith *Titus Livius*) that Triumph was denied to *Titus Manlius*, notwithstanding all his great victories in *Spain*: for hee should haue compassed the acquisition of some new country, or entred into a new warre; & not defend that only which was formerly won. Vpon the same occasiō also, great *Quintus Fabius* triumphed not, though he had conquered them of *Campania*.

It was obserued as a custome also, that on the day of Triumph, the Triumpher should inuite the Consuls to suppe with him; which they would refuse to doe, because (at this feast) no person should be present, to whom greater honour might be done, then to the Triumpher. The Triumpher alwayes ended in the Temple of *Iupiter* in the Capitoll, where the spoiles (wonne from the enemy) were altogether offered, and deliuered vp to public vse. And because the triumpher should not ouer-glorie himselfe in these high honors and fauours done him: so he say, that a slaue or bond-man was seated by him with permission, to ieast and scoffe at him all the day long, & to reproach him with such iniuries as seemed best to himselfe, as a plaine apparance, that such dignities depended but on transitory graces.

Now, to make this triumphall honor the more intelligible, we will make rehearsal of some one or two, especially that of *Paulus Aemilius*, that worthy and famous Captaine of Rome, who obtaigned his triumph iustly; for vanquishing & taking

Marcus Marcellus and Scipio denied triumph.

Valerius Maximus.

Cato and L. Marcius Tribunes.

Provinces conquered and left in peace. Titus Livius in lib. 3. c. 21.

Valer. Max. lib. 2.

A custome obserued on the triumph day.

The spoiles deliuered to general benefit.

Triall of the Triumphers patience.

The honorable triumph of Paulus Aemilius.



Plates viz.  
Paul Aemilius

Concourse of  
people to be-  
hold the Tri-  
umph.

Temple set  
open and per-  
fumed

Whiskers or  
Sticks to  
make way  
for passage of  
the Triumph

The order for  
the first dayes  
passage.

The second  
daye: honour  
in larger man-  
ner.

Money carried  
in Plates  
& Charges

Fountain  
Pots, Ewres,  
Lauours, and  
maisons  
gold and sil-  
uer.

*Perseus*, the powerfull king of *Macedon*, conquering an trunating his kingdome, and therefore made his Triumph, according as it is remembered by *Plutarch*, in this manner. Our first remembrance, concerneth the people of Rome in general, with them of all the neighbouring parts round about, attired after their very best ability of performance, and continuing for places in houses and windowes, where best they might take view of the triumph. All the Temples and Churches in Rome were set wide open, deckt and richly hung with Tapistry, Greene boughes of Trees, beside plenty of incense and sweet smelling perfumes, and so were all the freetes in like manner. Now because in the City the concourse of people was infinite, resorting from so many feuerall places, in earnest desire to behold such a solemne spectacle, there were certain men appointed with staves in their hands, who had charge to make way for the Triumphs passage, and looke to the peoples safe passing, because the matters prepared for this triumph grew so great, as they were enforced to diuide them into three feuerall dayes.

The first day was scarcely sufficient for entrance of all the Banners, Standards, & vanquished Ensignes; as also for passage of the Statues, Colosses, Tables, and Images, for all these were conuayed along in order, in rich and well appointed Chariots, VVaggons, and Thrones. On the second day, the Armour and munition of the conquered king, and what else belonged to the *Macedonians*, was brought into the city: which Armours being rich and gloriously glittering, were conveniently placed on best sighted carriages, meetest for their full and ample beholding. After these chariots and waggons, entred three thousand men, carrying silver money (open to be seene) on great Plates and Vessels of silver, each one weighing three talents, of which Plates and Vessels there were 350 in number, and foure men allowed to carry each piece of Plate. The rest that serued to make vp the full number of three thousand men, carried Fountain Pots, Ewres, Basons, Lauours, very curiously wrought in gold and silver, beside other vessels of the same mettals, most rich and magnificent to behold: and the passage of these companies continued so long, that

it required the second dayes whole employment, marching along in due and comely order.

The third day being come, the break of day no sooner began, but in the first band, & beginning of the Triumph, went Drums, Fifes, Clarions, and Trumpets sounding, not sweet and delicately, but in such stearne and vigorous manner, as if they were instantly to enter battail. After them were led six score nine, all white, hauing their hornes richly gilded, and their bodies covered with costly cloathes: all these were helde as sacred to the Gods, crowned and decked with garlands, and chaplets of faire flowers, & they that guided the, were braue gallant youths, sumptuously apparelled for this seruice, and for the sacrificing of them; and by these king went as many comely children, carrying Plates of gold and silver for the sacrifice. Next vnto the king, were ranked such as carried gold money in chargers of gold, being seventy seven in number. And behinde them, followed they that helped to beare the great Bolle or Cuppe of golde, weighing ten Talents, which *Paulus Aemilius* had caused to be made, enriched with many sumptuous and vniualueable precious stones. They which carried the chargers of money, were such as had bin nercest in fauour, about the Kings *Antigonius*, *Selencus*, and other Kings of *Macedon*, especially the forenamed *Perseus*. Next followed the chariot of the conquered King, with the Armes and Weapons which he vsed to weare, his Crown, Scerter royal and rich Robe laid vpon the Armour. Behinde the chariot, were the children to the poore kingled as prisoners, with a great number of his cheefest Officers; as the Masters or Governours of his household, his Treasurers, Chancellors, Secretaries, and others of high employment in his affaires. They all wept, & expressed extraordinary signes of greefe, beholding themselves brought into such a seruitude; which moued all the beholders to much compassion.

Of the children belonging to this king, there were 2 males and 2 females, but so young in yeares, as they were not capable of vnderstanding their misfortunes; whereby the people were so much the more incited to pity their condition, & thought it vnbecoming, that affliction should be seene

The child  
of dayes go  
forwarde  
the man-  
ner of the  
Triumph

Six score  
white king  
appointed for  
sacrifice

Children  
with plates  
for the sacri-  
fice

A Bolle  
Cuppes  
weighing ten  
Talent

The con-  
questors  
in their  
chariots

The king  
of Macedon  
prisoner

Children  
were, vnder  
banners of  
calumnies

The kings  
usual young  
in triumph

The golden  
Crownes of  
the Cities of  
Greece borne  
before  
him, and he  
following in  
triumphall  
manner.

No great  
difference in  
the Roman  
Triumphs.

A Law for  
the order of  
triumphs,  
and by merit.

Sports and  
Feasts were  
by free per-  
mission.

The manner  
how diuers  
were drawne  
in their tri-  
umps.

seene in such tender yeares. In this Triumph, the Father followed his children, attired after his Countries manner; but yet in blacke habites, pacing on troubled and fearefully, as indeed he had good reason, considering his present estate, and whence he was false.

After the King, followed his friends & fauourites, with a great number of his familiars, who all looking on their King, confounded themselves with sorrow, to see his reuerent cheekes furrowed with teares, and many of the *Romans* bemoaned his misery. Then after were brought the crownes of gold, which the ancient Cities of *Greece* had presented to *Paulus Aemilius*, who followed the triumphantly, mounted vpon a goodly Chariot, cloathed in purple tissue of golde, bearing a Lawrell branch in his hand, and a crowne of the same vpon his head. Behinde him followed the people both on foote and horseback, some hauing branches of Lawrell and Palme in their hands, and some with Banners and Pennons, singing in honour of their Captaine, triumphing thus after his victories, with their most delectable sights to behold; and in this order *Paulus Aemilius* triumphed through *Rome*. Others also did the like, with some things added or diminished, and so they went to offer their spoyle, in the Temple of *Iupiter* within the Capitoll; and there, according to the forme and manner, as their blinded religion then required, they gaue thanks to their Gods for the victory obtained. And notwithstanding that in this fashion they obserued & performed their customary triumphs: yet they had a Law for it, according to which Law, they gaue triumph by desert, making a distinction of the gates & streets, whereat they were to enter, and whereby they should passe along, the times also being ordered and appointed. But concerning other things, as sports, playes, & Feasts of diuers kinds, it was permitted, that euery man might augment and enrich his triumph, and his chariot also: for it is found recorded, that they had a custome, to be drawne by four white horses, and yet notwithstanding, some haue bin drawne by as many Bulls.

Great *Pompey*, when he triumphed for *Africa*, he entred in a Chariot drawne by Elephants. *Suetonius* saith, that *Iulius Caesar* when hee made his triumphall entrance,

had his chariot drawn by forty elephants. VVith the like Beasts triumphed the Emperour *Gordianus*. And *Flautius* writeth, that the Emperour *Aurelianus*, who was king of the *Goths*, triumphed in a chariot drawne by Harts. VVe reade also, that *Mark Anthony* in his triumph, had his chariot drawne by Lyons. The Roman Captains had a custome beside when they triumphed, to haue a young child, or many in their chariots: whereof *Cicero* maketh mention in his Oration pro *Munera*. Others caused to be led in their triumphs, an infinite number of wilde and fuaage Beasts, as Lyons, Onnces, Beares, Tygers, Rhinoceros, Panthers, Dromedaries, & other kinds of beasts, as did *Titus* & *Vespasianus*, according to the relation of *Iosephus*. Some other also would haue their entrance with diuersity of Musike, as well by instruments as voyces, with infinite other the like delectations. Among all which triumphs, some were more singular then the rest; as those of *Pompey* & *Caesar*, of the two Brethren *Scipios*; and likewise of the Emperors, whereof *Iordanus* speaks in his Book of *Rome* triumphing, & according as *Paulus Orosius* saith, that there were 320 triumphs in *Rome*; the last whereof was the emperor *Probus*, from whose time since, *Rome* ran to her decadence.

In *Rome* there was yet another kinde of solemne welcome, which was somewhat lesse then triumphing, being called *Quatio*, and giuen for victories when as something wanted of such necessary conditions as required triumph. As for example, if the Captaine had not bin Consul or Proconsul, or had made war without great resistance, or little bloodshed in battaile, or had conquered people of lesser esteeme; or if the war had bin done without expresse authority from the Senate, & such like other conditions, then instead of triumphing, this *Quatio* was granted to him, & it was performed in this manner.

The Captaine entred *Rome* on horsebacke, in stead of a chariot, and some of them (in elder times) entred on foote, crownd with the leaues of Myrrhe, which were offerings to *Venus*, because such triumphing was not reputed Martiall, but (as it were) veneral, according as *Aulus Gellius* saith. The people attending on this Captaine, were not armed, neyther

Whence the  
forme of our  
Pageants was  
at first de-  
rived.

Some tri-  
umphs more  
singular then  
the rest.

\* A small edi-  
tion of a  
C-paine, for  
a victory with  
out bloodshed  
or great  
very few.

As the  
N. A. A. A. A.  
A. A. A. A.

founded Trumpets, Drums, or any other instruments of warre; but Flutes & sweet musickall instruments, soft and delicate. Neuerthelesse, they entred in order, and with their booty, and the Senate went forth of the City to meete and receiue him, making a great feast for him, as also highly praying & commending him.

I finde that many excellent Captains haue requested & accepted of this honor, and the first was *Posthumus Liberius*, hauing vanquished the *Sabines*; and *Marcus Marcellus* for his victory at *Syracusa*. *Suetonius* affirmeth, that *Octavius Caesar* entred thus, after the *Phillippick* battailes, & the warre of *Sicily*. The cause why this small triumph was so named, is described by *liny*, for in declaring that diuers Captaines were denied this kinde of triumph, and could by no meanes obtaine it: hee proceedeth to yeelde a reason, why this *Quatio* was so termed. *The sacrifice* (sayeth he) *which the Captaine then offered, was a Sheepe, which in the Latine tongue is called Ouis: but the other Triumphers offered a Bull, and therefore vpon the word Ouis, the reception and entertainment made vnto the, was called Quatio, or Oualis*. Some other say, that it took name by a certaine found in the peoples voyce, of *Oe*, or *elie Oue*: but because this is a matter of small importance, it shall suffice to say, that such a thing was named *Quatio*, either of the word *Ouis*, or of the other voyce of *Oe* or *Oue*.

It was also permitted to the Triumphers, to erect their Statues in Temples, & common places of resort: also to build Arches and Colombs, named *Triumphall*, framed of Marble, and in or on the, to insculpt (most excellently) their battels and victories, for their owne perpetuall memory. The vestiges or footings of the are (at this day) to be seene in Rome: and these things wer thus done, in imitatio of *Trophees*, anciently vsed among the *Grecians*, helping themselves thereby in manner following. In the same place, where the Capitaine had obtaigned any victory, a great tree was prepared, the greatest therabout to be found, the branches whereof were all cut off; and then vpon the trunk was fastened all the coat-armours of the vanquished, as a victorious and honourable memory, and it was called *Tropeum* or *Trophæum*, after the greek word *Tropis*,

which signifieth a fleeting conuersion, or retreated, because (in that place) the enemy was put to flight, or disgracefull retreat, and so the *Romans* afterward were glad to follow their fashion.

*Salust* writeth, that *Pompey* hauing overcome the *Spaniards*, planted his *Trophees* on the top of the *Pyrennean* Mountaines: and this course (by tract of time) was in rich esteeme, that they grew to be made of stone. But this matter can approue it selfe to be much more ancient, & that other Nations haue made vse therof: for we reade, that *Sau* hauing vanquished *Agag*, king of the *Amalekites*, and beeing come to Mount *Carmell*, he erected there a triumphall Arch, as a memory of his victory. In breefe, the honour of triumph was esteemed and affected, more then any other honour in *Rome*, so that for obtaining it, the Capitaines would expose their liues to all traualle and perill. Beside the Triumphers grew to great wealth, both by the enemies spoyle, and the gifts of their friends, and so much the rather haue I reported these things, because Princes may thereby receiue example, how to honour and remunerate their Captains and Soldiers to their merits. But in these decaying dayes, sluggards, and such as doe nothing at all, are as well, if not better respected, then they that adventure their liues and goods, both for seruice of their Prince, & profite of their native country.

## CHAP. XLI.

Of such names of immortal honour and renowne, which the Romane Capitaines haue granted and giuen them, according to their severall victories.

**O**Ver and beside this high dignity of Triumphs, the Romane Capitaines had farre greater honours giuen them, by names & surnames, which were imposed on them by the people and Prouinces, that had bin conquered and overcome by them. And as it was a notable forme of exaltation to honour; so did they immortalize their houses of descent, by contrary names of glory

P. mpreys  
Triumph  
the top of  
Pyrennean  
Mountaine

Reg 11, 11

Triumph  
has  
more  
counted  
then  
any  
other  
honour  
in  
Rome.

A further  
addition  
of  
honour  
to  
the  
Romane  
Generals.

glory and fame, onely through their memorable actions, which procured so many worthy and illustrious Families in the City of *Rome*.

For our first entrance into this discourse, we may take an example by the three *Metelli*, whereof one (according as *Salust* and some others write) because he had overcome King *Iugurthe*, conquering also his lands and kingdome of *Numidia*, was surnamed *Numidicus*. The second being *Quintus Metellus*, for the victory he obtaigned against the king of *Macedon*, was surnamed *Macedonicus*. And the third, *Creticus*, because he conquered the Isle of *Creete*. But much more ancient then these, were *Martius Coriolanus*, and *Sergius Fidenatus*. The first was named *Coriolanus*, after the Towne *Coriola* in *Latiun*, by him conquered. And the other by the like acte on *Fidentia*, a Towne in *Italy*. Another *Metellus* also was surnamed *Balericus*, because he had conquered to the *Romane* Empire, the Islands called *Baleares*, now termed *Maiorque* and *Minorque*.

*Lucius Mummius* was surnamed *Achaicus*, because hee had subdued *Achaia* and *Corinthe*. So the other *Brutus*, in regard he brought the *Gauls* in subiection, was surnamed *Gallus*. The two *Scipios*, being brethren, were honoured by the names of the people whom they had vanquished; the one in *Africa* and *Carthage*, and the other in *Asia*, because he conquered also in *Antioche* and in *Asia*: for hee was the first that displayed the *Romane* Coullors or Ensignes in *Asia*. Another *Scipio* afterward, sonne to *Paulus Emilius* (of whose triumph we haue already spoken) & *Nepheue* adoptiue to great *Scipio*, was likewise surnamed *Africanus*; because hee assayed and won the great and puissant city of *Carthage*. Neuerthelesse, hee receiued a greater honour and giuerdon, to be surnamed *Numantinus*, and he himselfe held it in farre higher respect; because in *Spain* he destroyed *Numantia*, and utterly overthrew the *Numantines*.

I finde in like manner, that Emperours attributed vnto themselves the surnames of conquered places, speaking them expressly in their Letters missiue and other instruments; namely *Seuerus*, and his successors after him; as for *Arabia*, *Parthia*, *Armenia*, *Germania*, and other Prouinces by them subdued. So one named himselfe

*Arabicus*, another *Parthicus*, another *Armenicus*, so *Germanicus*, and *Astattenus*; each man according to such victories as he had obtaigned, so did hee magnifie himselfe.

Moreover, for other matters and reasons, the *Romane* Capitaines were illustrated by especiall names, for their greater magnificence and splendour. As we reade of *Starcus Manlius*, who for defending the *Capitoll* from the forces of the *French*, was surnamed *Capitolinus*. The family of the *Torquatus* receiued that surname, for taking a Chaine or Coller from the necke of an enemy, for a Coller or Chaine in latine is called *Torquis*, and so were diuers of them therefore named, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, because by long delays & dissimulations; hee had held out *Humball* in warre, only for the defence of *Rome*; they surnamed him *Cunctator*, which is as much to say, as a temporizer or delayer. And for the same reason also, they termed him (beside) the Shield or Buckler of *Rome*, which redounded to his greater advantage and honour.

*Marcus Marcellus*, who liued also in those times, in regard of his great power and valiancy, the continuall battels which (without ceassing) he gave to the enemy, was called, *The Sword of Humball*. And that excellent Captain *Sylla*, though somewhat cruel, was surnamed *Happy*, in regard of his prosperous victories. *Pompey* likewise was so renowned by his successe in warre, that he had the surname of Great giuen him, then which title, I know not what could more haue raised and exalted him. So farre extended the dignity of surnames, granted to Capitaines in those dayes, especially to such as were vertuous Commanders and Generals, as they were also called Emperors, which in these more modern times, is the title of supremest dignity, and which could not then be giuen, but to a Capitaine, Prator, Consul, or Proconsull, that had bin victorious in some notable battaile, and had desolated the enemies country, by the death of a great number of enemies: As if two thousand of his men were slaine, there must then ten thousand perish on the enemies side, and not otherwise it was granted.

With this so gracious and happy a surname, was *Iulius Caesar*, the Father of *Iulius Caesar* honored, for the victory which

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Marcus Manlius Capitolinus.

Novellus Torquatus & Manlius Torquatus. Quintus Fabius Cunctator.

Marcus Marcellus, The sword of Humball.

Sylla the Happy.

Pompey the Great.

Captaines called Emperors and vpon what respect or duetie.

The first Ovation Triumphant, and that accepted thereto very gladly.

P. mpreys  
Cap. 11.

How this kinde of triumph took the name at the first by variety of opinion.

A further permission granted to Triumphers of erecting Statues, Pillars, &c.

They were among the Grecians, and in what manner.

\* Called also Sabellia people of the Mountains between the Sabines and the Maritima Italy.

Mark Anthony was often called a Carr.

The name of King lateall in Rome.

Well deserving strangers as much respected as rewarded as the natives of Rome.

Atalus King of Asia.

Eumenes brother to Atalus.

Deiotarus king of Galatia.

Maffiniffa king of Numidia.

he had against the \* *Sannites & Lucanes*, in the time of *Sylla*. *Pompey* also was called Emperour, for the memorable victory he wonne in *Africa*, against *Domitius*. *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, being Proconsull in the warre against the *Partians*, was by them of the Army named Emperour, for the victory there obtained. *Julius Caesar*, before he was called to the Empire, was styled Emperour, by reason of his many victories. But if this Capitaine had not suffered great resistances in his battailes, he had not bene worthy of that name, & yet notwithstanding he was reprehended, so that *Marke Anthony* murmured against him, and yet because he had taken a great City, on the further side of the River *Emphrates*, he was content that they should call him Emperour. After *Julius Caesar* and his successours, inuelling themselves with the full Seignury of *Rome*, & knowing well, that the name of King was in horror and detestation among the people, they would be named Emperours, which title hath continued euer since, & is the very great all.

So then we see, that for such honors, the *Romans* sayled not in their gratification, as well to their strange friends abroad, being vnder their reward, as to the home-borne Sonnes of *Rome*. Because like as they were powerfull and rigorous, in fighting against enemies; so were they as gracious and liberrall to such as assisted them. So that in the same kinde of bounty they gaue to king *Atalus* the Prouince of *Asia*, with the title of king: for which (afterward) he was ingratefull, because (by his testament) hee returned all his profits to *Rome*. To *Eumenes* the brother of this *Atalus*, because he had well serued and assisted the *Romans*, in the war against *Antiochus*: the Senate gaue him all the Cities and Townes, which hee had conquered from *Antiochus* in *Asia*. To king *Deiotarus* of *Galatia*, because hee had ayded *Pompey*, in the warre against *Antistater*, the *Romans* gaue him the Prouince of the lesser *Armenia*. In the like manner was king *Maffiniffa* of *Numidia* guerdoned, hauing bene embraced by *Scipio*, as his companion and friend to the people of *Rome*: to him was giuen all whatsoever he had conquered in the kindeome of *Syphax*, who had assisted the *Carthaginians*.

Nor were these gifts and presents al-

lowed to Capitaines, and men of apparancie only; but likewise to them of the meanest condition, they gaue gifts, prerogatiues, and great honours. The Consul *Marius*, knowing the well deseruing of two companies, that had fought valiantly against the *Cimbrians*, a people among the *Allemaignes*, and were come into *Italy* with him, he receiued them as Citizens of *Rome*. When being reproued for doing such a thing contrary to their Lawes, he made answer: *In the noise and clattering blowes of weapons, there is no voice of the Law heard.*

## CHAP. XLII.

Of such Crownes, with other recompences and salaries, which the *Romans* gaue to Soldiers. Also of punishing offenders, comprehending in this case an excellent form for warre, and good government of a common-wealth.



THE *Romans* were not careful only for honouring & gratifying their Capitaines, but offered them (beside) infinite other graces & fauours, rewarding them honourably in diuers and sundry kindes, with Crownes & Jewels; as holding them in particular esteeme and reputation, and according to the merit of their actions in Armes, in the same sort were they respected and required.

When a Capitaine had obtained a victory in some notable battaile, were it vpon the Sea or Land, and had therein taken some Towne by force, or done any other singular enterprize; immediately after, they had a custome to make diligent inquisition, concerning the valour of the particular bandes and Squadrons. Then mounting vpon the Theater, after they had giuen thanks to the Gods for the victory obtained: in generall they commended the whole Army, and especially extolled the band or Squadron, that had fought with most man-hood. Afterward they reuealed particular men in the companies by their names, publishing the worth

Meanes men respected by the *Romans*, as well as great. As was the example of the Consul *Marius*.

Diuers kind of recompences vied among the *Romans*.

The manner of publishing the merit of their Armes vpon their open Theater.

T. Titus Livius, lib. 6. c. 30. *Pept. Conf.*

The fullall crowns which the *Romans* gaue.

Plinius lib. 6. c. 32. *Aul. Gellius* lib. 12.

Crown Obsidionalis, or wherefore it was giuen, being the Crown for taking a siege.

Such as had the honor to be crowned with this Crown.

of their vertue and courage, in no lesse measure then they had deserued: terming them friends and louers of their country, saying also, that the Common-wealth stood highly obliged to them. And this being done, they gaue then presents of Gold and Silver, of Crownes, Girdles, Bracelets, Jewels, as also very excellent armour for horses, made so curiously, & deliuered with such defences and prohibitions, as no man was suffered to vveare or haue the like, without he had deserued it in the same manner. Histories are full of these things, and particularly *Titus Livius*, speaking of the Consul *Papirius Cursor*, saith; that he gaue Bracelets of Gold to fourteene Centurions; and afterward to a Squadron, he gaue very rich & costly Ornaments. As much hee saith of *Scipio*, being in *Spain*, and other places.

Now, concerning the Crowns which they gaue, they had diuers names, and were according to the degrees of merite. They had the Crowne *Obsidionalis*, the crowne *Triumphalis*, the crowne *Oualis*; *Corona Ciuica*, *Corona Muralis*, *Corona Navalis*, and *Corona Castrensis*. *Pliny* speaketh of them all, and so doeth *Aulus Gellius*.

But that Crowne of greatest excellence, and more esteemed then all the rest, was *Corona Obsidionalis*, which extended to the circled or siege of the Campe, and it was giuen onely for hauing deliuered an army enclosed and besiedged within a Towne or Citie, or when a camp was strictly enuironed. So that by such a worthy deede of armes, the place or people accounted themselves to bee deliuered from death, or mercilesse imprisonment: for no other action whatsoever, was this honor & respect to be giuen. The crown was made of greene leaues, for they cared not to haue it made of Golde, or other metall, but of the grasse and hearbes of the same field, where the enemy had bin ouerthrowne or forced to flight. With this Crown was crowned the Great *Quintus Fabius*, because when *Hannibal* was before *Rome*, hee defended and deliuered it from his besiedging. *Emilius Scipio*, was also crowned therewith in *Africa*, for hauing deliuered the Consul *Manlius*, with certaine bands. *Calpurnius* obtrayned it also in *Sicily*, and so did the valiant *L. Cincinnatus Dentatus*, and some other.

*Corona Ciuica*, or the Citizen crowne, was made of Oaken leaues and branches, with the fruite or Acornes hanging on it. This was giuen to him that had saved a Citizen, when his life was in extreme perill, killing his enemy, & making good the place where the danger hapned. This crown was so much made account of, that sometimes it felt to such a mans Honour, who for sauing one *Romane* citizen, at his deliueance slew two of his enemies. But because he defended not and made good the place from future perill, doubt was made, whether he had deserued this Citizen Crowne, or no. Neuertheless, Law was dispensed withall, and it was concluded to be giuen him, seeing hee had deliuered the Citizen, and slaine two of his enemies in a place so perillous, which was not in his power still to protect, although the Law imported so much. And albeir a man had deliuered a King, or a Capitaine of confederates and friends, yet could he not haue his crowne to reward him, except he had deliuered a *Roman*: I find that *Pliny* recordeth, that this very fame crown had bene giuen to one, who slewed the first enemy that mounted on the wals of a City or Fortresse, being defended by or for the *Romans*.

This *Corona Ciuica*, was the most excellent, next vnto the *Obsidional*, and might dayly be worn, and in all places. Likewise, he that deserued this Crowne, was of such account and esteeme, as hee might sit in the Theater, or at Feastes, where hee had alwayes his place nereest vnto the Senate. And when hee entered, the Senate would rise vpon their feete, to do him honor.

He stood also free and exempt from any Office or charge whatsoever, except his pleasure was to accept it: and moreover, for his sake, and in regard of him, his Father and Grandfather (if they were liuing) stood exempted also. Many *Romans* obtained to wear this Crowne, & especially the most valiant *Cincinnatus Dentatus*, named before, who wonne fourteene of them. The second *Capitolinus* had sixe; and to *Cicero*, by particular dispensation, one of them was granted, because he had defended *Rome* from the conspiracy of *Catiline*. These Crownes, whereof wee haue made relation, although they were made but of Hearbes and Leaves, and might

*Corona Ciuica*, the Citizen Crowne, giuen for sauing a Citizens life.

Law may sometimes bee dispensed withall on needfull occasions.

Plinius lib. 4. c. 7.

The reputation & esteeme of this Citizen Crowne.

What *Romans* had the honor to wear this Crowne.

might more properly be called Garlands, or like to the *French* chaplets of flowers: yet were they (notwithstanding) much more esteemed and renowned, then if they had beene of the finest gold.

As for the Mural Crowne, called *Corona Muralis*, it was of golde, and given to him that had assaulted and ascended the walls of a city, or a castle, mounting first vp the scaling Ladder, and both freeing and defending the walles, which caused, that the Crowne was made in forme of an imbrattled wall. The first (according to *Pliny*) that obtained this crowne, was *Marius Capitolinus*. *Scipio* also gaue it to *Quintus Trebellius*, and *Sextus Diguitus*; because that they (both together) wonne first the enemies wall, before any other.

*Corona Castrensis*, five Vallis, was given to him that (in the fight) entred first into the Barriers, Rilles, or Lifes of the enemies Campe, coming off againe with credite and reputation: this Crowne also was made of gold, and shaped according to Battions and Rampires of a field for warre.

Of the like metall was the Nauall Crowne, *Corona Naualis*, which was bestowed on the man, that first (in fight at sea) boarded and entered an enemies shippe: and it was in the shape of the prow or poynt of a ship. *Marcus Varro* made no disdaine of this Crowne, when it was offered vnto him by great *Pompey*, in the war against the Pirates. *Offinius* presented it also to *Marcus Agrippa*, and to *Sylla*: many other likewise had the honor thereof, wherof now I omit to speake.

When any Souldier of *Rome*, were he noble or ignoble, had made any prooff of his bodie, were it at the course of Launce, or in single combat: as the *Romaine* Captaines or Generals were wont to giue him or them collers or chaines of gold and silver, or bracelets, or girdles, accordingly as they had deserued, with other priuileges and preheminences. And such prizes they might giue to his friends, that had assisted them in the war: but as for the Crownes, they were referred onely for *Romaines*. Of all which things wee finde many notable examples in the *Romaine* histories.

*Suetonius* writeth, that *O. Tullius* permitted to *Marcus Agrippa*: that he might

bear a Banner of Azure colour: in regard of a victory which hee had obtained at Sea, against *Sextus Pompeius*. He further affirmeth, that it was he who desired first the gifts of Collers and Flagon chaines, with other particular presents beside, allowed only in such affaires, which would require too long a space heere to report. And heere it is well worth the remembrance, that the *Romaines* were to valiant, that some one man hath wonne the honour of all these rewardes, or the greater part of them. For *Pliny* and *Solinus* doe name such men, amongst other *Marcus Sergius*, who obtained the most part of them. And in the warre at \* *Therapyneum* and *Trois*, where the *Romaines* were vanquished by *Hannibal*, he wonne the crown called *Corona Civica*, as also in the ouerthrow at *Cannus*. This man was so valiant, that hauing lost his right hand in the battel, he shewed great valor with the left, and by meanes of a Steele hand made him, in stead of the other lost, he foyled and slew 4. men in one day in the field of *Battell* each after other: in which braue day of fight, and others beside, he received 23 wounds, & all in the fore part of his bodie.

Yet notwithstanding, neither this *Marcus Sergius*, nor any other beside, did euer deserue and attaine to so much as *Cicero Cincinnatus Dentatus*, Tribune of the people, of whom we speake a little before. Of him write *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Aulus Gellius*, affirming, that in iewels and presents of price, some greater then other, he obtained onely by actions of Armes, 320. and more. Beside, that he entred Rome with 9. feuerall Generals, when they performed their solemne triumphs, & whom he had assisted in their victories. He had a great number of brooke Spears, shinerall Lances, shafts of laurelins, pikes without heads of Steele, giuen to him as signalls of honour. He had 18. collers and gold chains: 83 of silver: Of armors and furnitures for horses furing war service, and thereunto particularly appoynted, hee had five and twenty: an hundred and fortie bracelets; eight Castrenses; three Murales, one Eliodonale, and I know not how many Nauall. In feuerall fought battailes, hee had taken five and fourtie wounds, all of them before vpon his bodie, and no more then one only behind, and thirty foure times

The first deseruer of Collers, Chaines and other gifts.

Pliny 10. lib. 1. Solinus 1. cap. 10.

\* A Lake in Hetruria.

Marcus Sergius a valiant Roman.

44 wounds all before on his bodie, and but one only behind.

Corona Muralis given for first taking the walls of a City or Castle.

Corona Castrensis, as being first to the enemies and Rampires that out.

Corona Naualis for first taking ships at sea.

Other worthy rewards for merit.

Suetonius writeth of Caesar.

hee had disarmed and dispoiled the enemy, hauing personally bin present in fixe score encamped battells. Nay, he was so valiant and fortunate in Armes, that hee was firamed the *Romane Achilles*: and although his performances may seeme to the world incredible; yet notwithstanding the multitude and conformitie of histories doe aouch them.

The *Romaines*, for famous actions in Armes, conceded (beside) other honours and preheminences, as power of publique iudgements, and sitting in the chair of \* *Curules*, which was the seate of the *Ediles* and *Prators*, and which was permitted to *Scipio*. Sometimes also there they gaue consent, for the greatest authorities of Souldiers, according as they were suffered by the people to doe: concerning a degree or state, submitted to the libertie of the *Patriottes* and people. Captaines likewise were permitted to erect triumphall Statues, and to decke and cloathe themselves, euen as if they had bene Consuls. The Senate granted (by forme of salary and congratuation) that they might place in Temples, the armes and spoiles of enemies conquered by the in battels: and such things were teamed *Manubiae*, as much to say, as spoiles and booties taken from an enemy.

Furthermore, the *Romaines* had a commendable custome, concerning such as had bene slayne in their warres; that their children should haue and enjoy the like wages, as they gaue vnto their fathers liuing. And to olde Souldiers, that had long time followed the wars; such good allowance of land, as they might well and easily liue thereon. Suffering them also to dwell in Citties, Townes, and Provinces conquered and subiected, where themselves pleased to make election. In this manner the Cittie of *Suilla* was made a Colony for *Rome* by *Caesar*: which Colonies (according to the common *French* saying) may be teamed a new dwelling, or transmigration of people. In briefe, the *Romaines* neuer left a good action vnrequited, nor without some great priuiledge: for the which cause, more valiant men were found among them, then in all other nations beside.

I spare to speake of many other requittals, which the *Romaines* vied in respect of Armes, thinking already I haue sayde

enough. Notwithstanding, it is a matter most certaine, that as they excelled all Nations, in both acknowledging and rewarding honest seruices: so they came not a iote behinde vs, in teaching and correcting where occasion required. For when men were not to be moued by regard of honour and vertue, or by necessity and gaine, to doe what was good; yet they were compelled to doe no vile thing, both in respect of shame, and feare of punishment. For the paines were great and rigorous against such as shewed themselves to be slouthfull and negligent: because when they lost honour, being called thereto, and might by their owne indeour haue had it; they were well and soundly whipt, till the blood followed. Some were manacled with yrons like slaues; and if they fled away, and forsooke their Captaines in battaile, they were impaled or spitted on stakes, or else crucified: for, answerable to the delict, so was their punishment.

*Titus Livius* writeth, that the Souldiours of a Squadron, belonging to *Appianus Claudius*, to whom the keeping of a place was giuen in charge, forsooke and lost it. He being desirous to inflict punishment, and yet to mixe it with mercie: they were selected by numbers of tenne, and then to cast lottes, and they on whom the lot fell, were put to death for all the rest. *Iulius Frontinus* sayth, that *Marke Anthony* did the very like to a band, which had not defended the rampires, but suffered the enemies to set fire on them. Other inflictions also hee imposed vpon Souldiours, for disobedience and other offences, requiring more time then I am permitted. Wherefore I will shape my conclusion thus onlie, that as those times wanted not remunerations and honours for well doing; so, they were as forward in correcting wicked and bad actions.

CHAP.

No want of doctrine and discipline among the Romaines.

Correction and punishment for idle and negligent persons.

Tit. Livius in Dec. 9. lib. 4. c. 7.

Iul. Frontinus in lib. 7. cap. 3.

The Romaine Achilles Cincinnatus Venantius.

\* The chief Chair in the Council-house.

Statues allowed to be erected by Captaines and Generals, and their enemies Armes in Temples.

Manubiae, the spoiles of enemies.

Respect of Rome Souldiers, and men of long service, for their dwelling and abiding.

No good left without recompence by the Romaines.

## CHAP. XLIII.

*Of the reason wherefore Sleep was granted and giuen to man: And likewise, that too much sleep is vicious and hurtfull.*

**S**leep was naturally giuen to man for his conseruation; because there is no any naturall worke, but it hath neede of rest and repose. *Aristotle sayth, Every creature that hath blood, sleepeeth: and there he proueth by good reason, and likewise by experience, that fishes doe sleepe.* Sleep is a repose of all the senses, and proceedeth from the fumes and euaporations, which (in regarde of foode receiued) arise from the stomacke to the braine, by the coldnesse whereof, the hot vapours are tempered, and make the exterior motions and senses sleepe: then retyring the vitall spirits to the heart, all the members become slowe, and rest from their trauaile, vntill such time as the vitall spirit (which is the instrument whereby the soule frameth her operations, gouerning and commanding the whole body) doth recouer new forces, and ceasing diminishing those vapours, man awaketh from sleepe, and then the senses and powers retaine more freshly, with farre greater power to their operations.

Concerning the occasions of sleepe, *Aristotle* discouerseth at large in his Booke of Sleepe and Vigilancie: and *Plutarke* declareth diuers opinions of the Philosophers, beside sundry naturalists. But although it is for the rest and health of the body, yet it must be taken moderately; because long sleepe (saith *Aristotle*) weakeneth the naturall and animall spirits, even as the moderation thereof doth giue them vigour: for many things are necessary, which neuerthelesse are hurtfull, if they be receiued excessively. Foode is both needefull and suourie, and yet notwithstanding, if it exceede measure, it harmeth, and hath no rellish at all. In like manner, moderate trauaile is wholesome, but

ved with extremity nothing is more damageable. And so I say of sleepe, that it should not be taken but vpon necessity, for recreation and repose of the senses, the spirits and members of the body.

Over-much Sleepe (as it ouer-loadeth the members and senses, making them slouthfull, and enfeebling them by idlenesse) so it ingendreth to many humidities in the bodie, that they make it sicke, and killeth it, because in the time of sleepe, all the moistures of the bodie (with the naturall heate) retire themselves to the exterior partes, and then they make no euacuation of the superfluities and humidities thereof. Also, sleepe immeasurably vsed, nor onely is prohibited by naturall Philosophers and Physitions; but likewise it is reproued by all wise men of vnderstanding. *Aristotle sayth, During the time of sleepe, there is no difference betwene the wise man and the foole.* And questionlesse, although a wise man had not any other occasion to make little vse of sleepe, but for equalling himselfe with a foolish Ideot; yet he should auoyd and shunne the excesse (though sleepe maintaineth life, and is very wholesome) in considering with his best cogitations, that he which sleepeeth is not liuing. And as *Plutarke* sayth in his Booke of the contention betwene fire & water: *The man that sleepeeth hath no more strength or knowledge in his sleepe, then if hee were dead.* *Pliny* is of the same opinion, saying; *Sleepe taketh from vs the halfe part of our life, considering, while we are in sleepe, we neither know nor feele, whether we are liuing or no.* *Ouid*, and other Poets beside, with men of no mean learning, do call sleepe, *The similitude of death.*

*Saint Paul*, in the fourth chapter of his first Epistle to the *Thessalonians* sayth, *Brethren, I would not haue you ignorant, concerning them that are asleepe: in speaking these words, hee plainly meaneth death.* Then it followeth thus: *Such as sleepe in Iesus Christ, will God bring with him.* Sleepe likewise is the resemblance of negligence and slouthfulness, according to *Saint Gregorie*, who saith: *For a man to sleepe, is to keep himselfe and perseuer in his sinnes.* If sleepeing thus had not bene vnderstood to sinne, *Saint Paul* would neuer haue sayd so many times: *Awake yet liue, and sinne no more.* A man then may

Excessively of sleepe, it weakeneth and killeth the body.

What man should lie in his bed.

Sleepe equalteth a wise man with a foole.

Plutarke, and Aristotle.

Plutarke.

The benefit by turning vpon the left side.

The reason for turning againe on the right side to sleepe.

Very

very well shame, to spend the most part of his life sleeping in his bed; for therein he sinneth no lesse then he that sitteth all day at a Table feeding: in regarde, that these things ought not to be taken, but for the sustentation of life, and not the hurt thereof, and of the soule also; wherefore sleepe is allowed for sustenance, and not for voluptuousnesse.

Seeing then it should bee employed onely for the health of the bodie; let vs now vnderstand, after what maner a man should lie in his bed for Sleep, to the end it may be profitable to him. I reade, that the most profitable kinde of sleeping for any well disposed person, is first to beginne sleepe vpon his right side; and afterward (for the most part of the night) to turne and rest vpon his left side; and in the ending of his sleepe, to turne a while on the right side againe. The reason is, because the stomacke of a man is seated in such sort, that the mouth thereof leaneth somewhat more to the right side then to the left; but the hollow heart or bottom thereof, declineth a little toward the left side. So that by lying down to sleepe (for an houre or two) on the right side, the stomacke extendeth it selfe and resteth vpon the liuer. And hence ensueth two especiall commodities; the first, that the stomacke ordereth it selfe, and in that preparation, the foode descendeth downe the more easily: the second, that the humidity of the meate receiued, refresheth the liuer, and by that refreshing, naturall heate taketh strength in the stomacke, to beginne and cause digestion.

After that these two good effects haue followed one another, then it shall be fitting to turne vpon the other side, because by being so turned, the liuer cometh and couereth the stomacke, and embraceth it euen with wings, (as it were) so that his foode retaineth more to the liuer, and thereby perfecteth digestion. Neuerthelesse, it is good in the morning, for a small consummation of that times sleepe, to turne againe vpon the right side, to the end that the stomack may beginne to ease and discharge the liuer, and likewise to expell the ayre or superfluitie of the passed digestion. This rule is good, and will bee well acknowledged by him that hath a qualified liuer,

and his stomacke not cold, but that at these two members are found and temperate in him. But he that hath an ouer-hot liuer, and a cold stomacke, as many times it cometh so to passe: it is not good for him to sleepe vpon the right side, because the stomacke falling vpon the liuer, straineth and presseth it in every part, heating and enflaming it excessively, so that the vpper part of the stomacke continueth vncouered by the superiour part, cooling and weakening it more and more; whereby the very greatest heate of the liuer carrieth and beareth vpon it, all the little left in the stomacke before, whence ensueth bad digestion, and consequently a sickly disposition. Wherefore the man that hath a cold stomacke, and a hot liuer, it is not wholesome for him to sleep on his left side; because the stomacke being wholly couered with the liuer, it maketh digestion; and as for the liuer, lying so aloft vpon the superiour part, it is both discouered and discharged, and by that means refresheth it selfe, and is not enflamed at all.

There are some also, that make a custom of sleeping on their belly, which helpeth and comforteth digestion, because it assemblith and retayneth naturall heate in the stomackall part, which is in the better disposition for euacuating superfluities. The contrary cometh to such as sleepe on their backe, with the face openly discouered: in regarde that naturall heate extendeth it selfe abroad, by which means digestion is weakened, and the superfluities can not be purged by the mouth, nor by the ordinarie conduites and passages: but remaine in the breast and in the throat, which oftentimes causeth stuffings and suffocations, with Epilepsies and other infirmities.

The wife therefore doe also counsell and aduise, that a man should not sleepe too much stretcht out in his bed, because thereby digestion is greatly weakened and impaired: for according to the Philosophers rule; when the vertues and forces are vnited together, the operation is so much the better. But being moderately and indifferently heaped or doubled, the carnositie which couereth the stomacke, ioyneth the more closely to it, heating and strengthening it better then before. These rules whereof I haue spoken, are necessa-

Of an over-heated liuer, and a cold stomacke, and what kind of do attend thereon.

Of a cold stomacke, and a hot liuer.

Of such as do sleepe vpon their face and belly.

Of such as sleepe vpon their backe, and what ensueth thereon.

Of sleeping too much stretcht out in bed.

necessary for such as bee dainty and delicate, and those of weaker disposition, but that be healthfull, lusty, and able, the best rule that they can observe, is to keepe the custome which they haue bene most vlied to.

## CHAP. XLIII.

*Of an ancient use and custome in Spaine, in making their account of times, by these words, Here de Cæsar: What that Here is, and therefore, and when the use thereof was left.*



N ancient times they had a custome in *Castile*, when-soeuer they dated writings & instruments of reckoning or worth; they wrote downe the words of *Here de Cæsar*, in such sort as we see downe the year of Grace, or of our Lord God, and the same stile was obserued in Chronicles and Histories, as hath bene obserued by many diligent Readers. And although this matter hath bin seene and discouered by many yet few people haue vnderstood the occasion and originall of this vse, neyther wherefore the word is termed *Here*.

In mine opinion, there may bee two good reasons rendred. The first, that this word *Here* was written with an aspiration, and so haue I found it in some places of the Spanish History; although in some other it is not so. But being so, we say, that it commeth of the Latine word *Hierus*, which is as much to say, as Lord: and thereby it followeth, that *Here* may be vnderstood for Lordship, Soueraignty, Monarchy, or Reigne and Dominion: and that *Here de Cæsar*, implyeth the Monarchy of *Cæsar*, that is to say, the beginning of Monarchy, which is vnderstood of *Octavianus*. Of this opinion is *Antonius Nebrissenis*, for in his vocabulary for the Spanish Language, he saith; *Here de Cæsar*, is namely the Monarchy of *Cæsar*.

As for the second reason, it is, that *Here* is a word of the Spanish Language, he saith; *Here de Cæsar*, is namely the Monarchy of *Cæsar*.

As for the second reason, it is, that *Here* is a word of the Spanish Language, he saith; *Here de Cæsar*, is namely the Monarchy of *Cæsar*.

word *Here*: as that of *Philip*, that of *Alexander*, that of *Nabuchodonosor*, that of *Cæsar*, and many other. And yet notwithstanding, although this may seeme to bee a case cleare and euident, yet there is a kinde of difficulty, wherein it is expedient to yeeld satisfaction. To wit, that as *Eusebius*, *Paulus Orosius*, and diuers other writ, Christ was borne in the 42 year of the Empire of *Octavianus*: if it be so, it appeareth that *Here* should anticipate the 42 yeares of Christs Natiuity, in regard that it hath respect to the beginning of *Cæsars* Empire, according to due consideration. Neuertheless, it anticipated but of thirty eight yeares, according to king *Alphonfus* his setting downe: wherefore the Text hath not sayed, for euermore *Here de Cæsar*, precedeth the birth of Christ thirty eight yeares.

I vnderstand this to ensue from *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and all the rest, who naming the birth of Christ, to bee in the two and fortieth year of the Empire of *Octavianus*, begin their account of his Empire, at the first day of his entering Rome, toone after the death of his vnkle *Julius Cæsar*, where he arriuing, was made Captaine with the Consuls *Hirtius* & *Pompeius*, against *Mark Anthony*. In setting downe the account of time so, and not otherwise, the birth of Christ commeth iustly to bee in the two and fortieth year of his Empire: notwithstanding, they that make their account by *Here*, leaue out foure yeares at the beginning. And it seemeth they had good reason so to doe, because in those 4 first yeares, *Octavianus* held no command in Rome, neyther had the gouernement without resistance: for at the entering of those foure yeares, he had warre against *Mark Anthony*. Then going afterward to Rome with his troopes, he had the Consulship perforce, in the place of *Hirtius*, he being dead at his comming.

When these things were done, hee made an accord & conuention with *Mark Anthony* and *Lepidus*, where they became all three (one after another) to gouerne for a certaine time, and made the cruell proscription, whereby they did put to death diuers of the principall men in Rome. Moreouer, he and *Mark Anthony* passed, into *Greece*, in persecution of the murderers of *Cæsar*, where they fought a battaile against *Brutus* and *Cassius*: after which death

A question concerning the Natiuity of Christ.

The difference betweene the account of *Here* and the account of *Octavianus*.

The first fil years of *Octavianus* held no command in Rome.

The Transmigration of *Octavianus*, *Mark Anthony*, and *Lepidus*, and their bloody proscriptions.

death and discomfiture, he lost *Mark Anthony* in those Easterne parts, and returned into *Italy*, where he opposed himselfe against *Lucius Antonius*, the brother vnto *Mark Anthony*, and besiedged him in *Perusia*, constraining him to yeelde to his mercy. Thus hauing vanquished and expelled all his enemies, hee came (without any contradiction) to Rome, to gouerne *Italy*, *France*, *Spaine*, and *Germany*: for *Lepidus* was in *Africa*, and *Mark Anthony* in *Asia*; therefore his entrance and Seignury, was foure yeares after his comming from *Greece*.

In regard whereof, the account of *Here* and Monarchy, beginneth (by good reason) there, which is thirty eight yeares before the birth of Christ: so that *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and all the rest, who set downe the birth to bee in the two and fortieth year of *Octavianus* his Empire, doe begin their reckoning, from the day that *Julius Cæsar* was slaine, he being his vnkle. And this is proued apparantly, because it appeareth by all histories, that *Julius Cæsar* was slaine in the yeare seuen hundred and ten, from the foundation of Rome: & our Lord was borne in the yeare seuen hundred and fifty two, whereby there is a distance of two and forty yeares, all which are granted to the empire of *Octavianus*. In like manner, according to *Eusebius*, *Julius Cæsar* was slaine in the yeare of the worlds creation, five thousand, one hundred, fifty seuen: and our Lord (after the same *Eusebius*) was borne in the yeare five thousand, one hundred, ninety nine, wherein there is a difference each from other, of the same two and forty yeares.

If we come to account by Olympiades, *Julius Cæsar* was slaine in the second yeare of the 164 Olympiade; and Christ was borne in the third yeare of the 194. inclusively; which is also the same difference of two and forty yeares: in which respect, they set the empire of *Octavianus*, two and forty yeares before the Natiuity. Albeit his true empire began foure yeares after the time when his *Here* had originall, and thirty eight yeares before the Natiuity: for during those foure yeares, hee was no Lord nor Commander, as all the Roman Histories do approue. *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Dion*, *Suetonius*, and more then all the rest, *Titus Livius*, or to speake better, *Lucius Florus* saith, That *Octavianus* com-

ming to Rome, when his vnkle was slaine, was but eigheteene yeares of age, and was Consul at nineteene. Then the warres being past, and all his enemies vanquished, hee returned victoriously to Rome, & Monarched in the three and twenty of his age. So that by this account, and likewise that of *Titus Livius*, the empire of *Octavianus* began foure yeares after the death of his vnkle *Julius Cæsar*, which agreeth with the account of *Here*, thirty eight yeares before the Natiuity.

Some others doe allow of another reason or opinion, concerning this *Here*, by writing it with a diphthong *Ere*, without aspiration, and they say it is deriued of the Latine word *Aera*, for coine or money, ex *aera consuta*, and that it had originall, from the beginning of taxes or tribute money, which was payed to *Octavianus* and called *Ere*, or the tribute of *Cæsar*, and not the empire of *Cæsar*, and that it was termed *Aera Aera*. It is further affirmed, that it was the name of a coine or money, which was reckoned at a certaine value, and that from the time that was ordered and imposed, so they numbered and counted the *Ere*. *Saint Isidore* is of this opinion, speaking thus. *Aera singulorum annorum constituta est a Cæsare Augusto, quando primo censu exequitibus Romanorum orbem descripsit. Dicta autem Aera, quod omnis orbis as reddere professus est reipublice.* Therefore it appeareth plainly, that this maner of account, came and receiued name of his money and tribute then payed. So hee aoucheth in the chapter following, in speaking of the Quinquenniall yeares, where hee saith: *Ad huc enim Consules, ad huc Aera non erant.* In like manner it seemeth, that *Ambrose Calepine*, in his Dictionary gaue this diction such originall, saying. *Astralogi quoque initium, a quo supputationes incipiunt, Aera vocant: dicta Aera ex eo, quod omnis orbis as reddere professus est reipublice.*

Fryer *Alphonfus*, of the Order of *S. Dominick*, in his *Euchiridion* of times, hath these very words. *Another beginning came of accounting by the Here of the same Octavianus, who hauing the whole world in his hand, would know what people he had vnder his Empire: and therefore commanded by Edict, that euery one should be registered in the towne of his birth, to the end, they might giue*

Qq

The Empire of Octavianus began foure yeares after the death of his vnkle.

The second reason concerning the name of Here, because ex Cæsare consuta.

Isidore is of this opinion, speaking thus.

An account made fifteen hundred yeares to five yeares.

Ambrose Calepine in his Dictionary.

Alphonfus, Fryer of the Order of S. Dominick.

Here de Cæsar, the usual name doth signify a son of Lord God.

The first reason concerning the word Here.

Here de Cæsar, the Monarchy of Cæsar.

Antonius Nebrissenis.

The account of Astralogi.

The City of Perusia.

When the account of Here and Monarchy iustly begins, according to the birth of Christ.

The death of Cæsar, according to Eusebius.

These titles are given to the Olympiades.

Lucius Florus.



The name of Aera derived from the tribute payed by them.

A question concerning the beginning of Cæsar's Edict of taxation.

An answer to the former question.

The Edict could not so soon be knowne in remote parts as neerer home.

him (in figure of Seignery or dominion) a kinde of money; and because this money was of metall, the description thereof was named *Aera*. So that (according to these Authors) this manner of numbring the years by *Heres*, came from the tribute which they payed, and it was so written in Latine, *Aera*.

Notwithstanding, there remaineth yet another difficulty, of no meane importance, to wit, it seemeth that the Edict of *Cæsar* began not so long time before the Natiuitie as the thirty eight yeares which they count of the *Here*. Also it appeareth by the second chapter of *S. Luke*, that it began in the yeare when our Lord was borne, because he saith *Exiit Edictum à Cæsare: There came out a decree from Augustus Cæsar*, and therefore the beginning accordeth not with that of *Here*. VV hereunto (in mine opinion) answer may be made, that on the hither side of the East parts to wit, those of *Italy*, *France*, and *Spaine*, this Edict might be begun by the commandement of *Octavianus*, when hee had bene enstalled Lord and Emperour peaceably in *Rome*, which was thirty eight yeares before Iesus Christ was borne: but in *Affrica* and *Iudea* it was not then made knowne, because the Prouinces remained vnder the government of *Mark Anthony*, vntill they came vnder the Monarchy of *Cæsar*, and there is no contradiction to be found, but that eight and thirty yeares (before) he gouerned *France* and *Spaine*, and measurably impatronizing himselfe of the Prouinces, hee caused the Edict to be accordingly published. Wherefore it might so come to passe, that the first which was made knowne in those Countries, was that whereof *S. Luke* speaketh, and yet neuertheless, there were other Countries and Prouinces, where that *Here* had received beginning before.

Venerable Beda sheweth this clearly, writing vpon the same chapter of *S. Luke*, expounding the words, *Et describatur vniuersus orbis*, he saith thus. *Significant hanc descriptionem, vel primam esse habitum, quæ totum orbem concluserint, quæ perque iam partes terrarum leguntur fuisse descriptas.* It seemeth this description, to bee the first that was vniuersall to the whole world; because before it, many Cities and Townes in particular, had bene described or set downe. *S. Ambrose* affirmeth as much vpon the said chapter of *Luke*, saying: *There were found many other Lands and Prouinces, which had bene registred downe. Lucius Florus*, in his abremiation of 133. Bookes of *Titus Livius*, writeth: *That Cæsar, some after hee had vanquished Marke Anthony, imposed a tribute vpon all France, which was little lesse then thirty yeares before Christ was borne.*

But whether the cause arose by the first reason, of tearming it by the name of *Here*, or by the last; it is sufficient that it began eight and thirty yeares before the Natiuitie. This custome of accounting by *Heres* is very ancient, especially in *Spaine*, as also among the *Arabes* and *Sarracines*, and I thinke that the *Gothes* afterward vsed it, and it was not left so long as the *Romans* reigne endured. *Isidore*, in writing of the *Gothes*, and of this *Here*, approacheth it to be ancient. And although I cannot directly say, when it began, yet I know well enough, that it hath bene long time vsed in *Spaine*, as appeareth by the *Spanish Chronicles*, euen vntil *Iohn* the first, King of *Spaine* (who lost the battaile of *Aluabarasa*, in the fifth yeare of his reigne) commanded, that from thence forward, the *Here de Cæsar* should no more be vsed in writings and histories, but the birth of Christ; which was in the yeare 1383; and in the *Here de Cæsar*, 1421.

THE.

## The End of the Fourth Booke.



## OF NOBILITY POLITICALL AND CIVILL.

### THE FIFTH BOOKE.



Nobility, which many of the greater sorts of wits, with great prooffe of vncorrupted verity, & much flowing Eloquence, haue gone about to derue out of diuers foundations, is of three sorts: and is diuided into Nobility *Celestiall*, which consists in Religion: Nobility *Philosophicall*, which is got by Morall vertues: and Nobility *Politically*, whereof this present Treatise is. Out of the two first sorts of Nobility, no man can come Noble, except that he the same, be a good man also. But out of this third sort, a man, although he bee neuer so wicked and vngacious, may yet excell the rest of men, euen in the highest degree of Nobility: so as did *Cæsar*, *Nero*, and such others like.

The matter of Nobility, was in ancient time accounted of two sorts, viz. *Theological* and *Morall*: For why, Nobility is a thing honourable, and of it selfe laudable: But without vertue, nothing (according to the opinion of *Cicero*) can be commendable, or praise-worthy. Of which thing, the seate and scituation of the Temple of Honour among the *Romans*, was a notable example: whereunto there was no entrance or way, but by the Temple of vertue.

But by the preposterous innouation and change of things, that Nobility which was proper onely to the good, gaue place, and in stead thereof, that Nobility which is alike common vnto the bad and to the

good, slept to the helme: yea, euen the word *Nobilis* (or Noble) it selfe, which some will haue to haue bene so called, as who should say, *Nobilis*, or remarkable, or for some vertue Notable, began to be indifferently taken into both parts, good & bad: as *nobile Scortum*, a noble harlot, *nobile Scelus*, a noble villaine. Neyther in question of Political Nobility, are wee any more to haue recourse vnto the Diuines or Philosophers, and much lesse to the ancient *Romane* Constitutions (for the most part) discerning all things by Magistracies, Charges, and Offices, but onely vnto the dispositions of the Princes and Monarchs of the world: who haue the power of the gouernement of the world (as it were in a sort common together with God) after their maner, gouerne Nobility according to their owne pleasure and good liking, and so haue made the same hereditary. And hereof is it, that a stranger, made a Nobleman at *Rome*, or else where, is not at home accounted in the number of the Nobility, his Prince being thereto vnwilling, and so contrariwise also. VVherefore, they which examine Political Nobility, according to any other rule, then the custome of euery Nation, are vtterly out of the way. Yet in this so great diuersity of manners and customes of Nations in all places, the same Definition of Ciuill Nobility agreeth vnto them all, viz. *Quod sit qualitas, sine Dignitas qua quis legitime à Plebeia conditione existitur*

Q. 2

Political Nobility is counted according to the bad as to the good.

In question of Political Nobility, we are not to haue recourse vnto Diuines, or Philosophers.

Barthol. confutatio in qua Regime et vniuersum Dignitas omnis, sumitur ex p. m. Politicall Nobility is defined vpon the custome of Nations.

The Temple of Honour among the *Romans*.

*per gradum erigitur.* That it is a quality or dignity, whereby a man is lawfully exempt and by degrees promoted out of, and above the estate of the vulgar & common sort of people. Of this Nobility, there be two kinds, v. z. Nobility *Nature*, that is to say, by birth: and *Dative*, which is by the Princes gift. For as for violent Nobility, such as was that of *Nemrods*, I utterly reject it.

But that these things may be made more manifest, we will by certaine of the better Common-weales, euen vnto these our times, deriue the beginning of this dignity, and the manner of obtaining the same, as it were euen from the first infancy thereof, taking both the matter & the examples we therein vse, out of most authenticall and approved Authors, the sentences almost nothing, and much lesse the words, much changed, so that the well affected Reader, cannot of right, lay any thing thereof to our charge.

## CHAP. II.

## Of the Nobility of the first Age.



Date contrary vnto the common received opinion affirme, nobility *Dative* to haue bin before, & more excellent then Nobility *Nature*, exaple being taken frō *Adam* himselfe, whom all men know to haue bene made, and not borne: and verily to haue bene a Noble-man (if any other) as formed by God to the Image of himselfe, endowed with all good gifts, and made Lord and Soueraigne Ruler of all creatures; yea, euen of the whole world. But that celestiall Nobility he soone (alas, too too soone) lost, by hearkning vnto his wife: and that worldly Nobility which he yet retained, being vnto his children deriued, began first in them to be *Nature*, or Nobility by birth. If any man therefore consider *Adam* his owne race and Progeny, he must needs confesse all the men of that age, to haue bene together Noble. But as in mans body for the preservation of the whole, diuers functions, and offices of members, are required; euen so, in that first society

of men (as in all others) a distinction of persons was necessary: wherefore the first Common-weale, which was of the family of *Adam*, and of his children, consisted wholly of Noblemen (to wit) of the children of one Father, and he the same, being a King, a Prophet, and a Priest; but yet not all of them to be with like honour reuerenced. For he, that first Householder as it were by the decree of Nature, gaue the preheminance and cheefe place vnto his first begotten Sonne, so long as hee kept the right of his Birth-right, which order other families. Afterward following, constantly obserued: so that he which was first by Nature, should be accounted also first in honour. Yet neuertheless, was it altogether lawfull for the Father of the family, to make choise of his own children, that so according to euery one of their deserts, he might bestow vpon them honours, or take them from them.

Of the great number of *Adams* Progeny, & the discord of the Brethren among themselves, at length arose the diuision of Families, and so consequently, the vncertainty and forgetfulness of kindreds, and deadly hatreds and fallings out withall. By warre, the change of mens estates and conditions, and seruitudes are brought in. The vanquished, of Noble become base and vnnoble: & contrariwise, the victors, of base persons, became Noble. Men for the preservation of themselves, haue out of families assembled together into Villages; out of Villages, into Cities; and out of Cities haue growne together into Prouinces, and so into most great kingdoms. In dangers and distresses, according to the rule of reason, wise men are called vpon for their counsel, valiant men for their aide and defence, vnto whom, as vnto men most worthy, the government is committed; whereas the rest are enforced without difference, to obey without any respect of their stocke or kindred.

These things to haue thus beene in the *Jewes State* and *Common-weale*, is vnto all men knowne, which are but easily read in the old *Testament*. First, that Principality and prerogatiue, was given vnto the first begotten, you shall easily vnderstand, if you shall diligently consider, that when *Adam* by reason of his great yeares, was not able longer to attend to the government of the church, and of the common-weale,

A distinction  
of persons  
was in the  
first family  
of men.

The progeny  
of one birth  
right obserued.

The diuision  
of Families

Families  
haue growne  
into Villages.

Villages into  
Cities.  
Cities into  
Prouinces, &  
Prouinces into  
Kingdomes.

weale, *Seth* was made Gouverneur, who then held the place of the first begotten. Vnto *Seth* euen for the same cause succeeded *Enoch*: vnto *Enoch*, *Conan*: vnto *Conan*, *Mahalel*: vnto *Mahalel*, *Iered*: vnto *Iered*, *Canoc*: vnto *Canoc*, *Methuselah*, vnto *Methuselah*, *Lamech*: vnto *Lamech*, *Noah*: who ruled ouer his Progeny an hundred & ten yeares after the Deluge; at which time, the dispersing of his posterity happened. Which dispersion being made, euery one of them bare himselfe as Prince of his owne family; which preheminance passed still vnto the first borne of that stocke and family: so that the first begotten of the principall family, still held the same. Neither ought any man to doubt euery one of the Patriarkes to haue ruled as cheefe men ouer their owne Tribes and Families vntill that the government of the whole people was deliuered ouer to *Moses*. But concerning *Moses* himselfe, we read in the fourth of Exodus, him and *Aaron* to haue gathered together all the Elders of the children of *Israel*, which was the first Assembly. In the 24. of Exodus, the Lord commandeth seauenty of the Elders of the children of *Israel*, to come vnto him, together with *Moses*: which seauenty (in the same chapter) are as it were by a knowne name called Nobles or cheefe Persons of the children of *Israel*. *Moses* beside, oppressed with the multitude of sutes, following the counsel, of *Iethro*, chose out of the people certain Captains of thousands which should beare rule ouer a thousand families: others of hundreds, who commanded ouer an hundred: others of fifties who had the command ouer fifty: and others often, who bare rule ouer ten: & determined of their lesser sutes and controuerfies. Now that there were many Captaines of thousands, euen in one and the selfe-same Tribe, it is out of holy Scripture manifest; and these men, *Moses* here & there calleth, *The Heads of the Fathers, the Heads of the Tribes, Princes, and Heads of the Soldiers*; and amongst them were 12 cheefe Princes, especially chosen of the 12 Tribes, who sometimes were alone by themselves chosen out for some especiall commission. But what manner of men *Moses* made Rulers ouer the *Israelites*, and what manner of companions he chose forth as assistants vnto himselfe in the government of the common-weale, he himselfe in the

first chapter of Deuteronomy thus plainly witnesseth. And *I take vnto you the same Iesayon*, saying, *I am not able to beare the burden of you my selfe alone. For the Lord your God hath multiplied you: and behold, you are this day as the staves of heauen in number, &c. Bring (from among you) men of wisdom, and of vnderstanding, & men knowne in your Tribes, that I may make them Rulers ouer you. And you answered me and said, that which thou hast said, it is good for vs to do. And so out of the Tribes I took the Captains (men of wisdom and experience) & made them Rulers ouer you, Captaines ouer thousands, and ouer hundreds, ouer fifties, & ouer ten, & Officers among your Tribes, &c. But wee endued both by the weight of the words, and by reason, are enforced to cōiecture, *Moses* being a wise man, in this election and choise, to haue preferred men for their wisdom & experience famous and well knowne, both for the gaining of the fauour and obedience of the people, and also for the better government of the common-weale: neyther to haue any thing regarded such, as boasted onely of the prerogatiue of their birth; for otherwise, instead of helpers, he should rather haue associated vnto himselfe, the perturbors of the publike peace. Wherefore we set downe those seauenty Iudges by the commandement of God, appointed by *Moses* to haue bin of the dignity of Senators, vnto who some men adde two moe, viz. *Moses* himselfe, and the High-Priest, as if that six had bin appointed out of euery one of the twelue Tribes.*

Wherefore, by those things which we haue now already spoken, it is euident, as well *Dative* as *Nature* Nobility, to haue bin in vse amongst the *Israelites*, & sometime euen in one and the same family, to haue passed vnto the first begotten alone, or to some other graced with some publicke Office in some family, whilst the rest borne of the same stocke, in the mean time stucke fast within the bounds of them of the vulgar state and condition. And concerning the kings of the *Israelites*, it is to be thought also, as it is of the kings of other nations, that they according to their pleasure, ennobled many, cyther by reason, or by affection moued and induced so to do. But lets vs now from the *Jewes*, passe ouer vnto the *Geniles*.

Princes.

The Heads of  
the soldiers.

The first begotten  
were  
the Princes  
of their owne  
Families.

The Nobles  
or cheefe  
Persons of  
Israel.

Captaines of  
thousands.

Captaines of  
fifty,  
Deciations, or  
Captaines of  
ten.

The Heads  
of the Fathers,  
the Heads of  
the Tribes.

The definition  
of nobility  
Two kinds  
of Nobility,  
viz. Dative  
and Nature.

Nobility  
which in *Adam*  
was first  
Dative in him  
began to be  
Nature.

## CHAP. III.

## ¶ Of the first Greeke Nobility.



Nothing was euer more vnconstant the the Greek Common-weale, with perpetuall changes still floating vp & down. The beginning of their Monarchy, I (as most are wont) will no further tetch, then from *Cecrops*. He first called the rude *Athenians* out of the fields, into a ciuill society, built twelue Townes, and diuided the Cittizens of them into Souldiers, Artificers, Husbandmen, and Shepheards. Every City had Magistrates of it owne, neyther did they but in times of great danger resort vnto the King: yea many of them at times tooke vp Armes against their Kings. They which inhabit the *Champaigne* Country, were commanded by some few. The Mountiniers were gouerned by a popular estate, and they which dwell by the Sea-coast, had a mixt gouernement, in a meane betwixt both. And they which out of the whole body of the people, were called vnto the gouernement of the Common-weale, were honored for Princes, Senators, and Noblemen. *Plutarch* writeth, such men as were of greatest power in the Citties, to haue bene thrust out by *Theseus*, that hee himselfe might to alone raigine, yet diuided he the people into Senatours, Husbandmen, and Artificers: of whom hee would haue them of the first ranke, to excell the rest in dignity: them of the second sort, to excell the rest for necessary vse; & them of the third, to exceede the rest in multitude and number. But in the choise of the Senators, he had respect vnto their wealth, their learning, and especially their vertue, which things were required also in the person of the King. For *Demosthenes* in his Oration against *Nears* sheweth, after the Common-weale set in order by *Theseus*, neuertheless by his hands stretched out, to haue appointed a King out of the number of the which were thought to excell in vertue. Vpon the Senators he imposed the charge of bearing of Office, to consider and determine of matters of Religion, to interpret and expound the

Law and sacred rights: and when he was desirous more to encrease the City, hee called all men indifferently vnto an equal part of the Common-weale. Wherefore, in *Theseus* his Gouernment, Nobility was gotten by riches, knowledge, and vertue.

After the Kings, there was in the City a double *Democratie*, one which consisted in the power and gouernment of the richer sort of the Cittizens; and another, which rested in them all in generall which were free-men. *Solon* (the discord betwixt the common sort, and them of the richer sort of the people being appeased) after the slaughter of the *Cylonians*, restored vnto his country, the Democratticall or Popular gouernment, the Oligarchy or gouernment of some few, being quite taken away. He deuised foure orders or degrees of Cittizens: Them, which could of their dry & wet commodities, fill fise hundred of their mesures (called *Moly*) hee placed in the first order or degree. Them which could fill foure hundred of those mesures, hee placed in the second ranke. Them which could fill three hundred, in the third, and al the rest in the fourth. And called the first of these *Armodias*, the second *Equites*, the third *Zengites*, and the fourth *Thers*. All publike Offices, he appointed to be committed to them, which were placed in the three first degrees, and they so hauing borne Office, were accounted in the number of the Nobility, but vnto the fourth ranke was no publike Office or Magistracy communicated; & therefore that ranke was altogether bale and vnno- ble. But after *Solon*, *Aristides*, and *Pericles* participated the Magistracies, euen vnto the balest and lowest sort of the people also, as *Xenophon* in his Booke concerning the *Athenian Commonweale*, setteth it down for right and reason, that they, euen of the meaner and poorer sort, should indifferently be called & admitted vnto all preferments in euery part of the Common-weale, for that they more profited for the enriching of the City, then did they of the Nobility. Euen plaine Cittizens, hauing well deserued of the Commonweale, were therefore among the *Athenians* ennobled. So *Leo*, for that he for the welfare of the commonweale, had solemnly vowed his daughters to death, was accounted & registred amongst the ten Worthies. And Nobility once by the Father obtained, enno-

After Theseus a double Democratie in the Athenian Commonweale.

Foure orders or degrees of Cittizens assigned by Solon.

1. Modici.  
2. Equiti.  
3. Zengiti.  
4. Thers.

The first diuision of the Grecian common-weale by Cecrops.

Who were Princes, Senators, and Noblemen among the Greeks.

A new diuision of the Athenian people by Theseus.

ennobled his Children also.

But the *Athenian* commonweale was not so lauish & prodigall in the communicating of Nobility, as was in ancient time the Romaine Common-weale sparing and curious in the bestowing thereof. Wherefore this the Romaine State and Common-weale shall afford vnto vs greater store and plenty of matter of this kinde and nature.

## CHAP. IIII.

## ¶ Of the first Romaine Nobilitie.

**R**omulus to draw strength vnto the city of *Rome*, but lately before by him built, ordained an *Asylum* or *Sanctuary*, where vnto the poore and bale people out of Countries and places thereby by flocks resorting, gaue the first encrease vnto so great a city. And out of this rabblement of people *Romulus* chose an hundred *Senatours*, which by *Iuuenall* the Satyricall Poet is in these verses noted.

Est tamen ex longe repetas, longèq; reuoluas  
Nom n, ab infami gentem deducis Asylo:  
Maurum primus quisquis fuit: ille tuorum,  
Aut Pastor fuit, aut siluæ quod decore natus.

(name,  
And though from far thou dost repeat thy pedigree &  
Yet frō the bale *Asylum* thou canst but deriue the same:  
For he that was first Author of thy stocke and pedigree,  
A Shepheard was, or else such one, I list not name to  
(thee.

Then *Romulus* for their honor, would haue to be created, *Fathers*: and for their age, *Senators*, and both them and their progeny he appointed to be of the ranke of them that were of the *Senatours* descended. But afterward, the Common-weale being communicated also with the *Sabines*, he chose out another hundred. *Tarquinius Priscus* (or as some other rather would haue it) *Brutus* added vnto them another C. called the *Senatours* of the meaner sort of the People. *Valerius Publicola*, after the Kings were driuen out, chose threescore and foure more then an hundred, of the order of Gentlemen (in stead of so many *Senatours* slaine by *Tarquinius Superbus*) which were called *Adleſti*, or men chosen: for after the

kings driue out, such as he law to be wife, ancient, and of approved honesty, he alcribed into the *Senate*, as into the most graue & reuerend Counsell. After those first foundations of the Romaine Common-weale thus layed. Cittizens of *Rome* descended of the stocke of *Senatours* (who before had borne the chiefe and greatest Honors) were by the *Dictators*, *Censors*, or *Triumurs*, created *Senatours*, and afterward also of the Order of Gentlemen were called into the *Senate*.

Vv herefore, the Order of *Patricij*, and of the *Senatours*, to haue ennobled such as were thereof, there was neuer anie doubt; but concerning the order of Gentlemen, some there be, which make question. *Tiraquellus* thinketh the Romaine Gentlemen to haue holden the middle place betwixt the *Patricij* (or them which were descended from *Senatours*) and the *Plebeij* or Common People: for that *Tactius* calleth them *Illustres*, or men of marke. *Martiall* also calleth the Order of Gentlemen, the Lesser Order and the Order of *Senatours*, and of them that were descended of *Senatours*, the Greatest Order.

Many are also of opinion, Nobilitie to haue bene giuen amongst the Romaines, by the bestowing vpon them Rings of Golde: and most certayne it is, such gift of Rings to transerre the state and condition of a Free-borne man vnto them to whom they were so giuen, without which free estate no Romaine was deemed capable of Nobility. But when the vie of rings of Golde began in *Rome*, it is not manifest. *Pliny* writeth it of long to haue bene the Badge or Cognissance of them which were about to goe Ambassadors vnto forraigne Nations, and the rest of the *Senatours*, to haue bene without them: neyther was it the manner and fashion for anie other to vse them, then such as had for that cause publicly receyued them. And such Golde rings they vsed onely abroad, and iron rings at home in their houses.

But afterward, the custome of wearing of Gold rings beganne to be vsed of all the Nobility, as it is written in *Titus Liuius* in his ninth booke, in these words; The *Senate* to haue burnt with such rage, and disdayne, because *Cneius Flavius* a late freed man was made *Ædilis*, that many

Adleſti.

Ordo Equitum, or the order of gentlemen

The golde ring.

Fathers, Senators, Patricij.

The right of  
wearing of a  
Ring to who  
it belonged.

The dignity  
of a Senator.

ny of the Nobility thereupon, laid aside their gold Rings, and Trappings of their Horses: wherein *Plinie* witnesseth many to haue beene deceived, which thinke them of the order of Gentlemen to haue then done the same. For that (sayth hee) is also added: but the Trappings were also layde aside, for which the name of Gentlemen is put too. It is also recorded in the *Annales*, Rings to haue beene then layde aside by the Nobilitie, but not by the whole *Senatus* in generall. Whereby it is manifest, that the Gentlemen as then had no right to weare a Ring, and that it belonged but vnto the Nobilitie onely; that is to say, vnto the *Patricij*, and the *Senators*, although they were not themselves *Patricij*; that is to say, descended of *Senators*, for that the dignity of a *Senator* gaue beginning to Nobilitie.

But after that Iudiciall causes were translated from the *Senatus* vnto the *Gentlemen*, the vse of Rings together withall, passed vnto them also; which was not then so much the cognifiance of *Gentlemen*, as it was of *Judges*, and yet not of all them, but of them which were of greater dignitie and honour. Rings (sayth *Plinie*) diuide the other Order from the vulgar People, as soone as they once beganne to be men of marke and fame, and afterward. But Rings verily put a middle and a third Order or Degree of men, betwixt the Common-people, and the *Senators* or *Fathers*: and that name which horses of seruice before gaue vnto men, this name (I say) the *Judges* now giue vnto money: neyther was that long agoe done: for *Augustus* the Emperour, disposing of the *Courts*, the greater part of the *Judges* wore Iron Rings, and they were not called *Equites* (or *Gentlemen*) but *Judices* (or *Judges*.) The name of *Equites* (or *Gentlemen*) rested in the troops of publique horses. But afterward, in the ninth yeare of the reigne of *Tiberius*, when the Order of *Gentlemen* was come into an vnion (for so he termeth it) order was taken for the credite of the wearing of Rings, as that they should be vnto all *Gentlemen* common. And at length (sayth hee) when as *Caius Sulpitius Galba* going about to gaine the credite of a youthfull good name with his Prince, by the fines of *Tauernes* and Victuallling houses) had complained in the *Senate*,

even Chapmen and Pedlers to be defended from the penalty of such their misdemeanor, by the wearing of Rings; it was for this cause by the *Senatus* decreed, that it should not bee lawfull for any man to wear a Ring, but vnto him who being free born, both by his father and grand-father by the Fathers side, was valued at 40. *Sesterces*. And by the Law *Fulcia* concerning the *Theater*, to such as had place and did sit in one of the foureene orders or degrees. Hereby it came to passe, that they seemed to be of the Order of *Gentlemen*, which did weare golde Rings, for that it was not lawfull for any fo doe, but such as had a *Gentlemans* substance. And therefore *Suetonius* writeth, *Julius Caesar* when as in exhorting of his Souldiers, he oftentimes shewed the finger of his leift hand, and said, that he could willingly, for their sakes, be content to pluck off his owne Ring; to haue been thought in so doing, couerly to haue promised vnto euery one of them, the right to weare a Golde Ring, and the substance of a Gentleman. But after that it was permitted to all *Gentlemen* indifferently to weare them; that marke (sayth *Plinie*) beganne to bee indifferently of all men desired: For before, *Gentlemen* and *Judges* were knowne by their Iron Rings; but at length, whilst the Order of *Gentlemen* is seperated from the Free-borne men, the wearing of Rings was communicated with them: that were bond-men, and of seruile condition: that is to say, with such as were of bondmen and slaues, become free. Howbeit this right of wearing of gold Rings, was not vnto in ancient time to be giuen to any other, but to such as had right manfully and valiantly behaved themselves in the wars; neither was the right of wearing of a gold Ring, euer giuen to such, as were of bond-men made free, except they were also made free-men borne, (which was in ancient time a Priuiledge not to be granted but by the Prince.) And it was alwaies in ancient time, accounted a greater matter to be a freeman borne, then to be rewarded with the right to weare a gold Ring: For that sheweth vs even from our birth to be freemen borne, whereas this right of wearing of a gold Ring, indeed, either blottes out, or as much as it can, watheth away the staines of seruitude; yet so, as that the

figure

The right of  
Statues or I-  
mages.

figure thereof for euer remaineth. But the creating or restoring of a man vnto Gentry, cometh nearer vnto Nature, which bringeth with it all the commodities of naturall Gentry, and that belonged onely vnto the Prince, to restore agayne a man banished or cast into exile, vnto his former estate and place: who being so restored vnto their blood or birth-right, were not onely ingrafted into the number of the citizens of *Rome*, but also inrolled among the *Quirites*; that so, they might be partakers of all the honours and offices of the Common-weale. Therefore it is of *Plinie* called, *Ius Quiritum*; that is to say, *The right and Priuiledge of the Quirites*.

There was also among the Ancients, a certaine right of hauing of *Images* or *Statues*, which was by the *Senatus* giuen vnto such, as had notably borne some great Office, or worthily deserued some great honours, which was not so much for the marke and signe of *Nobilitie*, as of the stocke and Family whereunto they were giuen. For, they which obtayned *Statues* for their stocke and family, there was no doubt, but that they thereunto brought *Nobilitie* also. And I know not what greater or more excellent thing there was, then to haue the right and power to vse *Statues* and *Images*.

*Plinie* in his nine and thirthe Booke thus writeth; *Apud Maiores, Imagines in stirpis erant, quæ spectarentur, expressis vultus singulis dissonabant armarijs, ut essent Imagines quæ comitarentur gentilia funera, semper, defuncto aliquo, totus aderat Familæ eius qui nunquam fuerat populus. Stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad Imagines pictas. Tablinæ vero codicibus implebantur, & monumentis rerum & magistratuum gestorum.* In the time of our Ancestours, *Images* and *Statues* were in their Courts to be seene, lively counterfaits and portraictures were in all their Studies and Closets placed, to the end that there might bee still *Images*, to attend and set forth the Funerals of such as were to be buried of that stocke and Family. And alwayes, when any Gentleman of note and marke dyed, all the whole race of them that were then liuing of that house and Stocke, accompanied the dead corpes; and from their Armes, lines were drawne along vnto the painted *Images* of them whose Armes they

were. As for their Studies and Closets, they were full of Bookes and Records, testifying the Noble acts by them worthily performed, and the honourable Offices by them in the State & Common-weale borne and discharged, whilst they yet liued. Whereby it is declared, *Statues* and *Images* to haue bin rather the signes of some great Office well discharged, then of any Nobilitie. Neyther, that all the *Images*, of all that were of the stocke and race of them, to whom the right of *Images* belonged, were wont to be carried at the Funerall solemnities of their kinsmen, but onely the *Images* of them, who with great prayle and glorie, had borne and discharged some honourable Office, and who had of the *Senatus* obtayned that right and priuiledge.

Vv herefore *Cicero* reckoneth vp this right of hauing *Images*, amongst the ornaments of Magistrates. Such as are, the *Gowne*, the *Senators Robe*, the *Chair of Estate*, and, to haue the pre-eminence to deliuer his minde and opinion first: All which things passed not vnto their posteritie, so that they might vse the same in such sort as did the Nobility, of such as had beene *Consuls*, *Prætors*, and such like: which the *Roman Lawes* would haue to descend vnto their Nephewes in these degrees; that as well the women, as the men, vnto the Nephewes sonne, should be accounted of the same dignitie that their Ancestors were of. In briefe, he that had brought the right of hauing of *Images* into his Family, is to be thought to haue done no more, but that his owne *Image* might be carried forth at his owne Funerall, and the Funerals of them of his owne stocke and Kindred; and not, that the *Images* of his posterity, should also in such Funerall solemnity be carried; but onely the *Images* of them who had gotten the like right. And these *Images* were kept at home in their houses, and were carried forth at the Funerals of them of their house and stocke, for an example of their Noble acts by them done. But concerning *Images* and *Statues*, many thus doe thinke, That they which had the *Images* of their Ancestours, were accounted and called *Ancient Noblemen*, and those which had but onely their owne *Images*, were reputed and called *New Noblemen*: but such, as had neither *Image* of their owne,

nor

7 54  
Statues  
vnto a gent.

nor of their Aunccestours, they were reputed as base and vnnoble. And yet they of the common sort of the people, having obtained the Offices (called *Curules*, or of the *Inury Chayre of Estate*) had also their *Images*. And thus much concerning the right of Images and Statues: Now will I againe returne vnto *Romulus*.

As *Romulus* had diuided the people into two degrees or orders (*viz.*) the order of the *Senators*, and of the *Common persons*, calling their Progeny *Patricios* and *Optimates* (or the Progeny of the *Fathers*, and of the *Nobility*) and the Progeny of the other *Plebeios* (or a Progeny descended from the vulgar and common sort of people) so diuided he their Offices and vocations also. Vnto the *Patricii* or such as descended of the *Senators*, hee left the liberall professions (*viz.*) the bearing of Armes and Offices, the making of Sacrifices, the deciding of controuersies in Lawe, and the administration of all busineses belonging in publike vnto the citie and Commonweale: But to the *Common people* he left the bearing of Armes, also the tilling of the ground & the feeding of cattle: other base trades and occupations (not becomming free-men borne) he assigned vnto strangers, Marchandize, and seruile ministeries, he wholly committed vnto them.

The *Romaines* themselves, he would not haue to exercise any base trade, or laborious and painefull businesse, vnto whom hee forbade all vnhonest manner of gaine, for all such manner of gaining was thought vnseemly vnto such as were *Fathers* in the Common-weale: neyther in ancient time could one be chosen *Senator*, or one of the *Patricii*, but by an expresse Law, to that end and purpose propounded to the people, which was the greatest office belonging vnto a *King*, a *Consull*, or a *Dictator*. But in what things the *Patricii* were discerned from them of the common sort of the *People*, is by many examples tried: for the *Patricii* which excelled in Nobility, and which were honestly begotten and well brought vp, had a *Tablet* or *sewll* on their breasts, and little Moones on their feet, for they vied *Litory Buckles*, crooking horned wife, like vnto the *Moone*, which they say was ordained by *Numa*, that *Senators* and their posterity, should vnto their black shooes

tie Moones, as if by the Character of the *Moone*, the number of an hundred had bene designed and figured, in which number the *Senators* were then contained. But the *Tablet* they wore was of Gold, made in forme of an heart, where-with they of ancient time, are reported to haue also sealed their Letters: which *Tablet* free-borne boyes, and the sonnes of such as had serued on horse-backe, vied to weare, together with the inbroidered Gowne called *Prætexta*, vntill they were seueenteene yeares olde, which time expired, they then in a soleme feast hanged it vp vnto their household, or hearth-gods, whom they called *Lares*. Euerie honourable and noble youth wore this *Prætexta* or inbroidered Gowne about his coat, but after child-hood past, this *Prætexta* being left off in the seueenteenth yeare, and sometime in the sixteenth, and fifteenth also, they put on the gowne (called *Toga virilis*) or *Mans Gowne*: that which was inbroidered with Purple, was wont to be giuen only to them whose fathers had borne the great Offices (called *Curules*) or some other great honors. The order of *Gentlemen*, and the *Common sort of People*, in ancient time did weare no Purple. The garment of the *Tribune of the People*, and of them of the *Comminaltie*, was a cloake, such as they called *Sagi*, *Endromides*, and *Cuculli*, *Cassocks*, *Mantles*, and *Clasques with hoodes*. But in succeeding times, the *Commoners* indeede did weare Purple, but yet different from that which the *Senators* wore (*viz.*) of a darke colour, and died with the iuyce of heards, and not with the right *Tyrian purple dye*. Beside that, the *Patricii*, by the institution of *Romulus* had the *Auspices* or offices of *Divination* belonging vnto them, and the *Senate* the offices of *Priesthood*. But this ordinance (saith *Dionysius*) continued not long, for that all things were made common with them of the *Comminality*. And lest any man should thinke the dignitie of the *Patricii*, and of the *Senators* to be the same, *Tacitus* reporteth, the Emperour *Claudius* to haue selected out of the *Senate*, euery one of the most ancient sort of the *Senators* into the number of the *Patricii*, there being now but a few left of those families which *Romulus* called *Atornum*, and *Lucius Brutus*, *Atornum Gentium*. But there is another thing

The wife of the  
Prætexta, or  
inbroidered  
Gowne.

Sage,  
Endromides  
Cassocks

A Tablet  
A little Moone

Why the Ro-  
mans vied the  
Character of  
the Moone on  
their shooes.

where-

whereat thou wilt happily more maruell, which is, that the *Comminaltie* growing strong (as there was a passing ouer from the state of a *Commoner* vnto the degree of one of the *Patricii*) so diuerse of the *Patricii* also went ouer vnto the *Comminaltie*, and so became of their numbers. The election of the *Senators*, according to the alterations and changes of times, belonged sometimes vnto the *Kings*, afterward to the *Consuls*, and to the *Dictators*. After the *Kings* driuen out, we reade, the *Consuls* to haue chosen such of the *Patricii* as were decreed vnto them, and afterward some of the *Commoners* also to bee *Tribunes* of the *Souldiers* with *Consulary power*, vntill that it was by the Law provided, that the *Censors* should Warde by Warde make choice of them in the *Senate*. By and by after a sub- stance was required for the creating of a *Senator*, and if he that was so chosen, did afterward waste and weaken his said substance, he lost also his order and degree.

Wherefore it is manifest the *Romaine Nobilitie* to haue bene established in the dignitie of the *Patricii*, and of the *Senators*, which not to haue bene denied vnto the Order of *Gentlemen*, we gather of that which followeth, although some others be of other opinion. *Dionysius* affirmeth, three hundred *Gentlemen* to haue bene chosen by *Romulus*, out of the most honourable Families, tenne out of euery Warde. Some of the *Gentlemen* were such as serued vpon a publike horse, altogether in the Citie; other some of them were such as serued vpon a priuate horse in the Armie abroad. The publike horse the *Censor* appoynted, and publike Horse-men, or *Gentlemen*, he created, as well out of them that were descended from the *Senators*, as out of the *Comminaltie*, who at length were for their substance created also, as were the *Senators*. But a *Gentleman*'s substance was foure hundred thousand *Scitricies*, which being consumed and spent, the reputation and dignitie of a *Gentleman*, therewith took end also. *Isidore* writeth, That although a man were by birth a *Senator*'s sonne, yet vntill he came to lawfull yerres, he was but a *Roman Gentleman*, & so afterward came into the order of the *Senators*. *Livy* bringeth in *Perseus King of Macedon*, thus speaking. *Equites Romani*

*principis inuentus, Equites Seminarium Senatus, inde lectos in parum numerum Consules, inde imperatores creati.* The *Romaine Gentlemen* (saith he) are the *Princes* of the youth, the *Gentlemen* are the *Seminarie* of the *Senate*, out of them being chosen into the number of the *Fathers*, they create their *Consuls*, out of them they create their *Generals*. The *Romaine Gentlemen* did weare the *Robe of Estate*, neither could any man be of the order of the *Gentlemen* of *Rome*, but that hee must be free-borne. Wherefore, to be a *Romain Gentleman*, was somewhat a greater matter, then simply to be a free man borne. Yet *Pliny* hath written, the wearing of Rings, to haue inserted and put a middle and third Order into the *People*; and them to haue begonne to be euerie where renowned, and to haue diuided the other Order from the vulgar sort of *People*, or the *Comminaltie*; as if hee should haue said, The *Gentlemen* at the first to haue bene *Commoners*, but afterward to haue ben men of better note & make: which according to the words of *Isidore* before recited, may seeme to be compared vnto the *Senators* children, who were accounted among the *Equites* or *Gentlemen*, vntill they came vnto the *Senators* age.

In the question of *Nobilitie*, not onely the ignorant, but euen the learned also, much erre, whilst that they agree not vpon the proper signification of these words, *Eugenia*, *Nobilitas*, *Generosus*, *Nobilis*, *Ingenus*, *Gentilis*; that is, Honour of birth, Nobility, a Gentleman, a Nobleman, a man free borne, a Gentleman, For while they interpret *Eugenia* the Greeke word, *Nobilitas* in Latine, (and with vs *Nobility*) the more generall word is brought in place and steed of the more particular: or as the *Logicians* vse to say, *Genus pro Specie*. For why, *Eugenia* or honour of Birth, is but the one kinde of *Nobilitie*, called *Naturæ*, (and not all kinde of *Nobilitie*) requiring a certaine antiquitie of *Stocke*, of riches, and of vertues as *Aristotle* would haue it) whose words are these: *Non diuites, neque boni, sed qui a virtutibus, diuitiis, vel antiquis bonis descendunt Eugenes sunt habendi*: Not the rich men onely, neyther the good men alone, but they which haue descended from Vertues, Riches, and good Aunccestors, are

to

A Senators  
substance.

A publike  
horse.

A Senators  
sonne, vntill he  
came to be of  
lawfull yerres  
accounted but  
a Gentleman  
of *Rome*.

Eugenior  
Nobilitie  
birth.

to be accounted *Noblemen borne*.

*Nobility of birth*, which is called *Eugenias*, is of *Oforus* defined: *Splendor vel dignitas generis in quo maxima virtutes existerunt vita Communi salutare & commodum*. The lustre or dignity of stocke, wherein most great virtues have flourished, wholesome and commodious for the common use of mans life. Which *Oforus* affirmeth, to be as it were subiect to rottenness, and with olde age to be able to be consumed and ended. But this rule is not in our Court received. *Symon Symonides* in these words reprooveth *Oforus*, his name being concealed, or else some other man of the same opinion with him. *Supine loquuntur qui aiumt quendam summa Senectus mentis vini & consilium debilitat, sic etiam Nobilitas splendorem mentis vetustate auget, extrema vero Senectus conficit*. They speake ydly (saith he) which say, that as great old age doth weaken the force & iudgement of the minde, so also, the glory and lustre of *Nobilitie* to be with moderate antiquitie encreased, but yet to be with extreme olde age extinguished. For as the similitude (saith he) agreeth not, so neyther doth it well conclude: For the more auncient that a Stocke or Family is, by so much the credit and reputation thereof is greater. And yet hee the sayde *Simon* forgetting himselfe in another place stumbleth at the same stone, by setting bounds and limites vnto the same *Eugenias*, or *Native Nobilitie*, and by decreeing that a long and continuat race of Noble Progenitours, in whom great virtues have oftentimes shined vnto the number of three discenis, doth make a true Noble Stocke, or *Eugenias*. And that the beginning of a Stocke or Familie, is no further to be deriued, then from the fourth Predecessor, left in searching further, euen *Kings* themselves (as sayth *Plato*) should be deriued from *Slaves*, or *Slaves* from *Kings*.

Of this *Eugenias* or *Native Nobilitie*, all ages haue best thought, but yet so, as that all the right of *Nobilitie* should vpon it be ground: for a man may be Noble, although he be no *Eugenias*, or from *Nobles* descended; yea, he may be more honourable then he which is so descended, although not so auncient a *Gentleman*. As a new made Earle, compared with an

*Esquire* of a most auncient Family. As *Agathocles*, of a Potter made a King. What was *Romulus*? VVhat was *Tullus Hostilius*? And what was *Tarquinius Priscus*?

But let vs now come to search out the signification of the aforesaid words: The *Romans* diuided their People into *Free-men* and *Slaves*; of *Free-men*, some were of Bond-slaves made *Free-men* (whom they called *Libertini*) other-some, were *Free-men borne*, (whom they called *Ingeniti*.) The *Libertini* were Citizens of *Rome*, who were three wayes manumitted or made free; that is to say, by *Will* or *Testament*, or in the open *Congregation* or assembly of the people, or before some publique *Magistrate* which had power so to doe. And hereupon happily in auncient time, when as this our Kingdome was much oppressed with seruile state and condition, the word *Franklin*, for a man made free, or enfranchised, was in use, except you had rather it to haue beene vied, for a *Free-borne-man*.

But they were called *Ingeniti*, or *Free-borne-men*, who neyther themselves, neither their Auncestors had euer serued as *Slaves*. And their Auncestors they reckoned vp, euen from their Grand-father, which is euident by these words of *Lucretius*. *An vnuquam fando audistis Patricios primos esse factos non a Culo dimissos. sed qui patrem Cicere Auumque possint?* Did you euer heare it spoken, the *Fathers* to haue beene first made, and not sent downe from *Heaven*, but such as could reckon vpon their Father and Grand-father: that is to say, nothing but *Free-borne-men*.

*Freedom of birth*, opened a way vnto all degrees of Honours, which (euen as *Politick Nobilitie*) was cyther *Nature*, or *Duties*; that is to say, by birth, or by gift. *Duties Freedom* was by certayne *Magistrates* giuen, and at length onlie by *Princes* themselves, and that two manner of wayes, the one secretly and not so plainly, by the gift of a *Ring*, the other more expressly by name and perfectly, by restoring of men to their birth or blood. And whereas men of seruile condition were but by one name called and knowne, *Free-borne-men*, and *Men of free estate* and condition, had two or more names. And the name which they tooke from their Stocke or Familie, is called *Gentile*,

Of Free-men,  
some were  
freemen,  
some were  
Free men  
borne.

A Franklin.

Ingeniti or  
freedome  
birth.

The name  
Gentile is  
taken from  
the stocke or  
family a man  
is of.

*Gentile*, or proper to them of that race or kindred. And yet it is to be noted, names giuen by chance sometime to become proper to a stocke or family. As *Tullius* was a name proper & peculiar to a Family, but *Cicero* was a name gotten by chance, and fained of the Pulle called *Cicer*, (or the *Ciclope*) the forme whereof one of that family had vpon the end of his nose, who thereof was first so surnamed: but that same name of *Cicero* began to be *Gentile* or proper to that Family, as to *Cicero the Orator*, to his Brother, and to their posterity. *Tully* in his *Tropicks* defineth, *Gentiles esse qui eodem inter se sunt nomine, qui ab Ingeniis oriundi sunt, quorum Maiorum nomen seruitutem seruiert: qui Capite non sunt dimitti*, them to be *Gentiles* (or of the same stocke and family) which are among themselves of the same name descended of *Free-borne-men*, none of whose Auncestors had serued as *slaves*, or had beene condemned to loose their liberty, state, or Country.

They which were called *Gentiles* (or of the same stocke or family) were of necessity to bee descended from *Ingeniti* or *Free-borne-men*; for that of *Slaves*, and of them whom they called *Libertini* or men of *slaves* made free, there is no stock or family. Wherefore, the right of *Gentility*, or of hauing of a Stocke and Familie, although it was different from *Nobility*, yet is it not to be doubted, but that it was in great esteeme & reuerence among the *Romans*, and to them, to haue aboue all things desired to bee called *Gentiles*, as men that had beene descended from some good stocke or kindred. And that desire hath euen yet vnto this day possessed all Italy.

For among the *Venitians* they are called *Gentiliumini*, who deriue their stock from the first Inhabitants of that Island; and which are themselves *Patricy*, or descended from the *Senators*. And that word *Gentiliumino*, as it were by hand deliuered from the *Italians* to the *Frenchmen*; from the *Frenchmen* remoued to vs; and at the length, together with the new place of dwelling, hath begunne to put a new signification, differing from that which *Gentilis* or *Gentilitas* was of, amongst the auncient *Romans*.

For it is false which some, & they learned also, haue deliuered, *Gentilitie* to haue

been proper vnto the *Patricians*: for why, it was common vnto the vulgar sort of the people (as was *Ingenitas* it selfe) which appeareth by this one place of *Strabonius*. *Patricia gens Claudia (sunt etiam & alia plebeia nec potentia minor nec dignitate) orta est in Regibus*. The *Clavian* stocke and family, of the order of the *Patricy*, (for there was another house of them also of the Commonalty, neither in power nor in dignity inferior to the other) rise vp at *Regills*. But they seeme to haue beene deceived, by that which *Livy* writeth, *Romulus* to haue created an hundred *Senators*, which he called *Maiorum gentium* (or of the greater families) and *Brutus* another hundred also, called *Minorum gentium* (or of the lesser families.) But this proueth not, that we must therefore grant, only them of the order of the *Patricy*, to haue had a stocke and family; neither did this so calling of them, *Maiorum* and *Minorum gentium*, diuide them from the common people, but the felices among themselves only; for that, whereas they were all chosen of *Free-borne-Citizens* (and which had their stocke and family) yet such of the as *Romulus* had created, brought the honour of the order of the *Patricy* sooner into their stocke and family, then did they whom *Brutus* had freed vnto them. They are also called *Gentiles*, who in likeness of name agree among themselves (although there be no kindred amongst them at all.)

Among the *Athenians* they were called *Gentia*, that is to say, *Gentiles*, not they which were ioyned among themselves in stocke or blood, but were of those sort of people, who, diuided into *Vardes*, grew into a certaine society and fellow ship among themselves. For among the *Athenians* there were foure Tribes, and euery Tribe was diuided into three *Vardes*, which made twelue *VVardes*. And euery *VVarde* was diuided into thirty parts, which they called *Gentes* or Kinreds. But againe to the purpose.

VVhy a stock or family among the *Romans* is to be deriued from the *Grandfather*, neyther could consist but in two at the least (viz.) the *grandfather* and the *father*: Some thinke the reason thereof to be, for that the *Latin* word *Gens* significeth a multitude, which requircth mo then one: and yet *Gens* seemeth to be called, as

R r it



it were *Genus* (that is to say a stock or kindred) the Letter V. being taken away. Howbeit these two words differ, the one of them from the other, for that *Genus* signifies a stocke and beginning; but *Genus* importeth as it were a certain multitude of Stockes, and of beginnings of Families and Houses.

Ingeniously  
th grace  
therefrom  
Nature.

*Ingeny*, or freedom of birth, had the Ornaments thereof from nature, and had respect vnto liberty, which is still denied from the Grand-fathers. But *Gentility* was a matter of the ciuill Law, and was referred vnto the ancientness of *Agnation* (or kindred by the fathers side) differing from the other onely in antiquity of stocke: for it is not needfull to deriue or take *Agnation* farther then from the Father.

And if it be so, then *Gentility* and *Nobility* are all one and the same thing. And they confound *Gentility* (whereof the common people no lesse want and boast, then doe the *Noblemen*) with *Nobility*: which deny him to be a Noble-man by birth, but he whose Grandfather was *Noble*; neither agree they with themselves, when they dare to affirme (but by what authority I knowe not) *Nobility* together with the seed of the Parents to bee passed ouer vnto their posterity, according vnto that saying of *Mantuan*:

*Qui vult in folij venit à radicibus humor:*  
*Et patrum in natos abeant cū semine mores.*

The beauty of the fairest branch,  
doth from the roote proceede:  
And so the Fathers manners do  
in their off-spring abide.

And otherwise out of *Horace*:

*Est inuincit, est in equis patrum*  
*Virtus: neq; imbellem feroces*  
*Progenerant Aquila Columba.*

In Bullockes, and in Horses eke,  
the Syres worth we proue:  
Nor doth the hardy Eagle hatch,  
the weake and fearfull Doue.

By which Analogies, the learned Poets verily went about to stirre vp Noble and courageous youths, to the imitating of their Fathers vertues, being otherwise not ignorant *Nobility* whereof we intreat to be a thing ciuill or *Political*, & not naturall. And indeed of vnreasonable creatures, there be diuers kinds, but of men there is but one sort. Wherefore, as an

Eagle bringeth not forth a Doue, so neither doth a man beget a Hare. But admit that good men are begotten of good Parents, and valiant men, of valiant fathers. But if this be vnto mankind proper, why are not good and valiant children begotten by good and valiant common persons also? or why, they are men as well as the other, but nothing is then this rule more deceitfull. For through the corruption of mans nature, we see it oftentimes to happen, an vnthrifty sonne to be born of a thrifty Father: a foole, to be begotten of a wise man; a Coward, of a valiant man. Neither is this now any neweltie or new matter, but such as tooke roote euen in the first corruption of our Nature. For accursed *Caine* was the first begotten sonne of *Adam*, a most good father, and of him the same was good *Abel* begotten. *Jacob* also and *Esaú*, were the two sons of a most blessed father: of which two, God loved the one, and hated the other. And if there be any thing of great operation, which is passed over together with mans feede, it is altogether vice; so farre off is it from being of any vertue, which is euer with labour and study begotten, but borne neuer. An Emperour (as *Ferretus* writeth) for his bodily substance is no better then other men; and yet for the highnes of his dignity, is most like vnto God. *Demosthenes* saith also, wicked Sonnes (as it were by a certaine fatall destinie) to be borne of good Parents. It is also commonly saide in the Greeke Prouerbe, *The misfortunes of the Worthies sonnes*. What should I produce the *Mathematicians* and *Astrologers*, which affirme *Nobility* and *Ignobility* much more certainly to depend of the force and influence of the starres, then of the constitution of parents.

And yet the vulgar sort, and not without cause, vseth to expect some greater thing in Princes children, then in poore mens; of which their hope and expectation, there are many causes alledged, as the great means *Noblemen* haue, for the best bringing vp and instructing of their children (for it is a shame vnto the sonne if he shoulde degenerate from his Father, being a Nobleman.) In briefe, the plenty of Kinsmen and Friends giuing the good Counsell. Neither was the Poets minde any other, if you marke his conclusion.

Do

Abbe quod n-  
gimus dicitur  
filius artis:  
Nobilitas mores  
sunt illi esse  
fili.

*Delecta sed vim promouet usum;*  
*Res quæ ciliis pectora roborant.*

Instruction, helps Dame Natures powres,  
And teaching, strengthes those mudes of ours.

By Natures ingrafted or hidden power, hee vnderstandeth certayne feedes of vertues, which by the goodness of God alone, are yet in mans Nature, which become not otherwise fruitfull then do the feedes of Hearbs, according vnto the manner and fashion that they are manured & ordered with; so that a man well brought vp, may much more easily obtayne Philosophicall Nobility, then can a man that hath bene well borne.

Wherefore poore Countrey-mens Children, who know nothing more then their beasts and cattell, seeme rather to be wilde *Silvans* then men. Whereas others, borne in better place, euen in the same Schooles, and in the same Studies, striue with Noble-mens Children, and would to God they did not so do, both with greater profit and praise.

Other reasons yet remaine, which proue *Political Nobility* not to be a thing substantiall, but meer accidental: for why, it may be both present and absent, without the corruption of the subject whereof it dependeth; so that the passage thereof may be letted by some heynous offence committed. It is also lost by voluntary departing or relinquishing of the same (when as Nature in the meane while cannot be thrust away with a force) which wee reade to haue bene done, of many of the Romaine *Patricy*, who refusing their *Patriciat* dignity, took on them the state and condition of the vulgar sort, or Commoners. Now many, through the Lawyers termes, are in this matter deceived, who call the extinguishing of Nobility for some offence committed, *The corruption of blood*: which manner of phrase and speech, they vset not, for that *Nature Nobility* is naturally and essentially in the humour of blood, more than other hereditarie facultie, but because the right of inheritance, which is by the degrees of the communication of blood directed, is by that means determined or ended, & in hatred of the crime, it is called *Corruption*, with the infection whereof, all their children are polluted and defiled.

Neither can a stronger argument be

deuised, to proue *Nobility* not to be mingled with the blood, then that the *Nobility* of the Grandfather ennobleneth not his nephew by his son, condemned to lose his liberty, state, or country. Of which this ciuill infliction, a naturall reason is giuen; to wit, for that an vnable mean leteeth & hindereth the extreame to be ioyned together. But yet it was wont to be demanded with vs, no otherwise the it was long agoe with the ancient Romans, whether the nobility of the father being a *Senator*, do profit his son, being borne before his father had obtained that dignity? And whether such Nobility in the son, be *Nature* or *Dative*? Whereunto I answer, The child by our custome, to be immediately by his fathers nobility ennobled, & their children, like the boughes of a tree, removed into a richer ground, are green & flourish with the same new moisture that the bodie of the tree doth. And such Nobility hath deferred to be called *Nature*, for that it extendeth not but to them, which are borne of such a father. As for example: A Baron, being honored with the title of an Earle, his first begotten son forthwith taketh vnto him the title of some *Barony*, and all his daughters are saluted *Ladies* and *Princesses*.

Wherefore we conclude *Nature nobility* to be drawne from the father, & not to be needfull for vs to seek for it further: for it may be, that sometime it can not be deriued from the grandfather, as in case that some great offence of the father come betwixt: for a man borne of a noble father, is without all doubt by descent noble. But if any man wil contend him, not properly to be *Eugenus* or nobly descended; I answer, the common sort of people most of all, do respect the same, but the *Judicial Court* to haue thereof no care at all. For otherwise some new Princes should be of lesse *Nobility*, then some meane Noblemen, if the priuileges of Nobility should be belowed, after the ballance of proper and true *Eugenia*. Adde moreouer, that if true *Eugenia* should be vrged, it requirereth not only our great grandfathers grandfather, but euen all the rest of our ancestors in continuall order, after them to be *Noble*, *Fich*, profitable for the Common-weale, good me, & without spot or imputation.

An hard speech indeed, but an harder rule, and a consequence, of all most

Rr 2 hardest:

Nature Nobility is not necessarily to be deriued farther then from the father.

hardest: Such a noble descended person, is a rare Bird, and yet some such there be: but concerning that matter, heare *Aristotles* opinion. *Eugenius*, verily (saith he) I haue found but in few, and no where an hundred good *Eugenies*. Whereof the Athenians called their Noblemen by more vsuall words, *Eupaterios* and *Enpatrides*, as who should say, *Men borne of Noble fathers*: although I do know these words to be oftentimes confounded with the word *Eugenies*.

It to be no hard thing to affirme, that Nobility may be deriued from the mother.

I haue frankly affirmed Nobilitie to descend from the father to the children; and what if I should say the same force to be in the Mothers nobilitie also? Surely, both reason and the opinions of Doctors, and ancient customes also, will be present for the defence of this cause. If Nobility draw any thing naturall at all from the Parents, almost the whole constitution of the Childe, is to be giuen vnto the Mother. It hath also such shape (if we may beleue Philosophers) as the Mother conceiue, together with the feede. For first, it taketh life from the Mother, it taketh likewise nourishment of and from the Mother, encreasing from the Mother; and in briefe, by the consent of all men, it, together with spirit and vitall humour draweth from the mother, affections, Vertues and vices. And that such power is in the Mother, it is manifest by the precepts of Philistians, who command Parents to be most careful to what Nurseries they put their children to be nursed. In briefe, if the vertue of the Father be in the children to be reuerenced, why should not the Mothers be so also? The manner of the Sex, doth neither diminish nor encrease Nobilitie, which is for it selfe to be desired. Nay, in tender women it seemeth to haue both more admiration and grace.

It is of a certayne Lawyer well written; That amongst the causes for which the honour and dignitie of persons, is encreased or diminished, that is of others the lightest, which is drawne from the difference of the Sexe: *Vlpianus* reporteth, the sunnes of the women of the *Illyenses*, of *Delphos*, and of *Pontus*, to haue bene assigned vnto the houses of their Mothers, and not of their Fathers. *Plutarch* writeth, that amongst the *Xanthi*, the Sons were ingrafted into the stocke

and family of their Mothers, and from them the name of the stocke and kindred to be deriued, and not from their Fathers. The same thing *Herodotus* reporteth of them of *Licia*: as that they should take the name and credite of their stocke and kindred from their Mothers, and that he was with them a free-borne-man, and Noble, that was borne of a free-borne-woman, and Noble; although his Father were a Slaue or base common person; yea, and by the Lawes of the *Romaines*, the Sonnes in some cases follow the beginning of their Mothers. Neyther is it a thing vnheard of with vs, nor with other Nations, Sonnes to haue taken vnto themselves, names from their Mother, which were of greater nobility then their Fathers; as *Rainatus de Clara*. *Spartianus* and *Trebellius Pollio*, haue written, *Macrianus* or *Macrinus*, to haue bene by his Mother noble, his Father being but onely a valiant and martiall man. You may also with *Cornelius Tacitus* reade this sentence: *Iam depulso Nerone, quisnam eligeretur inquirebant, & omnium ore Rubellius Plancus, cui Nobilitas per matrem ex Julia familia. Nero* being now deposed, great inquiry was made, who should be chosen, and *Rubellius Plancus* was in euery mans mouth, who was nobly borne by the mothers side of the *Julian* Family. And from these, *Virgil*, *Ouid*, and *Statius* *Papinius* disagree not, whose verses I haue thought good here to set downe.

## VIRG.

Genus hic matrem superbum  
Nobilitas dabit: incertum de Patre ferat.  
His Mothers noble birth, to him did giue a noble race,  
For by his fathers side he was born but obscure & base.

## OVID.

Est quoque per matrem Cylenonem addita nobis  
Altera Nobilitas.

And by my Mother *Cylenia*,  
Is doubled my Nobilitie.

## IDEM.

Hic fuit Euxander, qui quantum clarus stragule,  
Nobilitas sine, sanguine matris erat.  
From hence did old *Euxander* come, who though he noble  
By both sides, yet by Mothers blood, more noble did  
(appeare)

## PAPINIUS.

Sed quicquid patrio cessatum est sanguine, mater  
Reddidit, ob hoc quoque latus clarior erexit  
e omnis quousq; domus.  
Stemmate materno iulio, virtute paterno.

What

What wanted in the Fathers blood, the Mothers did requite the same; And the base house reioyced much, by such a match to grow to fame. By Mothers Stocke accounted blest. And Fathers vertues with the best.

Now the Reason which many Doctors bring, to proue the Sonne to be partaker of his Fathers Nobilitie, is this; *Euerie thing compound, partaketh of the forme and matter which agreeth to both the parents*. Wherefore, where the Law repugneth not with reason, this rule is to bee holden for true.

And now concerning *Nobilitie Datine* (or by birth) I haue thus much spoken: and from hence I will directly proceede vnto *Nobility Datine*, or to *Nobility* which cometh by gift.

## CHAP. V.

## ¶ The diuers beginnings of Nobilitie Datine.

Being about to search out the other kinde of *Political* or *Ciuill Nobilitie* (viz.) *Nobilitie Datine*, and that euen from the first beginning thereof, certayne things before sayde, seeme heere necessarily to be againe to be called vnto remembrance. Their argument is first to be refused, which say: That seeing *Adam* was a common Father vnto all men, whereof cometh it, that one man should be better then another? It is thereunto answered out of the same *Olde Testaments*, out of which the question is risen, being of the like Authority and credite both with the Christians and the Iewes. *Noah* when he had planted a Vineyard, and had tasted of his planting, hauing drunke of the wine, lay drunken and bare in his Tent. And *Cham* seeing the priuities of his father, tolde it to his brethren, who upon a naturall honestie and vertue, with a Cloake cast upon their shoulders couered their sleeping father with their eyes turned from him, and not

seeing their Fathers nakednesse. But *Noah* awaked, and knowing what his younger Sonne had done vnto him, he cursed *Cham*, commanding him to be a slave of all Slaves. By this shameful and vnworlde fact, *Cham* with all his generation, carryed away his Fathers curse, seruitude, and the Title of obscure and base persons; whereas contrary-wise, *Sem* and *Japhet* found all the Names and Titles of Honestie, Nobilitie, and Vertue, and their Fathers blessing withall.

The *Datine Nobilitie*, whereof our present speech is, was for many causes raysed and inuented. And first of all, vpon vrgent necessitie. For when as euill and wicked men preuailed, and good and honest men were oppressed: it was necessarie the good to be distinguished from the badde, and for the preservation of the publique tranquillity, to be seperated and diuided from them: wherefore, wise, iust, and vertuous men, and the lights, as it were, of the world, shining before others, were set ouer the rest, that they might bee vnto all men an example of godlie and honest life, that they might decide and determine all things. And at that time such wise men and prouiders for the Common-weale seemed by vertue to procure vnto themselves *Nobilitie*. For the olde Prouerbe preuailed with them: Vertue, and not blood to ennoble men. Such men were by the People called, chosen, & appointed Counsellors and Iudges, who by their subiects were elected and created *Kings* and *Princes*. And they, which for their worthy deeds had obtained such honourable Titles and Offices, ennobled both themselves and their posterity.

Another cause also why *Nobility* began to be honoured, was the Ignorance & vnskillfullnesse of the vulgar and Common sort of people, who haue their sense, reason and vnderstanding so dispersed and scattered, as that they cannot gather, discern, or iudge any thing certaine, firme, or found. Wherefore, for the maintenance of the publique peace and tranquillity, it was necessarie to make choice of *Princes* (that is to say, of *Gouernours*) men, for their vertue and wisdom, famous and Noble, who might compose and set in order the troubled estates, for lacke of knowledge disordered, and

N. call it the Datine Nobilitie.

The ignorance of the vulgar and common sort.

Rr 3 with

with singular wisdom, and action, as it were by a certaine cunning, drawe the rude people vnto a more ciuill kinde of life, and courtesie of behauiour: such as were *Iupiter, Pallas, Ceres, Bacchus, Apollo*, and many others. And these men, by their wisdom, vertue, and skill, obtained not onely the Titles of Nobilitie and Dignity, but were of the vnskillfull multitude, accounted for gods also, and receiued from them euen diuine honors.

We see *Nobilitie* to haue risen also, of the abundance of wealth and riches: for many pinched with extreame pover-  
 tie, enforced to hang vpon the richer sort, and giuing themselves altogether ouer into their power, reputed them for *Noblemen*, and for such, both esteemed of them, and honoured them.

*Nobilitie* also beganne of Noble and worthy acts done; for in auncient time, when as Nations were by their enemies oppressed, if any valiant and courageous man had from such oppression deliuered his Country, he therefore was aboute other men worthily honoured. Many also in auncient time by Martiall prowesse obtained *Nobilitie*, and therefore of the people accounted Noble: as was *Dauid* for the death of *Goliath* the *Philistine*. Some, immediately from God were elected and called vnto *Nobilitie*, as *Isaia*, *Gedeon*, *Iephth*, and the rest of the *Iudges of Israel*, who were Generalls ouer great Armies: other some, were againe by God chosen euen from the Plough, to be rulers ouer the people, as the Princes of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*. King *Saul* called out of the field; *Dauid* from feeding of his flock, who thought themselves vnto the worth of such a princely calling. But such as God hath ennobled, are of vs aboute all others to be accounted most noble.

Yea, no small part, but euen the greatest part of *Datiue Nobilitie*, gained vnto themselves honor and glory by their skill in martiall affaires, carrying home with them victory and triumph ouer their enemies; so as did *Horatius Cocles*, *Titus Manlius*, *Scipio Africanus*, and his brother *L. Scipio Asiaticus*: I speake not of great Emperours, such as were *Vespasian*, *Domitian*, *Nerva*, *Traian*, *Antoninus*, *Seuerus*, *Theodosius*, and many others, who were part of them accounted *Fathers of their Country*; part of them *Benefactors*, but

all of them best *Princes*, whose Images are vpon their Coines, euen yet carried about, and publique Statues were in the honour of them, with certaine solemn Ceremonies erected, to the intent that all others with their valour and vertue, should with their deedes, as it were, in striuing-wife, aspire and grow vnto the like glory.

Others also, borne of most base and low condition, who by Armes in time of warres, for their wisdom and courage, haue bene promoted to be great Emperours, *Cæsars*, *Dukes*, *Princes* and *Earles*: as were *Tullius Hostilius*, *Numa Pompilius*, *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Iulius Cæsar*, *Octavianus Augustus*, and such other like, from hence, tooke the beginning of the Titles of their vertues. For certaine it is, at the first vnder the *Roman Empire*, when as they had subdued the *Germanes*, *Italians*, the *Spaniards*, the *Brittains*, the *Gauls*, and other most mighty kingdomes, *Dukes*, *Earles*, and *Barons*, not then to haue bin in such sort, as now they be, but from thence to haue afterward sprung vp and risen. All their Offices were executed by *Tribunes* and *Lieutenants*. There was a greater *Tribune*, who was next vnto the Emperour and his successeur. There was also a great Officer called *Tribunus Celerum*, *Lieutenant* of the Armie, of the light armed and most readie Souldiers. Those which with a *Cohort*, or band of men, were the Keepers, and had the guarding of the Emperours person, and they among the *Romans*, which were of the first Order, next after the Emperour, were called *Tribuni Celerum*, as they were long agoe in the time of *Romulus*, and of the other fixe kings succceeding him.

The great Officers, called *Magistri Equitum*, or *Maisters of the Horsemen*, had like power with the *Dictators*, and with the Emperours, as *Lucius Feneftella*, *Pomponius Latius de Magistratibus Romanorum*: and also *Flauius Vegetius*, and *Marcus Cicero* doe, intreating of Martiall affaires, describe. But *Pomponius Latius* writeth *Romulus* to haue called the General of an army, whom the *Germanes* call *Hertzogen* *Tribunus Celerum*. Salust in his Treatise concerning the Conspiracie of *Catiline*, hath called them *Dictatores*, & *Imperatores*; that is, *Dictators* & *Emperours*.

Beside that, Great Magistrates called

Magnanimity  
and wisdom

Wealth and  
riches.

Noble acts.

Men immedi-  
ately by God  
called vnto  
Nobilitie.

Knowledge in  
martiall affairs

*Præfetti Prætorio*, were of so great credit and authority, as if appeale had bin made from their sentence, they might againe appeale from the Emperour vnto the *Præfetti Prætorio*. For most wise, good, and iust men, by the Emperours chosen out, were created *Præfetti Prætorio*, vnto who they were wont to commit almost the whole estate of the Common-weale. The Emperour *Seuerus* granted many things vnto the Great Officers called *Præfetti urbis*, and *Præfetti Prætorio*, of all which, heere to speake, were but needlesse. For heere we speake onely of the authority of the *Præfetti Prætorio* (or Captain of the Guard) which the Emperour onely gaue vnto him, who is the chiefe, liuely, and very essentiall Law it selfe; who were of power to thrust Citizens into exile, and to restore them vnto their estate againe. Whereby it is most euident, Princes and Governours of People to haue had the power and authority of the sword, to punish the offenders, and to administer iustice: whereby they were afterward thought to procure and get a great name of Nobility, both vnto themselves, and to their posterity: and right probable it is, the authority of Princes and Dukes to haue first risen of the *Tribuni* and *Præfetti*: which Princes, at such time as the *Romane Emperours* removed out of *Germany* & *Italy* into *Greece*, are read to haue taken vnto themselves the Imperiall power: which authority and regall priuiledges wee see (euen at this day) by Kings and Emperours to bee granted vnto Dukes and Princes: so that the election of Princes & Dukes dependeth not of their Subjects (as doth the election of Kings) but is *Datiue*, as of gift, to be referred vnto the fauour and bounty of the Emperours and Kings, to whom they haue bene subiect. And in the former times, the names of Duke and Prince were names of Offices, and not of Honours and Dignities. And so in the times of the *Romans*, the *Roman Kings*, their *Dictators* and *Consuls*, & also their Emperours, were in the administration of their ciuill affaires, all martiall men, both horsemen and footmen.

But beside these great Offices of the *Tribuni* and *Præfetti*, there were other publique offices and charges; some called *Ordinarij*, for that they kept orders in the army, and stood in the front of the bat-

taile. Those in the time of *Augustus*, were wont to be called *Augustales*: and of *Fl. Vespasianus*, *Flauiales*: some called *Aquilliferi*, carrying an Eagle in their Ensignes, and other some called *Imaginary*, bearing the enigne of the common or generall Army of the people of *Rome* notable with the Letters, *S.P.Q.R.* that is to say, *Senatus Populus Que Romanus*: or the Senate and people of *Rome*, whom wee can more fitly compare vnto none, then to our Standard or Ensigne-Bearers.

But if wee would heere prosecute all things in order, this Treatise should without measure encrease. But now in this place wee onely goe about, slightly as it were to shew the beginnings of Noble Dignities & Offices, least any man should suspect them to be but altogether things faigned, and vpon no reason grounded. Rehearsing these things in the mean time by the way, that when we shall come vnto our owne age, it may appeare, how much Powers, Dominions, and Nations differ among themselves. For they who in auncient times were vnder kings and emperours appointed Governours ouer Regions and Countries, are now become hereditary possessors thereof: & they which before were but Noble Ministers or Seruants, are now become absolute Nobles.

Beside that, in the mean time it most plainly appeareth of that which is aforesaid, that the kindred, stocke, and descent of the Nobility in former ages flourished and became famous onely for vertue, noble actes, and valour of minde. And that Vertue being set apart, wee are all forasmuch as concerneth mans nature, the sonnes of *Adam*. Wherefore, according to the rule of Theologicall or Philosophicall Nobility (wherunto our Ancestors especially addicted themselves) to boast of Nobility by birth, without vertue, was but a vaine thing.

*Nam genus & Proas et que non fecimus ipsi,  
Vix ea nostra duco.*

For our proud Stocke and Pedigree, and things we did not make, VVee scarce reckon them for our owne, or for our owne them take.

VVherefore wee pray and exhort all men,

men, that forasmuch as vertue commeth not by inheritance, every man would endeavour himselfe, of himselfe to become Noble. For they which otherwise vaunt and boast of Nobility, seeme only honourers of vertue, vpon another mans credite, and liue not by their owne, seeing that they be rather base persons, bearing themselves brag, vpon another mans vertue. But for the most part quite out of order, so the fashion and manner of the world now is. For what cannot flattery, the fauour of Princes, and too much indulgency do, and bring to passe.

### PARERGON.



It is sufficiently manifest, by that which is aforesaid, what the iudgment of my Friend and Vncle Robert Glouer was, concerning Politicall Nobility in ancient time, amongst the Gen-

tiles: which Philosophers heeretofore, haue set forth to vs. as a wauering thing, (and Diuines as a thing vncertaine) whilst they in speaking thereof omitted the Ciuill Rights of persons.

It were verily to be wished, that the ornaments of vertue should euery where be conferred and bestowed vpon none, but vpon such, as in whom vertue it selfe resereth: for that as the encreasing of honor, so the credite and reputation thereof also, is propounded to be gotten, not by ambition, but by industry. But seeing that Politicall Nobility is another thing, whereof there be diuers beginnings, and those of such sort and condition, as maketh in euery man that hath them, a beginning and excellency proper and peculiar to themselves; it is from the rest of the kindes of Nobility (viz. Theological and Philosophicall) by this only difference distinguished, that whilst they rest onely vpon Religion and Vertue, this Ciuill Nobility reiteth vpon the custome of Nations.

In the prosecuting whereof, for that he finished not the same, I verily tooke it most greuously: for many things seemed to me to be therein wanting, which might much haue concerned the matter: As the

peculiar forme of enobling of men, vsed in euery kingdome apart, and especially in this Empire and Island, as the very method and order of the worke seemed to me to make them of. But forasmuch as he in his life time perfected not these things: For,

—*Abjunct clarum cito mors Achillem.*—

Vntimely death soone tooke away  
*Achilles*, and clos'd him in clay.

Least *Penelope's* head being onely by *Aepelles* perfected, the body being not yet drawne, the whole worke in the meane time altogether imperfect or deformed, should lye neglected and vnregarded, I thought it a thing worth the labour, to supply that defect, with such things as hereafter follow: to the intent, that at length amongst others, I might in fewe words, and as it were at a glimpse, shew what orders of Nobility are with vs alio: what Rites and Ceremonies are vsed in promoting of men vnto the degrees of Nobility, that from hence the forme of creating of the being before vnderhood, I might afterward with greater fruit, and fuller pleasure, come vnto the persons themselves, with their families, marriages, changes, and noble acties; and at length in a iust volume (if God shall see it good) more at large, and fully delight the Readers.

But if we shall compare these old and most ancient times of the Romane Empire with ours, wee shall finde no signe or token of that ancient Nobility in the Courts of Princes. If you shall seeke for such as they called *Patricij* or Senators (whom the Romanes reuerenced as men sent downe from heauen) you shall finde them no where but in Citties, exercising Vsurie and Merchandize (trades vnto the forbidden the Romanes) at whom (although within their owne walled they be much regarded and esteemed) our noble Courtiers were wont to scorne & jest. Or else if it please you, goe vnto the time of Pope *Urban*, who (forsooth) made *Charles* the Sonne of King *Lenox* the 8. in *France*, a Senator of *Rome*, when as he should rather of his owne right, haue graced him with the Cardinals hat. In deede, it was a very ridiculous comparison

son of the French King his Sonne with a Senator of *Rome*, as the matter now standeth.

Wherefore let vs see, and as breiefely as we can touch, how, & by what degree after the empire of that City (which first built by Shepheards, at length became Mistress of the whole world) began to decline from so great an Estate, together with the change thereof, by little and little, drew with it the change of Noble dignities and titles also.

After the translating of the Romane empire by *Constantine* the Great, all that excellency of publicke dignities, whereof it is exprefly and sufficiently enough before spoken, seemeth to haue bin changed into a certaine other forme, and a new manner of ennobling of men to haue bin deuised. And verily, the names of Honours and Dignities in the east-empire, seeme to haue bene diuers from the west-empire: and the *Latines*, after the empire rent in sunder, and seated at *Constantinople*, seeme to haue bene subiect vnto the *Greekes*. For he that was there next vnto the Emperour, eyther by reason of the neerenesse of blood, or by institution, and was of the *Latines* called (*Primus*) was of the *Greekes*, by a generall name saluted *Despotes*; that is to say, *Lord*: as he is at this day calld *Monsieur* among the *French men*. The later *VVriters*, were wont also to call him, the same man *Sebaston*, according as the emperors had deuised honourable titles, where-with they might grace their friends, and binde them vnto them. The third in dignity from the emperor, was the *Sebastocrator*; whom hee whom they called *Cesar*, followed as fourth.

But whilst the emperor *Basilius*, was wont to be called *Sebaston*, & also *Cesar*, he the same man, at one & the same time enioying all these titles, these dignities were then as offices, and not as titles of honour. But afterward, they as honourable names of dignities, euen without any offices at all belonging vnto them, began to bee according to the emperours pleasure, bestowed and disposed of. And for a time, the next in honour vnto the emperor, was called *Cesar*: as *The king of the Romanes* at this day, is in the *VVest*. But afterwards, *Sebastocrator* was the second in honour, & *Cesar* the third, at such time

as *Alexius Comnenus* appointed his Brother *Isaacius* to be *Sebastocrator*: of whom *Zonaras* speaketh more at large. And last of all *Alexius Paleologus* being *Despotes*, was made next in honour vnto the Emperour, vnto whom he the same Emperor *Comnenus* hauing no Sonnes, betrothed his eldest daughter *Irene*, and graced him with the Title of the *Despotes*, as hee which should haue bene heire of the empire, if he had not before dyed.

*Protosebastus* had the first place & degree of honour from the emperor. And at length *Panhypersebastus* bega to be the most stately and maiestical name of all others, being a new title, of a new dignity, inuented by *Alexius Comnenus*, to gratifie *Michael Taronitus* withall. *Eparcius* was also a name of great honor, as who should say, the cheefe of all the Princiuall Presidents. *Contostaulus* was Generall of the Auxiliary forces, which out of *France*, *Sicily*, and *Italy*, seru'd in the East. Whereof he was called *The Great Contostaulus*: and otherwise *Comestabilis*, which of the *Italians* is interpreted *Constable*. *Frangarius* was he, which had the command of a Fleet at Sea. But him which commanded the Army at Sea, they called, *The great Duke*, and in *Greece*, *dux*, for difference sake, imitating therein the *Latines*. For he which led the Army at Land, was called *Egemon*; but hee which ruled at Sea, was called *Dux*. And ouer the Army at land, commanded alwayes, eyther the emperor himselfe, or the *Despotes*, or the *Sebastocrator*, or the *Cesar*, or the *Panhypersebastus*. And vnto this Great Duke whom they had as cheefe Admirall, they made subiect all the Drungars of their Fleete, their Admirals, their *Proto-Comites*, and him the Great *Drungarius* himselfe, before whom they also appointed the emperors Statue on horse-backe (which they called *Comus*) to bee carried before him in their forces at Sea. They had also their Great *Logotheta*, whom we at this day call the Chancellor. Their *Logariades*, whom the *Frenchmen* call *Controlleur*. And their *Protostator*, or *Marshall* of their Army. Their *Primicerios* also and *Primaugulios*, and many others of that sort, I willingly passe ouer, least in prosecuting of euery one, my discourse should grow too long and tedious. These were all honorable dignities, and that for the most part not

Protosebastus  
Panhypersebastus.

Eparcius.

Contostaulus.

Drungarius.

Mega-Dux.

Egemon.

The Great  
Logarithes.  
Logariades.  
Protostator.

Primicerios.  
Primaugulios.

so much for the necessity of their Offices or order, as to made by the fauour and good liking of the Emperor.

But whilst it seemed so good vnto the Emperours, so to appoint the seate of the Empire at *Constantinople* (where all things now ye swallowed vp of the Turkes) they left the westbared of their Legions, and strengthened onely with Fortes, vndefended and subiect vnto the inuasions & fury of the barbarous Nations: vpon the fall and decay whereof, the ruine of the East Empire (at length) ensued also. *Italy* and *Affricke* was at that time governed by their *Exarchi*, *Toparchi*, *Comarchi*, *Carthulari*, *Spatharij*, *Gustalli*, and *Capitani*. But at length, when *Narjes* the Eunuch, and one of the *Romane* Patrij, was by *Iulianus* the Emperour, appointed Gouvernour, he brought in them whom they called *Consulares*, *Præsides*, and *Correctores*. But after, that hee that *Narjes*, prouoked with the iniuries and despightes of *Sophia* the Emperesse (and with anger enraged) had called in thither the *Longobards* out of *Pannonia*, they became by little & little to vary, concerning the titles of Honour, and names of Dignity.

For *Narjes* being dead, *Longinus* (one of the *Romane* Patrij also) by the same Emperour chosen Governour or *Exarcha* in his stead in *Italy*, for the repressing of the *Longobards*, but a little before called forth by *Narjes*, and euen now about to come, ordained Dukes thoroughout the Prouinces (haply to the imitation of *Constantine* the Emperour, who is reported to haue provided by Law, that Countreyes and Townes should be assigned to Dukes, *Earles*, and olde *Captaines*, which hauing lōg serued, were to be rewarded for their good seruice done and past.) And vnto this purpose tend the words of *Guicciardini* himselfe, which I haue thought good hereunto also to adioyne.

By the translation of the Empire vnto *Constantinople* (saith hee) a way was opened vnto the power of the *Roman* *Byshops*; for the authority of the Emperours, dayly more and more weakened and decreasing in *Italy* (both by their continual absence, as also for that they were still busied with warres in the east) the people also by little and little revolting from them, & the City of *Rome* it selfe, being at length ofsetimes by the *Goths* and *Vandals* taken & sacked;

the authority of the Emperours began to decay and vanish away in *Italy*. But the barbarous people, at length again driuen out of *Italy* by the power of the Emperours, the government began againe to be managed by Greeke Magistrats (of whom he which commanded ouer the rest, was called *Hexarchus*, and had his seate at *Rauenna*) who appointed Gouvernours ouer the rest of the Cities of *Italy*, which Gouvernors they called Dukes. From hence, came the name of the *Hexarchat* of *Rauenna*, wherein al places were comprehended, which had not Dukes of their owne, but were vnder the command of one *Hexarchus*. Not long after, a notable change and alteration of matters ensued from the *Longobards*: For they, a most fierce and cruell people entering into *Italy*, possessed the country called *Gallia Cisalpina*, of whome it hath also taken the name of *Lombardie*. They added also vnto their Governement *Rauenna*, with all the *Hexarchat* thereof, besides many other parts of *Italy*, extending their armes as farre as *Picenum*, *Spoleum*, and *Beneuentum*, ouer which, they appointed Gouvernors to rule and command, whome they called Dukes, &c. So the *Longobards* raging and roaming farre abroad in *Italy*, at length, with thirty of their Dukes, in vaine attempted to haue taken the Citie of *Rome*. And so it came to passe, according to the manner of warres, that the Titles of the dignities of the former empire being neglected, all things began to bee governed by the Generals and Commanders of the armies, viz. by such as they called *Dukes*, *Earles*, and *Princes*.

These people, *Charles the Great*, son to *Pipin* King of *France*, by the *Romans* called into *Italy*, hauing taken *Ticinum*, the Metropolitall Citie of the *Insuberes*, & there slain *Desiderius* (of a *Comitable* promoted to be King of *Italy*) ouercame and subdued, and was forthwith by the generall consent of all men chosen emperour of the VVest Empire: who as hee would haue the Empire it selfe to be called, *The French Romane Empire*, so euen in the beginning thereof he had a purpose to make it hereditary, and made the *Great men*, & such as were with *Honourable* Titles graced, to be altogether free: and bound them by oath, as men in Fee, holding onely of the King, and of the Emperour: so that

Dukes, Earles, Princes.

The French Romane Empire.

Inuestiture.

Marquesses.

Lieutenants.

Consuls.

The Empire deuolued to the Frenchmen, vnto the Germanes.

Royalities.

that if by chance they should fall from their faith and allegiance, or dye without issue, hee then ordained those their dignities to be transferred vnto others: & that his ordinance was called *Inuestitura*, or an *Inuestiture*. The bounds and townes of his kingdom, he committed to be gouerned by Counties or Earls. The bounds & borders they called *Marches*, or *Marches*: whereupon, the Gouvernours of the *Marches*, began to be called *Marchiarum Comites*, (or Counties of the *Marches*) and at length *Marchiones*, or *Marquesses*. And them who in hee set and placed in the Prouinces for the administration of Iustice, and the keeping of the people in their allegiance, were then called *Missi* (or *Men sent*) or otherwise *Legati*: that is to say, The Emperours Legats or Lieutenants. But such as the people afterward of them selues created, for the administration of Iustice, and the government of Cities, being two or more in number, being chosen after the manner of the ancient *Roman* Common-weale, were called *Consuls*. The *French Romane* Empire, with this successe made by *Charles the Great*, was left vnto his posterity almost hereditary: which in short time after also, vnder the Emperour *Charles the Grosse* (Nephew in the fourth degree vnto *Charles the Great*, & before, King of *Germany*) deuolued from the *Frenchmen* vnto the *Germanes*. Vnto whom also (within a few yeares after) *Otto* the Great, king of *Germany*, and he Emperour, also succeeded; who following the steps of *Charles the Great*, gaue such perfections vnto his beginnings, in bestowing and disposing of honours & dignities, as that he is not so much for his firname and noble actes, to bee compared with the most mighty emperours, as for his wholesome Lawes, and heroical Ordinances, of all posterity of right for euer to be commended. For this man, after the ancient manner of the *Longobards* and *French*, entertaining euery most valiant man into his wars, graced with Royalities such of them, as had done him worthy & faithfull seruice (and these Royalities were all manner of dignities, lands, & governments of Prouinces) which he according as he thought good, bestowed vpon such as had of him well deserved. And now men began more plainly to make a difference of titles and dignities. For the titles

of Dukes and Counties (being with the ancient *Romans* but the bare names of personall offices and charges) now receiued other customes: and a Duke (at first chosen for his vertues & noble acts) they now began so to call him of his Dukedome: as they did also a *Marquess*, of his *Marquisat*, and an Earle of his Earldome. And he which had the command of people, from some King, *Marquess*, or Earle, was called *Capitaneus* (or a *Captaine*). But they which had such command from *Captaines*, were called *Valuifores* (or *Valuifours*). And they which had it from these *Valuifors*, were called *Valuifini* (or *Valuifines*). Whereupon this new beginning of Politicall Nobility, being far & wide dispersed through the kingdomes of the Empire, they at length were deemed rightly Noble, according to the manner and custome of euery place & Countrey, who eyther themselves, or their ancestors liued, so graced with these, or such like priuiledges.

And these be the things, which according vnto the variety and alteration of times, we haue read in the most approved Authors, concerning the titles of honours and dignities. In recounting of which, we haue thought this most especially worth the noting, that all the streames of Nobility (but especially the greatest & cheefe of them) came and issued all out of the Campe. Which degrees of honour and Nobility, before that wee compare them with ours, it shall not repent vs in distinct ranks, orderly to runne through the beginning of euery one of them.

And first to begin withall, They in *Campe* were called *Principes*, or *Princes*, (of whom at this day, wee euery where make so great account) which serued in the first ranks, excelling others in strength and age; and which followed the *Spearemen*, diuided into fifteen bands or troops, so placed, as it were for a refuge & rescue for them: to the end, that if in battails the *Spearemen* should be enforced to retire, they might in safety flye vnto those *Principes*, as vnto principall men of more approved and assured seruice. Whereof *Castra Principalia*, the *Principall* *Tents*, and *Porta Principalis*, the *Principall* *Porte*, where those *Principes* or *Principall* men were wont to lye with their bands; are so often read of in *Liuie*.

Dukes, Earles, Marquesses.

A Capitaine.

Valuifors

Valuifines.

Princes.

Next

Next vnto *Augustus* the Emperour, they which in the Emperors name gouerned the *Roman* affaires, were called *Principes Senatus*, or Princes of the Senate. But afterward, the Emperour would haue the place or title of a Prince, to bee a dignity next vnto a Kings, who amongst the ancient Saxons were called *Ethelings*, and with vs *Chyones*. But now it is as it were a generall name, diuersly giuen and attributed vnto many at once, and orderly comprehending in it all the greater sorts of dignities: yea in some places, according to the manner and custome of the places, the title and dignity of a Prince, is inferior vnto the title and dignity of a Duke, or an Earle.

*Dukes* or Dukes tooke their names from the Latine word *Ducendo*, as who should say *Ductores* or *Leaders*; for that they marching before, led their followers. Whereof we read the Latine phrase, *Ducere bellum*, that is to say, to leade warres for Gerere bellum, to make warre. And so *Hij bellum assidue ducunt cum Gente Latina*. These men make continuall war with the Latine Nation. And they which as Dukes or Generals were leaders of Armies, were wont to vse such Ensignes as the Consuls did: whereupon, the word *Ducatus*, sometime signified the Region or Country, ouer which the Duke commanded: and other while, the Military gouernment and commanding authority it selfe. Vnto which manner of men, for things by them honourably and valiantly in the warre achieved and performed, triumphall Ornaments were sometimes awarded. Amongst the ancient *Germanes*, vnto a Generall or Leader of an army, were assigned twelue Counties or Earles to attend vpon him.

*Marquesses* were so called of a certaine iurisdiction bound vnto some certaine place. So he which had the command and gouernment of any frontier Territory or Sea-coast, was called *Marchio*, or a *Marques*; and they which receiued of the Fees, were properly accounted the *Palatins* of the king, or of the kingdom, as men standing with the Generals *Ad eulnas Regni*, at the gates and entrances of the kingdom. Other some there bee, which goe about to deriue the word *Marchio* from *Marca* (a word of the *Celtes*) from whence they deriue the word *Mar-*

chare in French, to ride: and the *Marchio* manni as a people so called, for that they excelled in good horse-manship.

Now of Counties or Earles, as there were diuers kindes, so of them amongst the ancient *VVriters*, are read diuers and sundry sorts and orders; such as among the rest were *Comites Sacri Palatii*, or Counties of the Sacred Pallace: *Archicamerarii* (or *Principall Courtiers*) and *Comites stabuli*, or *Constables*. For *Desiderius* from a *Comissable*, by the *Lombards* chosen and appointed to be king of *Italy*, was slaine by *Charles* the Great. And it is elsewhere read, hee sent *Burchardus* the *Constable*, with his Fleet to *Corsica*.

There were also *Comites Militum*, or Counties of the Souldiers, of whom the *Romans* would haue alwayes two residing in the East, and were then of sometimes called *Comites Orientis*, or Counties of the east. And in breue, there were Counties of Provinces: such as were the Counties of *Spain*, of *Brittaine*, and of the *Saxon* Coasts in *Brittaine*.

The *Gustallus* in *Italy*, and a County, seeme in ancient time to haue bene all one: There be some also, which beleue a County in olde time to haue bene called *Comarchus*.

The name of a *Vicount* sheweth a beginning not to be doubted of: For he to whom the County in the Camp committed the authority of his iurisdiction, was called *Vice-Comes* or *Vicount*; as were in the ancient time the *Proconsul*, & the *Proconsul* his Lieutenant or Deputy.

But whereof the *Barones* or *Barons* were so called, is not yet wel knowne; For vnto the *Romans* as concerning their dignity, they were vterly vnkowne: howbeit, that they shime it to bee a Latine word, by that saying of *Cicero* to his friend *Atticus*, *Apud Patronum reliquosque Patrones te in maxima gratia possunt*: Hee brought you into great fauour with your Patron, and the rest of the *Barons*.

Other some obtrude vnto vs the greek word *Baron*, which signifieth *Grave*. But howeuer it commeth to passe, if credite be to be giuen to our most learned Lawyer *Bracton*, the *Barons* were still accounted for most valiant men, for hee would haue them to be called, *Sabora belli*, or the strength of warre. And by the Lawyer *Baldus*, a *Baron* is defined to be a man ha-

Counties:  
Earles.

Vicount.

Baron.

uing from his Prince the power and authority of the greatest, middle, and lowest correcting of offenders. But sufficient it now concerning these matters, to haue sayde thus much, as purpofe of the same, to speake more at large hereafter.

And let vs now come nearer vnto the matter, by comparing of ancient things, with others of latter time; to the intent, that by applying of those ancient things vnto this our Age and Time, the reason as well of the Names as of the Dignities themselves, may the better and more manifestly appeare.

Like as the *Empire* of the *Greekes*, was by the *Turkes* ouerthrowne and brought to nought, euen so also was the *Empire* of the *West*. by the cunning and ambition of the *Bishops of Rome*, rent in sunder and weakened. Which, how great it was, the very ruines thereof doe now scarcely declare. The maiestie whereof, is yet by the *Seauen Princes Electors* (of the *Germanes* called *Electores*) vnto the Ornament of the Christian world vpholden and maintayned. The *Septemviri* of *Germany*, the Emperour *Otho* the third, and Pope *Gregorie* the first, ordained in the yeare 960. Vnto whom afterwards the Emperour *Charles* the fourth engaged the revenues of the *Empire* (having promised vnto euerie one of the *Electors*, an hundred thousand crownes) that he would appoint *Wenceslaus* his sonne, heire of the *Empire*. But the Money being not payed, it came to passe, that the Patrimony of the *Romaine Common-weale*, which was appointed to the vices and maintenance of the warres (and for that onely cause was subiect to alienation) was priuately distributed and diuided amongst them, vnto euerie one of them a part, whereby the power of the *Empire* was afterward almost brought to nothing, the *Seauen Princes Electors* of *Germanie*, keeping all vnto themselves, and compelling the *Emperors* by oath, that they should not reuoke the Lands and *Pawnes* before engaged.

And Kings, to whom it was a pleasant thing to be deliuered from another mans power and command, erected to themselves Monarchies. But they which in most great Kingdoms hold the second place, next to the Kings and the Kings sons, are according

to the forme of the *Emperors* army, called *Dukes*. The title of an *Arch-bishop* is but one alone, belonging to the house of *Austria*, by the Emperour *Fredericke* diuided, to grace his nephew *Philip* withall, at such time as he was to marry *Iane* the heire of *Spain*.

The name of *Vaynode*, is a title of dignity onely in *Transilvania*, and *Polachia*. And so also is the *Doge* of the *Venetians*, who is also called a Duke.

And as in warres Counties or Earles were assigned vnto Dukes, so our Counties now at this day, are thought next in dignity to follow the Dukes.

For a *Marquess* at this day, is nothing else in his owne proper signification, then a Countie vpon the Frontiers & Borders: which in the *Germanie* tongue is more significantly called a *Marctgrau*: with whome a Countie is called *Graf*. And whereof come those honourable names of the *Psaltzgrau*, *Landgrau*, *Marctgrau*, *Ischtingraue*, & *Loughgrau*: that is to say, The Countie *Palatine*, the Countie of the Province, The Countie of the Borders, The County of *Rhene*, The County of the Castle or Garrison. And yet according to the diuers custome of places, *Marquesses* in some places are preferred, and goe before Counties or Earles.

The beginning of a *Vicount*, the very etymology of the name it self hath taught vs.

*Barons* are also euerie where according to the dignity of their degree, power, & grauity accounted honourable. *France* hath also onely foure peculiar Great and principall Lords, whom they call *Vidames* (viz.) *Chartres*, *Chalons*, *Amiens*, and *Gerbry*. So hath it pleased men according to the custome of places, vnto new forms of Honours and Dignities, to giue olde names. But nothing is euerie where, and in all places so sincerely obserued and kept, as is that olde and generall diuision of People, into Noble and Vnnoble, with a certain difference of the Vnnoble sort among themselves, as of the Nobler sort among themselves also.

For such with easie exercises get their linings, such as excell in wit in the knowledge of Martiall affaires, in learning, in wealth, or in vertue: these men, in these times, are as it were the *Seminaries* of Nobility (as were in ancient time the *Gentlemen* whom they called *Equites*, among the *Romans*, the nursery of the *Senators*.)

S f

Many

An Arch-bishop.

A Vaynode.

A Doge.

An Earle.

A Marquess.

A Vicount.

A Baron.

Vidames.

Noble and Vnnoble.

The Seminary of nobility.

The Empire  
decaying, the  
Nobilitie be-  
ganne to get  
poorish their  
Names and  
Titles.

The Seauen  
Electors were  
first instituted  
in Germany  
about the  
yeare 960.

A Duke.



All the vulgar  
people are  
boile and vn-  
noble.

All gentlemen  
are alike No-  
ble.

The differ-  
ences of No-  
bility.

Nobility, the  
greater and  
the lesser.

In some pla-  
ces of Italy  
there be he-  
reditary  
Knights.

In many pla-  
ces also there  
are Esquires  
by birth.

Many noble & famous Gentlemen, haue also from Lawyers and Merchants disceded. And although some of the vulgar & common sort of the people, be among them of better account and reputation, then some others of them, yet in respect of the Nobility, they are altogether base and vnnoble: like as all free-borne men, which are not of the vulgar and common sort of people, are indifferently and alike noble, according to the French Prouerbe: *Je suis Gentilhomme comme le Roy*, I am a Gentleman as well as the King. *Il foy de Gentilhomme*: The faith of a Gentleman.

Yet it is to be knowne, antiquity and high functions, to haue their estimation in Politicall Nobility, as they haue in other things. And heereof as seemeth vnto me, are those distinctions of Nobility, named, and vnnamed: or of the greater and lesser Nobility, as some others would haue it. And *Named Nobility* I call that which is by hereditary succession graced with Titles and Fees. As a king taketh that his denomination of his kingdom: a Duke, of his *Dukedom*; an Earle, of his *Earledome*; and a Baron, of his *Barony*: who may also be called *Maiors Nobles*, or *The greater Nobility*, although not altogether so properly, for that that distinction of Nobility, indifferently comprehendeth all sorts of Noblemen, & the higher Magistracies (bestowed vpon men for teame of life only, or during the Princes pleasure.) The rest of the Nobility vnder the degree of Barons, may be called *Nobles Innominati* (or vnnamed Noblemen) or *Minors Nobles*, that is to say: the lesser Nobility.

And yet there are some of them which seeme to haue *Named Nobility*, although they be not in the same ranke and order to be placed: such as are Knights and Esquires. But forasmuch as the Titles of Knighthood and of Esquires, are not hereditary, they are accounted amongst the lesser Nobility.

The *Frenchmen* in the meane time, and we *Englishmen* also, doe by more knowne words, better discern the greater Nobility from the lesser, but not without a certaine injury and wrong done vnto the latine tongue, from which wee deriue our Nobility. For who is he which knoweth not the Latine word (*Nobiles*) indif-

ferently to comprehend all such as are about the common and vulgar sort of men? Which word is in *French* or *English* expounded (*Noble*). By which word, the common sort of *Englishmen* calleth or noteth no man, vnder the degree of a Baron.

The rest vnder the degree of Barons, are in *French* called *Gentilshommes*, and in *English*, Gentlemen. Of which, such as are neither Knights nor Esquires, we call them but onely Gentlemen, without any addition; and in *French*, *Gentilshommes simples*, or plaine Gentlemen. Although it may be that some of these may can shew more Armes of their stocke, and denue their Pedigree further, then can some others of greater dignity, or euen the emperor: himselfe.

Wherefore, in Politicall Nobility, being simply vnderstood, these plaine termed Gentlemen are not inferiour vnto the Princes themselves, but yet in honour and dignity much. For the titles of *Kings*, of *Dukes*, of *Marquesses*, of *Earles*, & *Barons*, as it were the names of most honourable Offices, and by reason of such additions, one becommeth more famous and nobler then another.

These things beeing thus somewhat more at large and in general spoken, concerning Nobility, seeme as it were to open the way vnto the particular degrees thereof with vs. But the diuision of the orders & degrees of men, which our *English* Common-weale and Empire well beareth, at other times, by others sette forth is exceedingly well set downe: who haue diuided the same into a King, into Nobility of the greater and of the lesser sort, Citizens, Men liberally brought vp, and Labourers. But forasmuch as I haue purposed to speake onely of the degrees of Nobility, and that the intention and scope of this worke tendeth no farther, I haue determined to entreat onely of the Kings, and of the cheefe named Nobility, whom it pleaseth vs to call, *The Peeres of the Kingdom*, *The Common Fathers of the Common-weale*, & in briefe, by one name, *Great Estates*, or *Noblemen*.

Yet in so great conuersion of things, and inundations of forraigne Nations, where-with this our Island from the first inhabiting thereof, hath bene oftentimes troden vnder foote, and for a long time

What is the  
difference  
between  
Nobility  
and  
Gentility  
in  
English  
and  
French  
men.

Nobility  
how  
it  
is  
to  
be  
distinguished.

A Treatise  
vnto the  
English  
Nobility.

most greuously afflicted: to write such a serious discourse, as to set downe, what were the beginning Titles of our Noblemen, with the orders and degrees of honours, seemeth a thing most difficult and hard.

Concerning which things (freely to confesse the truth) seeing that I haue not well satisfied my selfe; I dare not with too much hasty confidence to affirme much, especially seeing that heere, as well as elsewhere, the Victors haue still especially endeuoured them-selues, not so much to oppress the people by them subdued, as they haue done to innouate their customs, and to change their lawes. Seeing that it is by Nature ordered, that with the same fate where-with Monarchies and Kingdomes are overwhelmed, euen the Nations themselves, and Noble Families fall, and come to vtter ruine also.

For first, the *Romans* by subduing the *Brittaines*, the naturall Inhabitants of this Island, went about with their Legions to ouerthrow all things.

But the *Romans* about five hundred yeares more or lesse after, beeing againe transported into *France*, the *Saxons*, or rather *English-Saxons*, called in by the *Brittaines* vnto their aide, raised warre against their Hoasts, and thrust them quite out of their auncient Seates, and first of all others, gaue vnto the kingdom the name of *England*. And these people the *Danes* also for a space thrust out of the kingdom.

But at length, when as this kingdom began (as it were) againe to breathe vnder *Edward the Confessor*, a most holy King, and last of the *English-Saxons* race, he being forth-with dead without issue, gaue occasion to the *Normanes* to passe ouer. VVho at length preuailling, (*Harold* who withstood them beeing overcome) and the *English-men* beeing thrust out of their auncient inheritance, began forth-with to assigne the Landes and groundes in euery place vnto their companions and fellow souldiours, and also to bring in the *Normane* customes and fashions.

Many things for all that, are yet extant in the most auncient Records, euen in the *Heptarchy* of the *English-Saxon* Kings, concerning those Noble-Men

which were Rulers ouer the Countreies of *Chester*, *Leicester*, and *Lincoln*, whom we reade to haue bene indifferently also called *Dukes*, and Counties of the *Mercians*. The *Danes* had also their *Heretoches*, and the Princes of their *Heretoches*. And *Edward*, the King and *Confessor* yet reigning, euen in the time next vnto the coming in of the *Normans*, in the charters and monuments of Churches, are found there to be *Ethelings*, *Chtiers*, *Patricij*, *Consuls*, *Earles*, *Palatines*, *Dukes*, *Senators*, *Stalkers*, *Thayni*, *Theothani*, *Ministers*, and *Princes*. But yet with great inconstancy, of such their names and callings. For whom thou shalt reade to be called Counties, thou shalt else-where finde euen at one and the selfe-same time to be called *Dukes*. But the stile of *Chtie*, at first signified the Kings eldest Sonne, but afterwards, it was a title common to all them that were descended of the kings blood.

The Titles of *Countie* and *Consul* signified the same thing, differing but in that *Comes* (or a *County*) was to be called a *Comitatus* (or of a *Shire* or *County*;) and a *Consul* of *Consulendo*, or of giuing of Councell. A *Stalber*, and *The Governour of the Kings house*, to haue bene all one, it is out of diuers writings manifest. The *Patricij* and *Thayni* were Noblemen of the better sort; and I could almost affirme them to haue bene equal vnto our Barons at this day. Ministers and Princes, who in old Charters are set as lowest witness, seeme to haue bene names of one and the same signification, and alike significant Noble-men: but what degree of honour or Nobility they were of, is altogether vnkowne. Neither seeme these honourable Titles to haue bene forth-with together with the victory, by *William the Normane* changed. For these men whom King *Edward the Confessor* in his Charter, concerning the Priuiledges by him granted to the Abbey of *Waltham*, in the yeare 1062: taketh to witness by the name of *Counties Palatine* (whom he but euen a little before had called *Dukes*) and by the names of Procurators, Chamberlaines, and Princes of his Court: the Normane himselfe, in the second yeare after his victory, in his confirmatory Charter granted vnto the same Abbey, doth by the same Stiles and Titles take to witness.

witnesse also.

But, after that he had now confirmed the kingdome vnto himselfe in safety, the Counties whom he by his Royall Charter had rewarded with Counties and Lands, began to be one from another, distinguished, by the addition of the Title, of such and such a Countie. As witnesse *Alanus* Countie of *Richmond*; witnesse *Hugh* Countie of *Chester*; witnesse *Roger* Countie of *Shrewsbury* and *Arundell*.

VVherefore the *English Saxons* by little and little, cyther dead without issue, or oppressed, or thrust forth into exile, and to liuing in other places, all things were so framed vnto the *Norman* manner, as that of our *Nobilitie* at this day, there is not any which can so much as any little breathe of the Stock and Race of those most ancient *Saxons*.

These foundations of the auncient VVorthies and *Nobility* being layde by *William the Conquerour*: and oftentimes afterwards by Successours, according to the diuerse occasions and occurrents of times, by little and little continued and augmented, beganne at length in the reigne of King *Henry the third*, and *Edward the first*, to shine forth, who hauing now vanquished the VVelch-men their Neighbours, and contending with the Scottes bordering vpon them, for Principallitie and Soueraignetie; entreating of all things concerning the Common-weale, with the three States of the Kingdome (which consisted of the *Nobilitie*, the *Clergie*, and the *Communitie*) they themselves in their Royall Maiestie sitting in Parliaments, appoynted vnto euery man a preheminance, according to the place of his dignitie: from whom, especially all the *Nobilitie* of our age, may seeme to deriue the diuerse and appoynted degrees of Dignities and Honours.

VVherefore a King, who may with vs bee also called a *Monarch*, hauing in himselfe the supreme power, is of such great Maiestie, as that besides GOD alone, hee hath none his Superiour. Who from Equitie and Iustice seeking his chiefeft praise and commendation (when as any matter of greater weight or importance is to bee decreed and set downe, concerning the welfare and honour of the Common-weale) doth ey-

ther make new Lawes, before conceiued by the three estates of the Kingdome, or else abrogateth the old; and free from all homage for his Empire, is with the sacred solemnities of his Countrey, with a royall Crowne, by his subiects crowned, whom afterwards we with so great reuerence obserue and honour, both in the time of peace, as also in the time of war, as that (forasmuch as hee himselfe is the fountaine of all *Nobilitie*) he may for his onely pleasure and good liking, blesse and grace whom hee will, with Offices, Dignities, Honour, Nobilitie, and Riches.

Amongst the *Nobilitie* or Peeres of the Kingdome, the Prince is the chiefe, who is alwayes but one and himselfe alone, for hee is to be deemed the Kings eldest sonne, or heire apparant of the Kingdome, and hath of long bene graced with the Title of the *Prince of Wales*. The Kings sonnes in auncient times, before the coming in of the Normans, were wont to be called *Ethelings*, that is to say, *Clytons*, (as more Noble than the rest, whom they in Latine called *Inclytus*, or Noble) as *Edgar Clyto*, *Alured Clyto*, and others. Our Princes of *Wales* are now with vs, the same that the designed *Cæsars* were among the ancient *Romans*, as who should say, heires of the *Imperiall Maiestie*; and whereupon at this day, the *Germans* appoint him which shall be emperor, King of the *Romans*, and the *French* stile him that is to succeed in the Kingdome, the *Dolphin*: but the *Spaniards*, together with vs, call him which is to haue the kingdome after the death of the king his father, *The Prince, or Infant*.

The first that was by this name called after the coming in of the Normans, was *Edward*, the eldest son of King *Henry the third*, who (his Father *Henry* being dead) and hauing there vanquished *Leolin*, was the first that vntied the Principallitie of *Wales* vnto the kingdome of *England*: vnto whom also, *John the Scot* earle of *Chester*, being dead without heyres male (of ther lands and reuenues being assigned vnto the sisters of the aforesaid Earle) the king his Father had giuen the same countie.

At length King *Edward the third* gaue vnto *Edward* his eldest sonne (a most famous and renowned warrior) then

The Prince of Wales.

The first Prince of Wales.

then Prince of *Wales* and Earle of *Chester*, the Countie of *Cornwall* also, which hee then had made a Dukedome: and by this meanes it is come to passe, that afterwards our Kings eldest sonnes or heyres, were by the Kings royall Charters, with great solemnitie in full Parliament, created Princes of *Wales*, and Earles of *Chester*, (with the Countie of *Flint*, which belongeth vnto the Dignitie of the Sword of the Countie of *Chester*) but are called Dukes of *Cornwall*, euen from the first houre of their Natiuitie.

They which are accounted of the Nobility after the Princes of *Wales*, we call Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons. About which, if I shall also place the most famous Fellowshippe of Knights, of our (by farre) the most honorable order, taking name of the Garter, I not shal haply seeme to haue done amis: forasmuch as it maketh Knights, and sometime them of the Lesser Nobility, (excelling others in vertue and valour) almost equal, not onely vnto Noble-men at home with vs, but euen with Kings and Emperours abroad. But of them we are else-where to speake.

A Duke.

All these Noblemen (I say) in the beginning to haue bene Generalles and Leaders of Armies, or Gouvernours of Countreies, it is before declared. But afterward, as pleased the Emperours, to haue bene giuen them for terme of life: and at length strengthened with lands and fees, we see them to haue obtained a certayne hereditary perpetuity: wherefore, a Duke, who in auncient time was, as it were, the Constable of the Kingdome, and whose chiefe seruice was, to leade and condu& the Kings Armie in time of warre, now graced with Fees, and once authorized by the King, is become an hereditary Title. Our Kings descended of the *Norman* blood, so long as they themselves were Dukes of *Normandie*, graced no man with this Title of Duke, till *Edward the Third*; who first of all (as is before sayd) exalted the Countie of *Cornwall* into a Dukedome: vnto the example whereof, many hereditary Dukes were in like manner by our Kings created, howbeit that at this day we haue none.

A Marquisse.

Next vnto Dukes in order follow

*Marquesses*, who in auncient time were called *Gouernours* or *Uicars* of the borders or Marches: a Title vnto vs, but at the time of King *Richard the Second*, verily vnknewne, who in the tenth yeare of his reigne, by his Royall Charter first created *Robert Vere* earle of *Oxford* (his Minion) Marques of *Dublin* the Metropolitall Cittie of *Ireland*. By which example, many others afterwards obtained the like Creations by Inheritance.

Concerning either the etymologie or the office of an Earle amongst the Auncients, I haue else-where briefly touched some things, and leaue the same to bee more at large by others entreated of. Earles with vs, haue alwayes bene both of great authority and dignity, and of much greater antiquitie then either *Marquesses* or Dukes.

Neyther is it any let at all, but that an Earle may be called Earle of any Countie or place, from whence he receiueth no profit, neyther therein holdeth any iurisdiction. Indeed it is in auncient Charters, declared them in old time to haue bene Feod-men, and to haue bene rewarded with the third penny of the profit of that Prouince wherof they were called Earles; but now the maner is with vs, that the Titles of Earldomes, are according vnto the Kings pleasure conferred and bestowed, without any possession of the places at al: vnto whom, the King, in stead of the third Penny, is wont to appoynt a certayne summe of money, to be yearly receiued out of the Exchequer, or his Customs: as wee will hereafter more at large declare.

Concerning the beginning of a Vicount with vs, there is no cause why I should from farre deriue it, forasmuch as we had none of them before the time of King *Henry the sixth*. For he in the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, created *John de Belmonte*, or *Beumont*, a Vicount: Whereupon that which in auncient time was the name of an office, we now at this day do acknowledge it bee a certayne name and Title of Dignitie, as it were in the midst, betwene an Earle and a Baron; as wee doe a *Marquisse*; betwene a Duke and an Earle. This Degree of Nobilitie hath inuestiture from the Kings themselves, with certain solemn ceremonies,

An Earle.

A Vicount.

A Baron.

as the other degrees of Nobility haue.

Now the last of all, as well in order as specially in dignity, come fourth the Barons, whose conioyned power, compared with the rest, hath in the great affaires of the Common-weale alwayes bene the greatest. Of whose beginning yet truth it selfe doubtfully wauerech. *Lucas de Penia in Liji. C. de municipijs*, in his 16. book sayeth. *Quid Reges cum plures haberent filios nec omnes Reges posse fieri (quod regnum diuidi nequeat) prospicerent: amplius cuique donabant Castra cum iurisdictione & Imperio, unde Barones dicerentur*, id est, filij alij excelsiores. For that Kings when they had many sonnes, which they well saw could not all be made Kings (for that a kingdom cannot be diuided) they gaue vnto euery one of them great Castles, with iurisdiction and command, whereof they should be called *Barons* (that is to say) Their sonnes, higher in degree then others. Other some will haue the word *Baro*, to haue bene deuied from the Greeke word *βαρος*, signifying gravity. But if it may be lawfull for vs with conjectures to contend, I deeme it not amisse, hereunto to ioine the curious conceite and iudgment of a certaine most learned man, and of great reading, who marking the great power and authority of Barons, supposeth them in the beginning to haue bene the Generals or Leaders of Nations & people, dispersedly roaming and stragling vp and downe without any certaine resting places, after the empire was rent in sunder, who equally diuiding the lands by force or leaue by them gotten, as it were by tutelary law gouerned the people, holding of them in fealty, and subiect to euery one of their iurisdiccions, eyther with a meere souerainty apart, as Monarchs, or vnder some other common Prince.

Wherof, *Raldus* happily hath called a man of greatest, middle, and meane authority and command, *Baronem*, or a *Baron*. But they which were in power and authority in a manner like and equal, were before in Latine called *lares homines* (or like men) but of the *Frenchmen* and *Italians*, (speaking more contractly) *parhomines*, and *parhomini*, and thereof they might, saith he, bee called *Baroni* and *Barones*: for with a more easie pronunciation, they in their words easily admit *b* for *p*. And to giue more credite to this mat-

ter, he ioyneth thereunto the force of diuers Languages. For they whom the *Frenchmen* from the beginning, called *Barons*, we in the same sence in ancient time, called *Thaini*, and at this day in english, *Lords*, whom the *Germanes*, as it were by a circumlocution, doe more fully call *free-herren*, which with vs truly signifieth *free-Lords*: that is to say *Lords* hauing free iurisdiccions and territories. But from whence this very word *Lord* is sprung (which is not so much peculiar vnto Barons as to all Noblemen in general) remaineth yet doubtfull.

Forasmuch as we after our manner and fashion, are wont to call all Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Vicounts, (and some of the greatest Officers and Magistrates of the kingdome also, although they bee not Barons) after the manner of Barons, *Lords*: some say it to be a primitive & original word of it selfe, sprung out of the Saxon word *hlaford*, which is interpreted *Lord*: Other some also, suspect it to haue bene a deuatiue word, and to haue bene first brought out of *Barquany*: for it is manifest, the emperor *Probus* to haue sent hither into *Brittaine* the *burgundians*, whom he had ouercome in the year 282. Who hauing heere seated and settled themselues, did vnto the *Romans* right good seruice, it at any time rebellion did arise or was stirred vp against them. And in that place they commonly call *Alodians*, which signifieth, *Free* and discharged from all homage and seruice; which manner of possessor or owner, is euen at this day called *Alodians*: whom we, resting almost vpon the same reason, do in english call, *A Lord*. Contrary vnto those *Alodij* or *Lords*, are the *Lewdes* or *Lewds*, as subiect vnto the *Alodij*, where of perhaps the word *Laydes* is vied amongst the *Scots*, whom they with vs call also *Lords*.

But as concerning words and etymologies, let euery man giue as he list: now forer the names be deemed of, it is for the most part of all men granted, that *free-herren* or *Lords* (call them whether you list) to haue in all places liued as *Free-borne* men, and of great esteeme, & I verily think them to haue bene the same, whom *Cesar* calleth *Regulos* in *france*: where euen yet vnto this day, certaine of the most olde and ancient Barons, are reported

Thaini.

A Lord.

Hlaford  
the Saxon  
word in  
English.

A Layde.

ported and reputed by a certaine right of their Baronies, to contend for precedence with the new Earles. But how full of authority and dignity the name of a Baron and of a Baronage is, shall very plainly & easily appeare, if wee shall eyther respect the antiquity thereof, as they which of ancient time haue hereditary iurisdiction annexed vnto their honour and dignity, and whereof wee at this day retain a shew in our *Lords courts*, commonly called a *court Baron*: or looke into the most honourable and reuerend prerogative of the in the cheefest assemblies of the kingdome. For all Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Vicounts, haue their seates with the Barons, in the highest assembly of the kingdome, in Parliament, onely by the name of their Baronies; Inasmuch, that the greatest Duke sitting in Parliament (although he be placed according to the preheminance of his degree) yet holdeth his place only by reason of his Barony: neyther is it for any other reason granted vnto our Archbishops and Bishops (as it was in auncient time vnto some Abbots and other of like sort) to sitte there, but that they haue the possession and dignity of some Baronage or Barony annexed and ioined vnto their Bishoppricks; yea, the eldest Sonne of a Duke who soeuer, although he be commonly called an *Earle*, as also the eldest sonne of an earle, although by the flatterie of custome, and in respect of his blood he be called in Latine *Dux* or *Dominus* in French *Signeur*, and after our manner, a *Lord*, yet if wee shall consider the force of the Law, they are not to be numbered either amongst the earles or the Barons, but only to be accounted *Esquires*; neyther can they challenge any voyce or suffrage in the Parliaments of the Kingdome, so long as their Fathers liue. Howbeit, wee haue it often in experience (I confesse) that as often as the King shall see the eldest sonne or heyre of a Duke, Marquess, or of an Earle, as well in wisdom and counsell, as of yeres ripe and stayed, and whom he shall deeme worthie to bee present at the greatest assemblies of Parliament, him he promoteth vnto the height of that honour: and by a *VVritte of Summons* (as they terme it) his father yet being aliue, according to the name & stile (if he be the sonne of a Duke) of his

Barony, or if he bee the sonne of a Marquess, or of an Earle, by the name whereof he was before called, and whereof hee was heire apparant, and into the inheritance whereof his father also before came.

This I say, sometime is done, and may be done, by the fauour of the Prince onely, whose prerogative is so indeterminate as that he may promote vnto honors, and admit into Parliaments whom hee pleaseth. As for example; it pleased our deceased Queen *Elizabeth* in the year 1575, by her *Writte of Summons*, to call *William Poulet*, Baron *St. Iohn of Basing*, at this day Marquess of *Winchester*, (viz) the eldest sonne of *Iohn Poulet*, Marquess of *Winchester*, and to assigne vnto him a place amongst the Noblemen of the Vpperhouse, due vnto the ancient Barons of *St. Iohn*, vntill that their heires male sayling, the heire generall of the same family, had married with the stocke of the *Poulets*. This I say, the Queene might doe by her royall prerogative onely, the age and towardlinesse of the young Baron being respected and looked into, which he could no way by right haue challenged, his Father yet liuing.

*Henrie Stanley*, Earle of *Darby*, was by *Writte of Summons* called vnto Parliament, his father yet liuing, by the name of Baron *Strange of Knokin*, and placed in the same seate wherein the Barons *Strange of Knokin* were wont of ancient time to sit. The like we now of late haue also seene to haue bene done to *Gilbert Lord Talbot* (at this day Earle of *Shrewsburie*) sonne and heire to *George earle of Shrewsburie*, but of late deceased: which places they could not by prescript for me of law as yet challenge vnto them, for that their Fathers then aliue, possessed both the dignities & reuennues of the aforesaid Baronies. So that I say, they were onely by the fauor of the Prince promoted vnto such honour and degree, whilst that their fathers yet liued.

For wee rightly acknowledge no Barons, but them whom the Kings Royall Maiestie hath first by his Charter created, or else the Parliaments preheminance & dignity designed: who so called, and once admitted, and in Parliament placed, are alwayes after to bee held and accounted Barons, and to bee reckoned amongst the Nobility of the Baronage of *England*, nei-

nei-

For that vnto  
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Patent, are  
not to bee a  
gain returned  
vnto his lofe  
or disgrace.

ther doeth it any where appeare, anie of them to haue bene afterwards reiecte or degraded, except by chance their possessions were so far diminished, as that they were by no means able to maintayne so great an honour. For, as in ancient time the *Romane* Senators, which had wasted or decayed their Senators substance were cut of Senate remoued; euen so (I say) such are either of their own accord to absta in from coming into the vpper house of our Parliament, or else (I may say perhaps) are not thereinto admitted, although that they for euer full retain the stile and name of their Barony.

And these be they whom we acknowledge to be *Named Noblemen*: But how they bee now amongst themselves together, and seuerally apart, both in dignitie and preheminence distinguished, is out of the forme of their *Creations* or admissions to be better discerned; which things we will declare by the Letters Patents, or of *Summons*, giuen vnto euery one of them at the time of their *Creations* (which Letters, we by two names call, viz: *Royall Charters*, and *Parliament Writts*) and by the ceremonies after our manner, ioyned into their Inuestiture, and the custome of their precedence; beginning first with the Baron himselfe.

For why, the name of the Baronage of England is right famous, and more honorable then the rest: resembling the ancient shew of a *Reuerend Romane Father*, re-gifted to be one of; counsell of estate, & of the *Senatory Dignity*; and with vs giuing an entrance vnto all the higher degrees of honor, as did that among the ancient *Romanes*.

In elder time, it was for a certain space giuen vnto none, but vnto men for their martiall prowesse renowned, vnto whom the ensigne of a Barony was also giuen; as was the right to weare a Ring of Gold granted vnto the *Romane Gentlemen*. But afterward, not onely they whom martiall prowesse had commended, but euen they also whom their Nobility of birth, their manners, fortune, or wisdom hadde at home ennobled, were wont by the Kings *Writ of Summons*, to be called forth vnto the high assembly of Parliament. And at length also, King *Henrie* the 6. brought in the fashion to create some by this very name, by vertue of his *Royall Charter*:

which manner of forme and fashion, together with that other of calling by *Writ of Summons* vnto the Parliament, we onely at this day haue in vse, in forme following.

*Letters of Summons, or Parliament Writts* (as they call them) for the promoting of any one, or of whomsoever, vnto the Dignity of a Baron, in full Assembly of Parliament, are in a prescript appointed forme in this sort made: Changing onely such things as are of order to be changed.

**E**LIZABETH, by the Grace of God, *Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Defendresse of the Faith, &c.* Vnto her faithfull and well-beloued Henry Norris of Ricot Knight, greeting. Forasmuch, as Wee by the aduice and consent of our Councell, for certaine high and urgent causes, concerning the estate & defence of our kingdome of England, and of the English Church, haue appointed a certain Parliament of ours, to be holden at our Citty of Westminster, the eight day of May, next comming, and there to haue speech and conference with you, and with the Prelates, the States, and Nobility of our sayde Kingdome: Wee firmly enioyne & commaund you, upon the Faith and Allegiance wherein you are vnto vs bound, that the weight of the aforesaide businesse, and the imminent dangers considered, all excuse whatsoeuer set apart, you be there personally present the day and place aforesaide, to conferre with vs, & with our Prelates and Nobility aforesaide, concerning the aforesaide businesse, & there to shew your aduice. And of this, as you loue vs, and honour the safeguard & defence of Our Kingdome, and the Church aforesaide, and the good dispatch of the affairs aforesaide, in no wise faile you.

Witnesse Our selfe, the day of in the yeare of Our reigne the fourteenth.

An-

Another manner there is of creating of Barons by Charter: whereof this is the forme.

**E**LIZABETH by the Grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, *Queen, Defendresse of the Faith, &c.* Vnto all Archbishops, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, Bishops, Barons, Knights, Governours, Free-borne men, and all our Officers, Ministers, and Subiects, whomsoever, vnto whom these present Letters shall come, greeting. Wee well perceiue and see the hight and tipe of our Royall Dignity, not onely to be beautified, but encreased also, whilst the titles of honors, are by vs conferred vnto men for their vertues renowned, and in our most weighty affaires well experienced. For Wee thinke our Royall Crowne to be so much the more adorned and enriched, when as Wee call and promote graue and wise Men, especially such as are for the Nobility of their soules famous, and for their wisdom renowned and mighty, into part of our Royall carefull selfe, vnto the degrees of Honour and Dignity, and the government of the Common-weale. Wherefore, Wee considering the long seruite, which our well-beloued and faithfull Councillor, William Cecil, our principall Secretary hath many waies done, as well in the time of our Progenitors, Kings of this kingdome, as also his faithfull, and most pleasing loyalty towards vs at all times, euen from the first beginning of our Reigne, not onely in the notable and graue affaires of Councill, but beside also, hath not ceased daily to doe, in all other expeditions for our Kingdome in general: and also the circumspection, courage, wisdom, dexterity, integrity, providence, care, and fidelity of him the saide William Cecil, towards vs, our Crowne and Dignity.

Know you therefore, that Wee of our speciall Grace, certayne knowledge, and meercion, haue set, giuen, and in our Countie of Northampton promoted, made, and created, and by the tenor of these presents, do set, ordaine, and create him the aforesaide William Cecil, vnto the state, degree, dignity, and honor, of Baron of Burghley: and vnto the saide William, haue imposed, giuen, and granted, and by these presents, doe impose, giue, and

grant, the Name, Stile, and Title of the Baron of Burghley. To haue, and to hold, the same State, Degree, Dignity, Stile, Title, Name, and Honour, vnto him the aforesaide William, and the heyres male issue of his body for euer. Willing, and by these presents for vs, Our heyres and Successors granting, that the aforesaide William, and his heyres male aforesaide, may successively leare and haue, and euery one of them may haue and beare the said Name, State, Degree, Stile, Dignity, Title, and Honour: and may be called and stiled, and euery one of them may be called and stiled by the name of the Baron of Burghley. And that he the saide William and his heyres male aforesaide, shall successively in all things, be holden for Barons of Burghley, and shall be used and reputed, & that euery one of them shall be used, holden, and reputed, as Barons. And that the saide William, and his heyres male aforesaide, may haue, hold, and possesse, and their heyres male also aforesaide, and euery one of them may as Barons, haue, hold, and possesse a seate place, and voice in our Parliaments and Councels, amongst other Barons, within our kingdome of England. And also the saide William, and his heyres male aforesaide, may haue, enioy, and vse, and euery one of them, shall by the name of the Baron of Burghley, haue, enioy, & vse, all the Rights, Priuileges, Preheminences, and Immunities, of right and lawfully belonging vnto the state of a Baron in all things; which other the Barons of our said Kingdome of England, in former times, in better sort, more honourably and more quietly, used and enioyed, or at this present doe enioy and vse: and this without any fine or fee, great or small, to be therefore to our vse in any wise giuen paide, or made into our Housery of our Chancery, or elsewhere, for that expresse mention of the certainty of the premises, or of any of them, &c. These being witnesses. The most reuerend father in Christ, Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, our welbeloued & faithfull Councillor, Nicholas Bacon knight, Keeper of our great Seale of England, and also our welbeloued Councillors and Councillors, William Marquess of Northampton, Henry Earle of Arundell, Thomas Earle of Suffex, President of our Councell in the North parts of our kingdome, Henry Earle of Huntingdon, Ambrose Earle of Warwick, Master of the Chancery, Francis Earle of Bedford, Robert Earle of Leicester, Master of our

Horse,

*Horfe, Walter Vicount Hereford, Anthoine Vicount Mountague: And also the reuerend Fathers in Christ, Edwin byshop of London, Nicholas byshop of Worcester, Edmund byshop of Rochester, William byshop of Chester: And also our wel-beloued and faithfull William Lord Lumley, James Lord Mountjoy, Henrie Lord Cromwel, Thomas Lord Paget, Roger Lord North. And our welbeloued & faithfull Counsellors, Francis Knols, knight, Treasurer of our household, &c. James Crofts Knight, Master Controller of our household, &c. Given vnder our hand at Westminster, the 25. of February, in the 23. yeare of our reigne. By the Queene her selfe, according to the aforesaid date, by the authority of the Parliament.*

*The rites and Ceremonies vsed in Creating Barons by Charter.*

**W**illiam Cicill Knight, attired in a robe and Mantle, and in this forme brought forth, the xv. day of Februarie, the xiii. yeare of the reigne of Queene Elizabeth, was in the royall Palace at Westminster, in a great assembly of Courtiers, made Baron of Burghley. First, the Heralds go before, by two and two together, whom Garter alone followeth, carrying in his handes the Royall Charter; *Henry Cary*, Baron of *Hunsdon*, carried the Barons Cloake: after whome followed *William Cicill* Knight, in the midst, betwixt *Edward* Baron *Clinton*, on the right hand, and *William Brooke* Baron *Cobham* on the lefte: who entering into the Chamber of salutation (which wee commonly call the *Presence Chamber*) & making there obedience thrice, approached vnto her royall Maiesty, where Garter first deliuered the Charter to the Earle of *Sussex*, then being Chamberlain of the Queenes house, who gaue the same vnto the Queene, and the againe deliuered the same vnto *John Wolley* Esquire, to be read: VVhere, at the word (*Inuestiuium*, or we haue inuested) the Queen put vpon him the Barons Cloake; and the Charter being read, pronounced him the sayde *William Cicill*, Baron of *Burghley*, and his heyres male after him, as is before declared.

VVhich thing being done, the charter

was againe deliuered vnto the Queene, who forthwith gaue it to the Baron to be kepte; who at length, after most great thanks giuen her, for the honour by him receiued, in his honourable attire, with a great noise and sound of Trumpets, departed to dinner, euen in the same manner that he came in.

After mid dinner, Garter with the rest of the Queenes Heralds, coming neere vnto the Table, and hauing first altogether cryed aloud, *Largesse*, forthwith proclaimed the Queens stile in *Latine*, *French* and *English*, and so with-drawing themselves a little farther off, and againe repeating *Largesse*, he repeated the stile of the new Baron in these words: *Diu tresnoble Seigneur Guillaume Cicil Cheualier, Baron de Burghley*: and so hauing done their obedience, and altogether crying twice *Largesse*, they departed.

*The manner and forme of admitting of Barons by Rescript or Writ.*

**H**is (I say) is the manner of creating of the Named Nobility, by royall Charters: now a fewe things remaine, to shew how the newe Barons are by VVrits of Summons chosen into the Parliaments: and in what sort they being thither called, are there placed. The forme of the writ wee haue before shewed, and the forme of theyr Admission is this.

*Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheney*, & *Henry Norreys* Knights, were by writs, called to be present at the Parlement at Westminster, vpon Thursday the 8. day of May, in the 14. yeare of the reigne of *Queen Elizabeth*, vpon which day, after that the Nobles were set on their seats, these three attending without, were by turnes in this manner brought in, and admitted into the vpper house. Garter K. at Armes, came before bare-headed, hauing on his royall coat, whom two of the last made Barons, attyred in their Cloaks, robes, and Mantles followed, bringing in the knight that was to be in his new honour inuested, in the middle betwixt them. Him at length they bring vnto the Chancellor, vnto whom the Knight hauing made once or twice Obedyance, deliuereth his *Writ of Sum-*

*mons*

*mons* to be read, wherein he declareth by what power & authority he is come thither: the Chancellor after the writ read with great courtesie welcomming him, dismisth the new Baron (in his Barons attire) to take his place, which place (Garter going before them) they shewe vnto him: but the writ is by the Chancellour deliuered vnto the Cleeke of the Parlia-

ment to be laid vp.

In the like manner were the other two Knights afterward brought in and admitted, and in their due order in their seats placed. So they which entred into the Parliament but Knights onely, goe out thence and are so accounted Barons, and enioy the like honor with the rest of the Barons of the kingdome.

### The habit wherein a Baron of England, is inuested.

BARO



## CHAP. VII.

*The Kings Charter for the Creating of a Vicount.*

The Copy of the L. Patents of K. Henrie the VI. creating Jo. Beaumont, vicount of Beaumont.

**H**enry, by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Lord of Ireland, &c. To all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sherifffes, Gouernors, Bayliffes, Ministers, and other his faithfull Subiects, vnto whome, &c. *Greeting.* Know you, that we, when as wee see it to befeeme our Maiestie, with principall honors to promote them, who with dutifull seruice dayly attend vs, especially in such things which proceed from our meere Prerogative & gracious bounty; and them chiefly, whom the remembrance of their fathers and former Ancestors hath ennobled, and the merites of their owne vertues haue with manifest obedience and loyalty graced: that vertue so rewarded, may in it selfe be strengthened, and withall allure many vnto virtuous actions.

Heereof it is, that wee considering the Noble descent of our most dearly beloved cosine *John Lord of Beaumont*, & the good seruices which his Ancestors faithfully performed vnto our Progenitours, together with the most acceptable Offices which he euen from his infancy, hath hitherto commendably done vnto vs, and yet dayly performeth, as he desireth hereafter to continue the same, and to doe vs so much the more better honour: VVee of our especiall Grace, in this our present Parliament, giue vnto the aforesaid *John Lord of Beaumont* our cosine, and the heires male of his bodie, the name of the *Vicount of Beaumont*; and do really inuest

him the faide *John*, with the Armes of the *Vicount of Beaumont*, and assigne vnto him in our Parliaments, Councils, and other assemblies, a place aboue all the other Barons in our Kingdome. Vnto whom as it shall be more fit, and as it is shewed in the very State of a Vicount aforesayde, wee of our meere motion and bountie, haue giuen and graunted for vs and our heyres, as much as in vs is, vnto the aforesaid *John* and his heyres, together with the Name, Armes, and place aforesaid, twentie Markes to be yearly receiued vnto him, and to his heires male yssuing out of his owne body, out of the former illues and profits, of our countie of *Lincolne* to bee paid by the hands of the Sherifffe of the sayde county for the time beeing, at the Termes of Easter and S. Michael, by equal portions. To haue & to hold to him and his heires aforesaid, the Name, armes, place, and twenty Marks as aforesaid for euer; for that expresse mention, &c. VVitnesse our selfe at *Redding*, the twelfth of February, in the eighteenth yeare of our reigne.

By the Writ of our Primate Seale.



Here is so great a similitude and likeness in the Rites and ceremonies in creating of a Vicount, with thoe which are vsed in the creating of a Baron, as that but chaunging such things as are of necessity to be changed, a man would thinke them almost the very same. But this difference there onely is; that a Baron is conducted betwixt two Barons, whereas a Vicount hath an Earle on his right hand, and a Baron on his left (in case there want Vicounts) to conduct him, and is by halfe a gard vpon his shoulder aboue a Baron, as by the Picture following in the next Page appeareth.

The

The rites and ceremonies of creating a Vicount.

VICE-COMES



Tt

CHAP.



## CHAP. XIII.

The Royall Charter for the creating  
of an Earle.

The Copie of  
the Letters  
patents of Q.  
Elizabeth,  
creating Wal-  
ter Deuereux  
earle of Essex.

**E**lizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Defenderre of the faith, &c. Vnto all and singular Archbishops, Dukes, Marqueses, Earles, Vicounts, Bishops, Barons, and all others, vnto whom &c. Greeting. Seeing that they whom the Diuine providence hath put and placed in a Monarchy and Royall Seate, that they being as it were the Lieutenants of him that heavenly Monarch, vpon earth, may well, vprightly, religiously, decently, and wholefomly rule, gouerne and maintaine, whatsoever is to their custody and gouernment by God himselfe giuen and committed: and that the Monarchs in their Monarchies, represent the same thing that the eyes do in the body, whose office it is to direct all the members of the body: Monarchs and Princes therefore as eyes of the Commonweale, ought diligently to intend, to looke about, and to search into all States and degrees of their Empire, without which wee must needs confesse, no ciuill administration, or politickal gouernement, to be possibly made or framed. And so necessary is the preservation of orders and degrees of men in great Empires, as that after they once see the Nobility of the States and Degrees, broken, rent, impaired, or shaken, or (as many things happen after the manner of men) by death afflicted or weakened, they ought with all speed to amend, repaire, increase, and augment the same: so that others, whom both their owne vertues and the glory of their Stocke and Ancestors hath ennobled, being called vnto Nobilitie and honour, the glorie of Degrees and States may for euer in the glorie and brightnesse thereof bee preferred and kept. Wherefore wee now seeing one honourable and glorious order of Nobilitie amongst the rest to growe few; and knowing right well our most famous and renowned Cousin Wal-

ter Vicount Hereford, Knight of our most Noble order of the Garter, Lord Fersers of Chartley, worthily and valiantly to haue for vs behaued himselfe in that seditious tumult of wicked Traytors and Rebels, raised of most wicked and vagabond men in the North parts of our kingdom: In which tumult and power of armed Traytors, a most great and horrible danger was, not vnto our Kingdome onely, but euen vnto our person also intended: so that partly by his conduct, nor onelie the cruell furie and rage of the fraytours and Rebels, was there in that place repressed, but many of the Rebels also were vnto our obedience reduced, and to the state of our Kingdome before sore troubled, became againe to be well quieted and pacified.

Wee therefore, for these causes and things by him so worthily performed, willing to promote him the sayde Walter vnto the State, Honour and Dignitie, of the Earle of Essex: and for that the aforesayde Walter is descended of the Noble Stocke and Family of the Bourchiers, late Earles of Essex, & is by the common Law of our Kingdome, next heire vnto Henry Bourchier late Earle of Essex. Know you, that wee of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, & meere motion, haue erected, created & promoted the said Walter to be Earle of Essex; and also to the state, degree, dignity and honour of the Earle of Essex: and by the Tenour of these presents, do erect, create, and promote him to be Earle of Essex. And vnto the same Walter haue impos'd giuen, and bestowed the name, stile, and title of the Earle of Essex; and by these presents, do impose, giue, and bestow the same. And him the said Walter, in such the state, stile, honour, and dignity of the Earle of Essex, by the girding vnto him of a sword, and the putting on of a Cap of Honour, and a Coronet of gold, do grace, enuelt and really ennoble by these presents. To haue and to hold the state, degree, dignitie, stile, name, and honour of the Earle of Essex aforesaid, with all and singular the preeminences, honours, and other such things whatsoever vnto the state of an Earle appertaining or belonging, vnto the aforesayd Walter, and the heires male issuing from his bodie for euer. Willing, and by these presents, granting for vs, our

heires,

heires & successors, that the said Walter, and his heires male aforesaid, shall the name, state, degree, dignity, stile, and honour aforesaid, successively haue & beare: and shall by the name of the Earle of Essex aforesaid, be called, and stiled, and euery one of them shall be called & stiled. And that the said Walter and his heires aforesaid, shall in all things successively be holden, vsed, and reputed, and euery one of them shall be holden, vsed, and reputed, as Earles of Essex. And the said Walter and his heires male, shall haue, hold, and possesse, and euery one of them shall haue, holde, and possesse a place in our Parliaments, and in the Parliaments of our Heires and Successours within our Kingdome of England, among the other earles, as earle of Essex; and in such sort, as the aforesayde Henrie Bourchier, late earle of Essex had, held, and possessed the same.

And the said Walter also, and his heires aforesaid, shall enioy and vse, and exercise one of them by the name of the earle of Essex, shall enioy and vse all & euery the rights, priuileges, preeminences, and immunities in all things orderly and of right vnto the state of an Earle belonging; and which other earles in all things, orderly & of right, haue before these times, in better wise more honourably and quietly vsed and enioyed, or do at this present enioy and vse.

And for because, that as the height of State and Honour encrease, so greater charges and burdens necessarily encrease also: and that hee the sayd Walter and his heires aforesaid, and euery one of them may the better, more seemely, and honourably maintaine & support the aforesaid state of the earle of Essex, and the burdens lying vpon him the said Walter and his heires: We therefore of our more abundant grace, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt, for vs, our heires and successors, vnto the aforesaid Walter, and his heires aforesaid, for euer, twenty pound of Fee, or yearly rent, to be yearly receiued, of the issues, profits, and reuenues, of our great and little Custome and Subsidie graunted vnto vs, or hereafter to be graunted vnto vs, our heires and successors, arising, growing, or coming, within the Port of our honorable Citie of London, by the

hands of our Customers and Collectors, or the Customer and Collectors of our Heyres and Successors there, for the time being, at the Tearmes of S. Michael, and Easter, by euen portions, to be euery year payed. By reason that expresse mention of the true yearly valour, or of any other valour or certainty of the premises, or of any of the, or of any other gifts or grants by vs, or any of our Progenitors, before these times made vnto the aforesaid Walter earle of Essex, in these presents appeareth not: or any Statute, Ordinance, Act, Prouision, Proclamation, or restriction to the contrary therof, before had, made, set forth, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any thing notwithstanding.

These being VVitnesses. Our faithfull Councillor, Nicholas Bacon knight, Keeper of our great Seale of england: and our most wel beloued Cousins, Edward earle of Oxford, Lord Chamberlaine of england, Reinold earle of Kent, William earle of Worcester, knight of the most Noble order of the Garter, Henry earle of Rutland, Thomas earle of Suffex, of our aforesaid order of the Garter knight, and President of our Councill in the North parts of our kingdom of england: Henry earle of Huntingdon, of the aforesaid Order, &c. Ambrose earle of Warwicks, of the aforesaid Order, &c. Edward earle of Hertford, Robert earle of Leicester, of the Order aforesaid, &c. Thomas Vicount Bindon. And also the reuerend Fathers in Christ, Edmund Bishop of Sarum, & Edmund Bishop of Rochester, our Almoner, And also our wel-beloued and faithfull, William Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Chamberlaine of our House, of the Order of the Garter aforesaid, &c. William Lord of Burghley, our principall Secretary of the Order aforesaid, &c. Henry Lord Strange, Arthur Lord Gray of Wilton, of the order aforesaid: William Lord Sanders, Edward Lord Windsor, Thomas Lord Wharton, Robert Lord Rich, Thomas Lord Paget, John Lord Darcey of Chiche, Robert Lord North, Edmund Lord Chandos, of the aforesaid Order of the Garter, &c. Thomas Lord of Buckburff, William Lord Deleware, Barons, Francis Kneller knight, Treasurer of our House, James Crestes, Knight, Controuller of our House. And our wel-beloued and faithfull

T c 2 Henry

*Henry Sidley* Knight of the aforeſayd Order, &c. and Lord *Preſident* of our Council in the Marches of *Wales*: *William Cordell* Knight, Maſter of the Rolles of our Chancery, and others. Given under our hand, at our Mannour of *Greenwich*, the fourth day of May, in the fourteenth year of our reigne. 1572.

## CHAP. IX.

## The Rites and Ceremonies of creating of an Earle.

**T**He ſame *Walter Deuereux*, Baron *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, & *Vicount Hereford*, hauing on an inner Gowne of purple like, and covered with a Robe of Eſtate, & a velvet Mantell of the ſame colour, and going in the middle betwixt the eble of *Suſſex* on his right hand, and the earle of *Huntingdon* on his left, both of them in their Robes was conducted from the Queens Chappell vnto the Queens preſence. Next before him went the earle of *Leiceſter*, carrying a *Cap of Eſtate*, an *Imperiall Coronet of Gold*: & the earle of *Bedford* on the left hand, bearing before him a Sword, with the Hilt vpward. Before theſe alſo went *Garter*, the chiefe *K. of Armes* with the Charter alone, and before him al the reſt of the *Heralds*, by two & two together. When they were now come vnto the Chamber of Preſence, after they had thence made their moſt lowe obeiſſance, with ſome little ſpace betwixt, they drew neare vnto the Queene then ſitting in her Chaire of Eſtate, where the aforeſaid *Walter* kneeled downe, the reſt ſtanding by. There the Charter was firſt deliuered vnto the Queene, who gaue it to *William Cecil*, Baron of *Burgley*, who deliuered the ſame vnto *William Cordell* Knight, Maſter of the Rolles, to read it aloud. Where at theſe words (in the Charter) *Gl'ia in excelsis*, the Queen put about his necke a Sword, hanging ouerthwart towards his left hand: and at theſe words *Cappa & Circuli aurei*, ſhe alſo put vpon his head a Cap, with a little Coronet. And afterward reading that which was left, pronounced him the ſaid *Walter* before *Vicount Hereford*, now created erle of *Essex*, for him and his heires male, as in

the Charter it ſelfe before ſer downe more at large appeareth. Theſe things being done, the ſame Maſter of the Rolles (in ſtead of the Secretary, for the helping of whom he had read the charter) deliuered it to the Earle of *Oxford*, Great Chamberlaine of England: but he deliuered it vnto the Queene, who alſo gaue the ſame vnto the Earle of *Essex* to be kept. But he after great thanks, with greateſt humility giuen, withdrew himſelfe aſide among the other Noblemen ſtanding there by, expecting another coming to be created earle. In like maner, & at the ſame time alſo, *Edward Baron of Clynton* and *Say*, and *Admirall of England*, was for himſelfe and his heyres male, created earle of *Lincoln*.

Theſe things altogether finiſhed, they departed in the ſame order that they came in, with the Trumpets alond ſounding, whom the Heralds receiued. *Garter* went before, whom the new Earles followed in the middle, betwixt the Earles of *Suſſex* and *Huntingdon*. And being ſo attired in the Ornament of their creations, were conducted to dinner into a dining Chamber prepared for the ſame purpoſe. Where, after they had ſit a ſpace, at the coming in of the ſecond courſe, *Garter* with the reſt of the Heralds entring into the dining Chamber, crying aloud, *Largeſſe*; he alone proclaimed the Queens ſtile, firſt in Latine, after in *Frenche*, and thirdly in engliſh: and hauing twice repeated the word *Largeſſe*, & withdrawing themſelues a little farther from the Table, proclaimed the ſtile of theſe laſt created Earles, in french and engliſh in theſe words.

*Du tres hault et Puissant Seigneur Gautier d'Enverux Comte de Essex, Vicount Hereford, Baron Ferrers de Chartley, et Cheualier du tres noble ordre de la Jarretiere.*

Of the moſt high and mighty Lord, *Walter of Enverux*, earle of *Essex*, *Vicount Hereford*, Baron *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, and Knight of the moſt honourable order of the *Garter*.

*Du tres hault et puissant Sir Edouarde Conte de Lincoln, Baron de Clynton et Say, grand Admirall d'Angleterre, et Cheualier de tres noble ordre de la Jarretiere.*

Of the moſt high & puſſant, Sir *Edward*, earle of *Lincoln*, Baron of *Clynton* & *Say*, great Admirall of England, & knight of the moſt noble order of the *Garter*.

The

## The habit and attire wherein an Earle of England is invested.



## CHAP. X.

¶ The Kings Charter concerning the creating of a Marquess.



The Letters Patents wherby King Edward created Tho Grey Marquess Dorset.

Edward by the grace of God, King of England & of France, Lord of Ireland, &c. Vnto all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sherifes, Governours, Ministers, Bailives, and all his faithfull Subiects; greeting. Know you, that forasmuch as our Royall Maiesty, after most great victories obtained ouer our enemies, is by the power of Almighty God promoted vnto the Regall Dignitie, and our Hereditary Royall seate: and lest that so great glorie of our Name, should euen in the verie rising thereof, for want of Children, faile; it came most happily to passe, that we were in lawfull marriage ioyned vnto our best beloued wife, Elizabeth, Queene of England, of whom we haue raised certaine more strong stayes of our future Royall Posterity; that is to say, Edward our eldest Sonne, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Chester; Richard Duke of Shrewsbury and of Yorke; with a notable encrease of other our Children also: which thing greatly both perswadeth and enforceth vs, euen from our heart, to giue the greatest thanks wee possibly can, vnto the most glorious and high GOD, Defender of our Royall right, and Reuenger of our wrongs; and with gracious fauours to prosecute, and with greater honour and fauour to grace and beautifie her the same our wife, hauing of vs best deserued, and all her Progeny. But to the intent that our first begotten Sonne aforesayd, and the rest of our best beloued Children, compassed about with the faithfull, trusty, and sure strength of their neare and deare friends, as it were with certaine walles, may the more strongly be defended; we will not passe ouer vnrewarded, Thomas Grey their Brother by the Mothers side; whose noble Stocke, exceeding towardlineffe, worthy valour, but most of all, whose honourable vertues, we with the sincere affection of loue embrace: for

why it seemes a thing most certain, them being brought vp in naturall society, and bound together with that sweete remembrance, them to haue dwelt in the same dwelling place before they were borne, to beare a certaine common and especial loue amongst themselves for euer: and that they who in so strait a degree of consanguinity & loue are ioyned together, if any one of them should bee of so small dignity and reputation, as that for power they should not be able honourably to serue his greater kinsman when he ought so to do: we thinke it not vnbecoming vs to provide therefore, so as shall best seeme vs. And therefore we willing that the sayde Thomas should bee promoted with a greater patrimony, and more notable Titles of honour and dignity, that so he may stand in better stead, and become a greater Ornament vnto vs, our Children, and the Common-weale: of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, & merer motion, do ordaine, make, and create him the said Thomas, to be Marquess Dorset: and also by these presents vnto the said Thomas, giue and grant, the stile, honour, state, title and dignity of Marquess Dorset: and by the Girding vnto him of a Sword, and by the putting on of a Cap of Honour, do inuest him of the stile, title, name and honour of Marquess of the place aforesayd; together with all the prerogatiues vnto the same honour and dignity appertaining and belonging. To haue and to hold the said name, stile, honour, state, title, and dignity of Marquess Dorset, together with all the appurtenances, dignities, and other things whatsoever, vnto the state of a Marquess of our kingdom of England, as well in our Sessions, Parliaments and Councells, and of our heires, or otherwise howsoever it be vnto the same honour and dignity appertaining and belonging, vnto the aforesayde Thomas and his heyres male issuing out of his body for euer. And also of our more plentifull grace we haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents do giue and graunt vnto the aforesayd Marquess towards the supportation of the sayde name, stile, honour, state, title and dignity, 35. pounds of lawfull money of England. To be had, leuied & receiued yearly vnto the sayd Marquess, and the same his heires aforesayd, (viz.) twenty pounds there-

## CHAP. XI.

¶ The Kings Charter for the creating of a Marchionesse.



The Letters Patents wherby King Henry the eighte graced Anne Rochford Daughter to Thomas earle of Wiltshire and of Ormond, with the Ticker Marchionesse of Pembroke.

thereof to bee had and receiued vnto the said Marquess and the same his heyres, of the Fee-farme of the Towne of Dorset, by the hands of the Bourgeses of the said Towne for the time being, at the tearmes of S. Michael, and of Easter, by equall portions. And the other fifteene pounds the remainder thereof, to bee had and receiued yearly vnto the said Marquess, and his heyres aforesayd, of all the Customes and Subsidies, to vs already granted, or to be granted, and of eyther of the, and of euery part, or of euery parcell of the same, comming and growing in that Port of our Towne of Southampton, by the hands of our Customers or Collectors, or of our heyres in the Port for the time being, at the aforesayde Tearmes by equal portions. For because that expresse mention of the true yearly valour of the premises, or any of them, or of any other gifts or grants vnto the said Thomas, before these times by vs made, is not in these presents made: or any statute, acte, or ordinance to the contrary, made, set forth, or ordained: or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever notwithstanding: and these things without any fee thereupon, to our vse in any wise to be payed. These being Witneses: Our most famous first begotten Sonne, Edward Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Chester, and of Flint. The most reuerend Fathers, Thomas, Cardinall and Archbishop of Canterbury, & George, Archbishop of Yorke. Our most renowned Brethren, George Duke of Clarence, and Richard Duke of Gloucester: and the right reuerend Fathers, Thomas Bishop of Lincolne, our Chancellor of England: and Thomas Bishop of Hereford. Our wel-beloued Coosins, William Arundell, Henry Essex, Treasurers of England, and Anthony Rivers Earles. And the welbeloued and faithfull Clarke, our Elquire John Russell, Doctor of Law, & keeper of our priuate Seale: And also our welbeloued and faithfull Thomas Stanley, & William Hastings, Knights: with others. Given vnder our hand at Westminster, the XVIII. day of April, in the XV. yeare of our Reigne.

By Letters of our priuate Seale, and of the Date of these presents, before the Parliaments.

HENRY by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Defender of the Faith: & Lord of Ireland: to all and singular Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sherifes, Governours, Ministers, and all Bailives, & others his faithfull Subiects: Greeting. Know you, that forasmuch as a Royall Seate, & the height of regal dignity, with the greater State and Maiesty, consisteth in the multitude of persons of both Sexes, as well of men as women: and that the gouernment of our kingdom is so much the more, with the more excellent honour strengthened, by how much the more noble States, and higher Dignity of both Sexes are vnder it, or support it. VVee therefore vnto the premises directing our sight, and willing to establish our Royall Scepter with the encrease of Nobles, and especially such as are from Royall race descended. For a Royall Seate once placed, is with the presence of many Princes to be attended. VVherefore vpon this consideration, as well for the Nobility of her Stocke, as for the excellency of her vertues and conditions; and other the shewes of her honesty & goodnesse, worthily to be commended. VVee by the content of the Nobility of our kingdom then present, make, create, and ennoble; and by these presents make, create, and ennoble our Coosin Anne Rochford, one of the Daughters of our wel-beloued Coosin Thomas, Earle of Wiltshire, and of Ormond: Keeper of our priuate Seale, to be Marchionesse of Pembroke: and also by the putting on of a Mantle, and the setting of a Coronet of gold vpon her head, as the manner is, do really inuest vnto her the Name, Title, State, Stile, Honour, Authority, and Dignity, and other the rest of the Honour, vnto the same belonging and annexed.

To haue and to hold the Name, Stile, Title,

Title, State, Honor, Authority, and Dignity of the Marchionesse of *Penbrooke* vnto the aforesaid *Anne*, and the Heyres male yssue of her body for ever. And to the intent, that the sayd *Anne* as becometh the name of the Marchionesse of *Penbrooke*, & the Nobility of her state may the more decently and honorably, maintaine and support the burthens to be laid vpon her, we haue giuen and granted, & by this present Charter doe giue, grant, and confirme vnto the said *Anne*, and her heires aforesaid, thirty and fiue poundes yearly, to be receiued to her & her heires aforesaid, of the firme rents, issues, reuentions, obventions, profits, and emoluments, of our Countie of *Penbrooke* aforesaid, arising and growing, as well by the hands of the Sheriffe of that Countie for the time being, as by the hands of the Bayliffes, Farmers, or other occupiers of our Countie aforesaid whosoever, at the Termes of *Saint Michael* the Archangell, and of *Easter*, by equall portions to bee paid. For that expresse mention of the true yearly valew, or of other giftes or grants by vs, vnto the aforesaid *Anne* in former times made, in these presents appeareth not, or any statute, act, ordinance or prouision to the contrary therof made, set forth, or prouided, or any other thing or matter whatsoever, in any thing notwithstanding. These being Witnesse. The most reuerend Father in Christ, *Ed.* Archbishop of *Yorke*, and the Reuerend Father in Christ, *Step.* Bishop of *Winchester* our Secretary, and *John* Bishoppe of *London*, And also our wel-beloued cosins *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, our Treasurer of *England*, and *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*, Earle *Marshall*, *Thomas* Earle of *Wiltshire*, Keeper of our priuate Seale: *John* Earle of *Oxford*, our Chamberlaine of *England*: and *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, Steward of our house: *Thomas Audley* Knight, keeper of our great Seale: *William Sandes* of *Fine*, Knights Chamberlaine of our House: and *Walter Deuerex* of *Ferrers* Knight, Barons: *William Fitz Williams*, Treasurer of our house: and *William Pawler*, controller of our house, Knights: and others. Giuen vnder our hand, at our Castle of *Windsor*, the first day of September, and in the 24. yeare of our reigne.

*The Rites and Ceremonies vsed in Creating of a Marchionesse.*

THIS *Anne* the daughter of *Thomas* Earle of *Wiltshire*, and of *Ormond*, vpon a Sunday, viz. the first day of Septemb. 1552. in the 24. yeare of King *Henry* the eight, was at *Windsore* in this manner inueiled.

The King himselfe attended vpon with the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Marquesses, Earles, Barons, and other the Great estates of the Kingdome, together with the French Ambassador, and some of the Priuy Counsell, went into the Chamber of *Salutation*, which they commonly call *The Presence*, and there sate him downe in his chaire of *Estate*. Vnto the which place the aforesaid *Anne* was conducted with a great traine of Noble Courtiers, both men and women. The *Lords* went foremost, *Carl* K. of *Heralds*, first carrying the Kings Chamber. After whom, the Noble Lady *Mary*, daughter to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, vpon her left arme, carried a robe of estate of Crimson Veluet, lined with Ermins, and in her right hand a *Coronet of Gold*. Her, the aforesaid *Anne* followed, with her hayre loose, and hanging down vpon her shoulders, attired in her inner garment (which they call a *Surcoat*) of Crimson Veluet, lined with Ermins also, with straine sleeves, going in the middelt betwixt *Elizabeth*, Countesse of *Rutland* on her right hand; and *Dorothy*, Countesse of *Suffex* on her left; whom many Noble Ladies & Gentlewomen followd. But she being brought towards the Kings Royall Seate, thither made her obeyfance, and comming vnto the King fell downe vpon her knees. The King gaue the Charter before deliuered vnto him, vnto the Bishop of *Winchester* his Secretary to be read, which as he was reading aloud at these words *Montella in ductionem* (in the Charter) the King put vpon *Anne* the Marchionesse the Robe of estate, deliuered him by the Lady *Mary*; and at the wordes *Circuli aurei*, put also vpon her head a *Coronet of Gold*. At length, the Charter being read, the King gaue vnto her two Charters, viz. the one, of the creating of her to bee a Marchionesse, and to the heyres male yssue out of her body for ever. And another, for the receiuing of a thousand poundes reuenew yearly, for the maintining of that her dignity. All which thinges at length performed, she gaue the King most humble thanks, and so hauing on her Robe of

*Estates,*

*Estates*, and a *Coronet* vpon her head, with the Trumpets aloud sounding, departed.

THE Rites and Ceremonies for creating of a *Marquesse*, altogether agree with those vsed in creating of a *Duke*

changing onely such thinges as are of necessity to be changed, but that *Marquesses* haue a *Marquesse* and an *Earle* to conduct them at their creating: the rest of the difference is out of the portraiture beneath set, as followeth.

### The Rites and Ceremonies in creating of a MARQUESS. MARCHIO



## CHAP. XIII.

*The Kings Charter for the creating of a Duke.*

**E**DWARD by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, King: Defender of the Faith, &c. to all Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sherifffes, Gouvernors, Ministers, and to all Bishops, and other his faithfull Subjects, &c. Greeting. Seeing that there is nothing which more becometh a Prince, then to shew himselfe bountifull and libe- rall, especially vnto such as haue of him well deserued, & good seruices vnto him performed: wee therefore reuoluing in our minde, with how many, how great & worthy seruices our most deare and well-beloued Vnkle Edward, earle of *Hertford* hath honoured vs: wee haue therefore thought him worthy, whom wee should promote vnto an higher degree of honour and dignity: neyther can we but for such his great deserts towards vs, but in some part with due deserts againe require him. Know you therefore, that wee of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, & meere motion, and by the aduice of our Councell, do create, ennoble, make and ordaine, him the aforesaid earle, to bee Duke of *Somerfet*. And by these presents, giue and grant vnto him the saide earle, the name, title, state, stile, honour, authority, & dignity, of the D. of *Somerfet*: and him of that name, with the title, state, honor, authority, & dignity, & other honors to the same belonging & annexed, by the giving vnto him of a sword, and by the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet of gold upon his head, do really inuest. To haue and to hold the name, stile, state, honour, authority, and dignity, of the Duke of *Somerfet* to our aforesaid Vnkle, and to the heyres male of his owne body, and of the body of *Anne*, now his wife, already begotten, and of the body of the same *Anne* hereafter to be begotten. And if it shall happen the saide Duke to dye without heyre male begotten, or hereafter to bee

begotten of his body, and the body of the saide *Anne* now his wife: VVee will and grant, that if by the death of him the saide Duke, the heyres male of his body, and of *Anne* now his wife shall decease or dye, then *Edward Seymour* Esquire, the saide Dukes Sonne of the body of *Katharine* the first wife of him the saide Duke deceased, shall be Duke of *Somerfet*, and shall beare, haue, hold, and enjoy vnto him the aforesaid *Edward Seymour*, and the heyres male from the body of him, the same *Edward* lawfully descended, the name, state, title, honour, authority, and dignity of the Duke of *Somerfet*, with all the honours vnto the saide Dukedome appertaining & annexed. And also by the giving vnto him of a sword, and the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet of gold upon his head, and by the deliuering vnto him of a golden verge, shall be thereof really inuested. And if it shall happen the aforesaid *Edward* to dye without heyre male of his body lawfully begotten, then we will, and grant, that the heyre of the now Duke of his body lawfully begotten, by any other his wife which he shall hereafter marry, shall bee Duke of *Somerfet*, and shall beare, haue, and enjoy the same, vnto him & his heyres male, lawfully begotten. And also the state, title, honour, dignity, and authority of the Duke of *Somerfet*, with all the honours vnto the saide Duke appertaining & annexed. And also by the giving vnto him of a sword, and by the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet upon his head, and the deliuering of a golden verge vnto him, shall therein be royally inuested. And that the same Duke and his heyres aforesaid, may according to the decency of the said name of the Duke of *Somerfet*, and the Nobility of his and their estate, more honourably beare themselves. And that the same *Edward* and his heyres aforesaid, if they shall chance to be Dukes of *Somerfet*, may the more honourably maintaine, and beare the state and honour of the aforesaid name of the Duke of *Somerfet*: and for want of such issue, that then the heyres male of the body of the saide Duke hereafter to bee begotten of the body of any wife, which he shall hereafter marry, may in like maner more honorably beare the state and honour of the aforesaid name of the Duke of *Somerfet*: we haue giuen and graunted, and by this our present Charter,

Charter, giue, graunt, and confirme, for vs our heyres and successours, vnto the aforesaid duke of *Somerfet*, a certaine annual rent of forty pounds, of good and lawfull money of England, issuing out of our Mannor of *Crikerum*, otherwise called *Crokhorne*, *Stokegersey*, *Wikefitzpane*, or of any of them, in our County of *Somerfet*, being late parcel of the possessions of *Henrie late Marquesse of Exceter*, which came vnto the hands of the late most noble and inuincible Prince, King *Henry* the eight, our most renowned father, by reason of the attainder of the said Marques, of high treason attained, and which now are in our hands. To haue, hold, and receiue the aforesaid yearly rent of forty pound, vnto the aforesaid duke of *Somerfet*, and his heyres aforesaid, at the Feasts of the blessed virgin *Mary*, and *Saint Michael* the Archangel, by equall portions, to bee yearly paid by the hands of the Receiuers, Farmers, Tenants, and other whomsoever, Occupiers of four Manors, Lands, and Tenements aforesaid, or of any of them, being parcell of them. And after that, for want of such issue, vnto the aforesaid *Edward*, and the heyres male of his body lawfully begotten. And for defect of such issue, to remaine from thenceforth, vnto the heyres male of the saide Duke of his owne body begotten, by any other his wife, which he shall hereafter marry. And that these our Letters Patents, or the Inrolment of them, vpon the onely shewing of the same, or of the enrolment of them, shall be yearly, and from time to time, as well vnto our Chancellour, and our Councell of our Court of *Augmentation and Reuencion* of our Crowne, for the time being, as vnto all others our Ministers, Receiuers, and other our Officers, their heyres and successours whatsoever for the time being, a sufficient warrant and discharge in this part, for the deliuey and payment of the saide yerly rent of forty pounds, vnto the aforesaid Duke and his heyres aforesaid. And for defect of such issue, vnto the saide *Edward Seymour*, and the heyres male of his body lawfully begotten. And for want of such issue, vnto the heyres of the saide Duke, of his body lawfully begotten, by any other his wife, which he shall hereafter marry. And if it shall happen the saide yerly rent of forty pound, or any part or

parcell thereof to be behind & vnpaid at any of the aforesaid Feasts, in which it ought to be paid as is aforesaid: then we grant for vs, our heyres and successours, vnto the saide Duke, and his heyres aforesaid, and euery one of them: and for lacke of such issue, vnto the saide *Edward Seymour*, and his heyres aforesaid: and for want of such issue, vnto the aforesaid heyres of the saide Duke, whom he shall lawfully beget of the body of any other his wife whom hee shall hereafter marry, and to euery one of them, into the aforesaid Mannors, and euery one of them, and into all and euery the aforesaid Lands and Tenements, or any parcell of the saide Mannors, Lands, or Tenements, to enter, and there to distraine, & the distresses there fo by them, or any of them taken, to diuise, leade, carry away, impound, and with them, and euery one of them to detain, vntill the aforesaid yearly rent of forty pound, together with the arrerages (if any there shall be thereof) shall vnto the aforesaid duke and his heyres aforesaid, or vnto the saide *Edward* or his heyres aforesaid: or the heyres of the saide Duke, or some one of them, be fully and wholly contented and payed, by vs, our heyres and successours, or the assignes of vs, our heyres, or successours. And for that expresse mention, &c. These being VVitnes. The most reuerend Father in Christ, *Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, and our well-beloued and faithfull Councillour, *William Poulet* Knight, Lord *Saint Iohn*, Great Maister of our house, &c. *Iohn Russell* Knight, Lord *Russell* Keeper of our priue Seale: and also our most well-beloued Cozins, *Henry* earle of *Arundell*, and *Francis* earle of *Shrewsburie*, &c. Given vnder our hand at the Tower of London, the sixteenth day of February.

*The first of Edward the first by the King himselfe.*

¶ The

## CHAP. XIII.

*The manner of Creating of a Duke.*

In the year one thousand five hundred forty seven, the xvii. of the Moneth of February, and in the first year of the Reign of Edward the sixth of that name, The Nobility being called together and assembled into the Tower of London. Edward Seymour, the aforesaid Earle of Hertford the kings Viceroy, & Protector of the kingdom, with others promoted vnto the diuers degrees of Nobility, was in this wise created Duke of Somerset. He himselfe being apparelled in an inner Robe of honour, the Herald went before him in their Heraldic coates, the chief of whom, Garter following alone, carried the Charter. The Earles of Shrewsbury and of Oxford, going together, the Earle of Shrewsbury on the right hand, carried a Verge of gold, & the earle of Oxford on the left, carried the Dukes Cap, with a Coronet of gold. Next vnto whom followed the Earle of Arundell, carrying a Sword with the hilts vpward. At length the earle of Hertford himselfe was conducted in the midst, betwixt the

Duke of Suffolke, and the Marquess of Dorchester: When they in this manner, attired in their Robes of honour, were come into the Chamber of Salutation (which they commonly call *The reference Chamber*) they after thrice obeysance made, went vnto the king, sitting in his chayre of Estate: where forthwith the earle kneeled downe, all the rest standing about him, Garter king of Heraldry, deliuered the Charter vnto Baron Poyer, the Kings Secretary, who gaue the same vnto the King, and he deliuered it vnto him againe to be read aloud. And when hee came vnto the words *investimus* (or we haue inuested) the king put a Dukes Mantle vpon the Earle: and at the words (*gladio cincturamus*) girt him with a Sword: at the words (*cappa & circuli aurei impositionem*) the King himselfe in like manner with his owne hand put vpon his head a Cap with a Coronet of gold vpon it: and at length, at those wordes (*virga aurea traditionem*) the King himselfe gaue into his hand, *A verge of gold*: which done, the Secretary read the rest, even vnto the end of the Charter: wherein he pronounced him the saide earle of Hertford to bee Duke of Somerset: at which time, the King forthwith gaue the Charter vnto the Duke to be kept: who after thanks giuen vnto the Kings Maestie for so great an honour and dignity received, in this sort attired, stood by the Chaire of Estate, whilst the Noble-men returned to bring in others, who were also to be created.

The

## The habite and attire of a Duke,





## CHAP. XV.

*The Kings Charter for the creating of the Prince of Wales.*

The Copy of the letters patents of King Henry the 6. creating Edward his first begotten Son Prince of Wales, and Earle of Chester.

**HENRY** by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Lord of Ireland, &c. To all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Vicounts, Gouvernors, Ministers, and to all our Balues, and faithfull Subjects, Greeting. Out of the excellency of Royall preheminence, like as beams from the Sun, so do inferior honours proceed: neyther doth the integrity of the royall luster and brightnesse, by the naturall disposition of the light, affoording light fro light, seele any losse or detriment by such borrowed light: yea, the Royall Scepter is also much the more extolled, and the Regall Throne exalted, by how much the more Nobles, Preheminences, and Honours are vnder the power and command thereof.

And this worthy consideration allureth and induceth vs, which desire the encrease of the Name and Honour of our first begotten and best beloued Sonne, *Edward*, in whom we behold and see our selues to bee honoured, and our royall house also, and our people subiect vnto vs; hoping by the grace of God (by coniecture taken of his gracious future proceeding to be the more honorably strengthened, that wee may with honour preuent, and with abundant grace prosecute him, who in reputation of vs, is deemed the same person with vs. VWherefore, by the Councell and consent of the Prelats, Dukes, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons of our kingdome, being in our present Parliament, we haue made and created, and by these presents make and create him the said *Edward*, Prince of Wales, and Earle of *Chester*. And vnto the same *Edward* we giue and grant, and by this Charter haue confirmed, the Name, Stile, Title, State, Dignity, and the honour of the said Principality and County. And him of the said Principality and County, that hee may therein in gouerning rule, and in ruling, direct and defend, we by a *Garland* upon

his head, by a ring of gold vpon his finger, and a verge of gold, haue according vnto the manner inuested him. To haue and to hold the same vnto him and his heires, the Kings of England for euer. Wherefore, we will, and straightly command, for vs and our heires, that *Edward* our Sonne aforesaid, shall haue the Name, Stile, Title, State, Dignity, and Honour of the Principalltie of Wales, and of the County of *Chester* aforesaid, vnto him and his heires the Kings of England aforesaid, for euer. These being witnesses. The reuerend fathers, *John*, Cardinall and Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all England, our Chancellor, and *William*, Arch-Bishop of *Torke*, Primate of England; *Thomas* Bishop of *London*, and *William* Bishop of *Norwich*: our most wel-beloued Cousins, *Richard* Duke of *Torke*, and *Humphrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, our wel beloued Cousins, *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, *Richard* Earle of *Sarisbury*, *John* Earle of *Wiltshire*, and our beloued and faithfull *Raffe* *Cromwell*, Chamberlain of our house, *William* *Faulconbridge*, and *John* *Stourton* Knights Dated at our Pallace of *Westminster*, the XV. day of *March*, and in the yeare of our Reigne, XXXII.

*By the King himselfe, and his Councell.*

## CHAP. XVI.

*Things required vnto the Creation of the Prince of Wales.*

First, an honorable habite (viz.) a Robe of Purple Veluet hauing in it, about XVIII. elnes, more or lesse, garnished about with a fringe of gold, and lined with *Ermines*.

A Surcoat or inner Gowne, hauing in it about XIII. elnes of Veluet, of like Coulour, Fringe, and Furre.

Laces, Buttons, and Tassels (as they call them) ornaments made of purple silke & gold.

A girdle of silke also, to gird his inner Gowne.

A sword with a scabberd made of purple silke and gold, garnished with the like girdle he is girt withall, thereby shewing himselfe

himselfe to be Duke of *Cornwall* by birth, and not by Creation.

A cap of the same veluet that his Robe is of, furred with *Ermines*, with Laces and a Button, and Tassels on the crowne thereof made of Venice gold.

A garland or a little Coronet of gold, to be put on his head, together with his Cap.

A long golden Verge or Rod, betokening his gouernment.

A Ring of gold also to bee put on the third finger of his left hand, whereby he

declareth his mariage made with *Equity* and *Iustice*.

All these things were almost with Royal sumptuousnesse prepared for *Edward*, Sonne to King *Henry* the eight, to haue beene created Prince of Wales, but prented by his Fathers death, hee was crowhed King; sixt of that Name: yet the forme, with the Rites and Ceremonies belonging to the inuesting of the Prince into the Principality of Wales, you may perceiue, by that which is before declared.

PRINCES WALLIAE



## CHAP. XVII.

## Of the Crowning of the King.

*Concerning Charters & Writs of Summons vnto Parliament, whereby the Kinges of England, onely upon their good liking & meere motion (as they use to say) are wont to conferre Named Nobility, wee haue already spoken: and now at length we are come vnto the rites and Ceremonies of the Coronation of the Kinges themselves, as they are after our manner with vs Crowned. Concerning which, a few things are now to be said.*



Nothing assuredly is more excellent then the Royall dignity, if we shall respect the Maiesty of the name of a King, either among the nations or in holie Scriptures. The Romanes in ancient time, appointed three Degrees of their greatest Dignities of all which, the Regall power was the cheefest and highest. Next after the dignity of a King was the Dictatorships, in the third place, followed the power which the Generall of their Armies had, whom they called Imperator. Hec that great Julius Caesar, when after the victory of Pharsalia, had bene oftentimes by his army saluted Imperator, yet for all that, vfed he not the name of Imperator, but Dictator. For why, the name of a King, after the time of Tarquinius, was for a great while growne into hatred, and become odious in the Citie. Howbeit, at such time as he was about to make an expedition against the Parthians, hee affected to bee called a King: affirming it to be contained in the Books of the Sybils, the Parthians not possible to bee conquered and subdued but by a King.

The Dictators most high power, was in all things like vnto the power of a King: and such as a man may say to haue bin e-

quall vnto the power of a King. This was (as Varro witnesseth) chaunged into a great Magistrate, whom they called Magistrum Civium (or Master of the Citizens) which manner of Governour of a Citie, the Germanes vsed to call, *Burgue Meitre*.

The name of Imperator or Emperors, was at first but an Office in an Army, and a bare Title; which yet at length became a dignity of greater State and Maiestie, then any of the rest; and yet at length to fell, as that the Maiestie and magnificence of the Christian world, is maintained onely by the power of Kings. Vnto foure of whom onely, it is written to haue bene proper in ancient time to bee anointed, viz. vnto the Kings of Ierusalem, of England, of France, and of Sicily.

The French writers report, the French Kings within the bounds of their owne kingdom, to be styled Imperatores or Emperors. Chasseneu also affirmeth, the king of England, to bee in England, a Monarke. And if the name of Christianissimi, or the most Christian king, bee glorious vnto the French kings, and the name of Catholici or Catholique vnto the kings of Spaine, the kinges of England haue also a style whereof to reioyce, as (viz) not in Title, onely to be styled Fidei Christianae & Catholicae Defensores, or Defenders of the Christian and Catholique Faith, but euen with vndaunted Maiesty, to be of both acknowledged the great Champions and Protectors of the same. But concerning attributes or additions of Stiles and Titles, I list not for to strue. But, seeing that the kinges of England for their royall dignity, giue God the thanks onely; and that it is onely by the grace of God (as they vse to say) by hereditary succession, by them obtained: they hold it vnto them confirmed by the suffrages of the people, with the requisite forme and ceremonies of Coronation, Consecration, and Inuention. Which being of ancient time (the kingdom afore shaken with Danish wars) oite kept at Kingston vpon Thames, is now vsually holden and made at Westminster, a city ioyning vnto the city of London, in forme following.

The

*The ancient forme of the Coronation of the Kings and Queenes of England.*

*Inprimis.* The King to be newly crowned: the day before his Coronation, shall be brought forth in royall Robes, and shall ride from the Tower of London, to his Pallace of Westminster with his head vncouered, being accompanied on horsebacke with his temporall Lords, his Nobles, the Commons of London, and other his seruants.

*The feste of Estate.*

Item. Let there be provided against the day of Coronation, in the Kings great Hall at Westminster, a Chaire of Estate, fittingly provided with hangings of silke and embroidery, with Cushions and Carpets of Arras accordingly.

*The Scaffold.*

Item. Let it be provided, that a Stage or Scaffold bee erected in the Church at Westminster, with steps on eyther side: let it be orderly futed with Cloathes and Carpets on all parts, and likewise on the floore.

*The Royall Throne.*

Item. Let it bee provided, that vpon the said Scaffold, there bee erected a Throne or Chaire, wherein the King is to sit: Let it bee accordingly futed with rich furniture, and Cushions of cloth of gold.

*The Abbot of Westminster.*

Item. It is to be obserued, that the Abbot of Westminster for the time being, by the space of two or three dayes before the Coronation of the King or Queene, shall instruct them what duties they are to performe in the celebration of their Coronation; as also to prepare their consciences, before the receiuing of the Sacred unction. And if the Abbot be dead, sick, or absent in some remote Country, or lawfully hindered; the shall one of the Monks of the laide Monastery (nominated by the Couent of the same Church) supply the office of the said Abbot in this case.

*Of the Kirtle and Surcoat.*

Item. Vpon the day of the Coronation, the King that is to be crowned, shall be placed in the foresaid Chaire of Estate, in the foresaid Hall (but beeing first bathed:) and after his bathing, a Kirtle and Surcoat of Veluet shall be prepared for him, open on the breast, betweene the shoulders and blades of his armes: Let his open Kirtle and Surcoat bee fastened together with loops of siluer: and vpon the Kirtle let him be clothed with other royall Robes, and let him bee shod with Sandals.

*Procession.*

Item. Let a solemne Procession be prouided by the Abbot and Couent of Westminster, from the fore-saide Church to the Kings seate, in the fore-said Hall. In which procession, there shall be arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Prelates. Then the King shall descend, and follow the Procession into the Church at Westminster, and he shall goe vpon blew cloth spread vpon the ground, from the foresaid Chaire to the Stage (or seage) erected in the fore-saide Church. And in the said procession shall be sung such like Hymnes, as are accustomed to bee sung in the reception of Kings and Queenes.

*The Crosse, &c.*

Item. The Crosse, Sword, Scepter, and Royall Mace (ensignes of honour) shall be borne in the procession, by the Abbot, Prior, and Senior Monks of Westminster into the Pallace, and there shall they be surrendered to diuers of the Lords, to be borne before the King to the Church.

*The Barons of the fine Ports.*

Item. The Barons of the fine Ports shall carry a rich Canopy vpon siluered staves ouer the King or Queenes head, in the fore-saide procession vnto the laide Church.

*The Abbot of Westminster.*

Item. The Abbot (or the Monke supplying his place) ought alwayes to be nere about the King and Queene to giue instructions.

*The Arch-bishop ought to demand the good liking of the people.*

After the King hath a little reposed himselfe in the Chaire or Throne erected vpon the Scaffold, then the arch-bishoppe of Canterbury, shall goe vnto the fouresquares of the Scaffold, & with a loud voyce, aske the good liking of the people, concerning the Coronation of the king. Meane while the king shal stand vp in his Throne, and turne himselfe vnto the fouresquares, in like manner, as the Archbishoppe speaketh vnto the people. And after the said demand, the Anthem *Firmetur manus tua, &c.* shall be sung.

*The Orffertory of the King.*

The anthem being ended, the king shal descend from the Scaffold, vp to the high Altar, the Bishops leading him: where vpon he is bound to offer a Mantle, & one pound of gold: therein fulfilling his commandement, who said; *Non apparebis vacuus in conspectu Letui.*

*The King prostrateth himselfe.*

The Offering being finished, the king boweth himselfe vpon the Pavement, before the Altar, being before prepared by the Kings Officers, with cloaths and suitable cushions of velvet, vntill the Arch-Bishop hath laide ouer him the Prayer, *Deus sit illi, &c.* And then ought a Sermon to be preached vnto the people.

*The King taketh his Oath.*

The Sermon being ended, the king approacheth vnto the Altar to take his oath, which he ought to performe vpon the sacrament of our Lords body. Then let the Hymne, *Veni creator spiritus*, be solemnly sung. Which being begun, the King shal prostrate himselfe before the high Altar, vntill the Letany and Preface bee wholly sung ouer him. Which being finished, let the king arise and sit in his chaire, therein reposing himselfe a while.

*The anointing of the King.*

After this, let the King arise from his chaire, and goe vnto the Altar, and there shall he put off his Robes (except his Kirtle and Surcoat) and there let him receiue Vnction, the Quier meane while singing; *Inuenit Salomonem*; with the prayer following. Then let him be annointed in due

places, (viz.) in the palmes of his hands, on his brest, betwene his shoulders, on the blades of his armes, and on his head, with holy oyle, in forme of a crosse; and afterwards making the signe of the crosse vpon his head with the Churline, the fastenings and Mantle being first opened. Item, after the foresaid Vnction, and wiping with linnen cloaths (which ought afterwards to bee burnt) let the opened places for the annointing be closed again by the Abbot of Westminster, or his Deputy.

*The Abbot of Westminster shall take off the Kings Cap.*

After the annointing of the kings head, let it bee covered with a linnen Cap, because of holy vnction, and so let it remain vntill the eight day after the vnction: vpon the which day, the Abbot of Westminster or his Deputy, shall come vnto the king, and take off the aforesaid linnen Cap, and shall wash & mundifie the kings head. After the said washing, the Abbot of Westminster, or his assignes, shall put vpon the King, royall habiliments, viz. a *Sindon* fashioned after the *Dalmaticum* fashion, with hose and sandals: and then let these royall Robes bee sacred by the arch-Bishop: as *Patet in Libro.*

*The King shall be clothed with a Mantle by the Abbot.*

These Offices being finished, the aforesaid king shall be arrayed by the Abbot of Westminster, or his assignes, with a long Cloake or Mantle, woven with faire Imagery of gold, before and behind, with his Buskins, Pantofles, and Spurs fitted to his legges.

*The setting of the Crowne vpon the Kings head.*

After the King is thus arrayed, then let the Crowne be placed vpon the kings head by the arch-bishop, and afterward let a Ring be put on the Kings hand by a Bishop.

*Of the Sword.*

After this, let the Royall Sword bee blessed, and the said King shall receiue it from the Bishop, and shall gird himselfe with the said sword, and receiue the Bracelets: afterward, let him bee clothed with a Royall

Royall cloake.

*The offering of the Sword.*

After this, let the King offer the faide Sword vpon the Altar to God: which the worthiest earle then present is to redeeme for one hundred Shillings; and to carry it naked before the King. The price whereof pertayneth vnto the fayde Altar.

*The receiuing of the Scepter.*

After this, let the King receiue a paire of linnen Gloves, & after that the Scepter, with the Crosse in his right hand, and the Mace in his left. Then being blessed, he shall kisse the Bishops, by whom (as also by the residue of the Nobility) he shall bee honourably conducted to his Royall seate, the Quier singing, *Te Deum laudamus.*

*The Prelates, and the residue shall make their homage.*

After this, let the Prelates and Lords make their fealty and liege homage to the Lord: ing: and then let Masse begin. Item, whilest *Coria in excelsis* is singing, the King shall be censed by a Deacon: and at *Credo*, he shall kisse the Booke.

*The offering of Bread and Wine.*

Whilest the Orffertorie is singing, let the King approach to the Altar, & make his offering of Bread and Wine: and after that let him also offer a Mark of gold: which being done, the King shall a little bow downe his head, whilest the Arch-bishoppe doth blesse him with two Orisons, which being finished, let the King be brought back to his Throne or estate.

*The kissing of the Pax after the Agnus Dei.*

The kisse of the Pax after the *Agnus Dei* being receiued: let the King descend from his Estate, and humbly approach the Altar, and there receiue the body & blood of our Lord: which being receiued, the Abbot of Westminster shall minister vnto him wine out of a stone Chalice, pertayning to the King, and then immediately the King shall returne to his estate.

Masse being finished, let the King descend from his Throne, and goe vnto the high Altar, and let the Archbishops, Bi-

shops, and Nobility go before him to the Shrine of Saint Edward, where the King shall be arrayed with other Robes; all which shall be offered vpon the Altar of Saint Edward.

*The taking off the Robes.*

The great Chamberlaine (viz.) the earle of Oxford, shall vnclotte the king of the foresaid Robes in a withdrawing place neare to the Shrine: which Robes, as they are particularly taken from the King, so shall they be laide vpon the said Altar by the Abbot.

*Another Crowne.*

The King attired in other honourable apparell, shall approach vnto the Altar of Saint Edward, where the Archbishop shall put another Crowne vpon his head.

*The King returneth to the Pallace.*

The said King being thus crowned, & carrying in his hand the Regall Scepter, from the Shrine to the high Altar, and from thence to the scaffolds, then shall he descend throw the midle of the Quier, by the same way as hee came into the Church, the foresaid earles carrying the Swords before him, returning with great glory vnto the Kings Pallace to dinner.

*The delivery of the Scepter.*

Dinner being ended, and the King withdrawne into his chamber, the Scepter shall bee deliuered to the Abbot of Westminster, or his deputy, by the Kings owne hands, to be kept in the said church of Westminster.

¶ *The Coronation of the Queene.*

And note, that in the Coronation of the Queene, Procession shall be celebrated: and if she be crowned with the king, then ought she to be annointed vpon the Crowne of her head, and on her brest: and if she be crowned alone, then ought three to be annointed vpon the Crowne only crosse-ways with the Churline.

*The Kings Oath vpon the day of his Coronation.*

The Archbishop of Canterbury shall demand the King, saying: *Please it you*

to confirme and obserue the Lawes and Customes of ancient times, granted from God by iust and deuout Kings vnto the English Nation, by Oath vnto the said people, especially the Lawes, Customes and Liberties, granted vnto the Cleargie and Laity, by the famous King Edward? The King answering that he will performe and obserue all the premises. Then shall the Archbishop reade vnto him the Articles whereunto he shal sweare, thus saying, *Thou shalt procure vnto the Church of God, vnto the Cleargie, and people, firme peace, and vnto in God, according to thy power: He shall answer, I will performe it.*

*Art thou pleased to cause to bee administered in all thy iudgements indifferent and upright iustice, and so w<sup>th</sup> discretion with mercie and veritie. He shall answer, I will doe it.*

*Art thou pleased, that our upright lawes and customes bee obserued: and doest thou promise, that those shall bee protected and maintained by thee, to the honour of God, according to thy strength. He shall answer, I grant and promise.*

#### The petition of the Bishops.

The Admonition of the Bishops vnto the King followeth; and must be read by one, (viz.) by the Bishop of Lincolne: *Lord King, wee desire your pardon, that you would vouchsafe to defend to euery one of vs, and to the Churches committed vnto vs, our Canonically Priviledges, with equitie and iustice, as a King in his Kingdome ought to doe vnto euery Bishop, Abbot, and Churches committed vnto him. Hee shall answer thus*

#### The Kings answer.

*With a willing and deuout heart, I promise vnto you, and I pardon euery one of you, and the Churches committed vnto you. I will confirme the Canonically priuiledges, minister equitie and iustice, and will defend them by Gods fauour, as farre as I am able; euen as a King ought with uprightnes to doe, vnto euery Bishop, Abbot, and the Churches committed vnto him.*

#### The Oath of homage made vnto the King.

*I become your man in luge of life and limbe, and trath, and yearely honour to you shall beare aenst all men that now liue. So helpe me God and Holy doome.*

Item, that the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, shall first make his fealtie, then the Bishops, and afterwards all the Nobles of the Kingdome.

### CHAP. XVIII.

*A briefe Description of the pompe and Ceremonies at the Coronation of Edward the sixt, King of England: according to the ancient manner, used in the Consecration of the Kings of England.*



**H**enrie the eight, the most inuincible K. of England, being dead, who departed out of this life at Westminster, the 28. day of January, 1546 and 38. of his reigne. Edward Seymour, erle of Hertford, King Edward his Vncle, accompanied with most of the Nobilitie of the whole Kingdome, forthwith went to Enfield (in the Countie of Middlesex) vnto Edward, now at length (by right of succession vnto his Father Henry) King of England, France and Ireland. Whom the Munday following (viz.) the last of January, he with the great applause of the Cittie, and of the people by the way as hee went, was brought from thence vnto the Tower of London.

The same day the Heralds from an high Stage set vp in the midst of Westminster hall (with a great found of Trumpets) out of a Royall Charter, sealed with the great Seale of the kingdome, proclaimed the death of the aforesaid king Henry the eight, and the Inauguration of King Edward the sixt to come. Which Charter was dated the 31 day of Ianuarie, and the first yeare of King Edward.

Vpon Friday following (viz.) the 4. of February, it was through the most famous places of the City of London, by the Heralds proclaimed and notified, that whosoever they were which by right of Fee, were bound at the Coronations of Kings, to performe their Offices or Seruices, should vnto the Kings Commissioners therefore appoynted, in the White hall,

hall, the vij. of February exhibite their petitions: who according to the ancient custome of the kingdome, should determine vnto euery man their rights and seruices, against the twentieth of the same month, the day appointed for the Coronation of the King.

Vpon Thursday (which was the first day of February) the Nobility and States of the Kingdome assembled into the Chamber of Prefence (as they call it) euery one of them in order one by one, did their reuerence and duty vnto the King, sitting in his Royall Seate, kissing his hand, and saying; *Long liue the Kings Maiesty.*

After that the Chancellour declared vnto him the Will of his dead Father, and the Names of his Executors: and that for lacke of yeares, he was not yet himselfe able to gouerne his Kingdome (for now hee was but going vpon the tenth yeare of his age) he told them, that the Earle of Hertford his Vncle, was by common suffrages chosen Tutor of his person, and Protector of his Kingdome. VVhich when the King had approoued, that the erle refused not that charge, they altogether, and oftentimes doubled and redoubled; *Long liue our King Edward: and, God saue our King.*

The next day (viz.) vpon Friday, the Noble-men meeting together in the Starre-chamber, there bound themselves by Oath vnto the King: at which time and place also the Maister of the Rolles, and the chiefe Officers of the Chancery, were sworne truely and sincerely to enrolle the VVill and Testament of the aforesaid King Henrie the eight, being dead.

The Sunday following, the King by his Vncle the Protector, was after the accustomed manner made a knight, who by and by after with the same Ceremonies created the Maior of London, and certayne others, knights.

But vpon the Monday, the Commissioners hauing well considered of the matter, and hauing read the Suters Petitions on both sides, gaue sentence concerning Seruices, after the manner to be performed at the time of the Coronation; of which in their place and order more is to be hereafter said.

The VVednesday following, was

wholly bestowed in the magnificent performing of the rites and ceremonies of the Funerall of King Henrie the eighth. VVhich done, they entred into consultation concerning the Coronation of the new King. And first of all, for the greater solemnitie of the pompe, the Earle of Hertford was graced with the Title of the Duke of Somerset. At which time others also, with other honourable Titles, were with great solemnity honored also.

After dinner, the Knights of the Garter assembled together into the Kings Chamber, where the King attired in the ornaments of that Order (as of right he should, highest) and with ioyned voices, chose the Marquesse Dorset, the earle of Darbie, and others, into the fellowship of that Order.

At length, vpon Saturday (viz.) the 19 day of February, the king with a most magnificent pompe, went through the midst of the Cittie, from the Tower of London, vnto the Pallace at Westminster, the great Ordinance both out of the Tower, and the Shippes, on euery side thundering.

*And in this order they went.*

First, all the Kings Messengers by two and two together.

After them the noblemen of lesser note, or Gentlemen by two and two together also.

The Sergeants of the forraigne embassadors, by couples.

The Trumpettors with great noyse sounding on both sides.

The Gentlemen, keepers of the Kings person (whom we call *Esquiers* for the Body.)

Knights (which are called knights, Bar-chellours.)

The greater Chaplaines.

The yonger sonnes of Noblemen mounted vpon great Horses.

The Senators or Aldermen of London.

The Clerks of the Council.

The Kings Secretaries.

The keeper of the sacred Records, commonly called, the Master of the Rolls.

The Knights of the Bath.

The

The kings Councillours.  
Knights Bannerets.  
Knights of the order of the *Garter*, which were not by dignitie Barons.  
The sonnes of vicounts.  
The yonger Sonnes of earles and Marquesses.  
Barons.  
Earles eldest Sonnes.  
Vicounts.  
Bishops.  
Marquesses eldest sonnes.  
Dukes yonger sonnes.  
Earles.  
Dukes eldest sonnes.  
Marquesses.  
Dukes.  
The Controller or Censor of the Kings house, and the Venetian Ambassador.  
The Treasurer of the Kings house; and one of the Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes.  
The kings Almshouse; and another of the Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes.  
The lord William Paget Secretary, with the duke Phillip.  
The Admiral of *England*, with one of the Ambassadors of *Scotland*.  
The keeper of the priuate Seale, with another Ambassador of *Scotland*.  
The gouernour of the Pallace, or great Maister of the Hall, with the *Baron de la Garde*, a Frenchman.  
The Chancellour of *England*, with the French Ambassador.  
The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Emperors Ambassador.  
Two noble Courtiers representing the dukedoms of *Normandy* & *Aquitaine*, attired in Purple robes, with caps of honour, with their Cloaks cast crosse of purple veluet, furred with Mineuer.  
Garter king of Armes, in his Heraldic coate, and the Maior of the Citie of London, carrying the Mace of his Maioraty.  
The Sergeants at Armes, & the Heralds on both sides.  
The Constable of *England*, who for that time was the Marquesse *Dorset*, carried the Sword: on whose right hand went the earle of *Warwicke* as Chamberlaine of *England*; and on his left hand the earle of *Arundell*, supplying the place of earle Marshall.

The Duke of *Somerset* Protector of the kingdome, went a litle before the king toward the left hand.  
The King himselfe went vnder a Canopy or Thole, borne by sixe Knights, (the footmen going about him) before which, two Gentlemen Vihers went with white Straues.  
Next after came the master of the Horse, with a royall Paltrie richly furnished.  
After came nine Pages of honor (whom we call Hensch-men) bare headed, and mounted vpon great Horses, whom Sir Francis Brian their Captayne followed.  
Then followed the gentlemen of the priuy Chamber.  
The gentlemen Pensioners, with their Polonian Partisans, guarded on both sides from those Courtiers which represented *Normandy* and *Aquitaine*, euen to the Guard.  
Then came the Captaine of the Guard, with his band of the Yeomen of the Guard.  
The Seruants of the Noble-men and Gentlemen shut vp the troupe, going in order according to the honour and dignitie of their Lords and Masters.  
In this order they came thorough the middle of the Citie vnto the Pallace at *Westminster*: The Pageants in the meane time, with diuerse shewes euerie where set forth, and the Orations made, &c. I for breuitie sake purposely omit.  
Vpon Sunday, the twentieth day of February, at nine of the clocke, the King was carried downe the Riuer, from the Pallace vnto the Hall at *Westminster*, where first in the Chamber of the Court of Augmentation (which now is called the Court of Wardes) he attired himselfe in a Roabe of Purple veluet, with a long trayne, furred with Ermins. His inner Gowne was of the same kind of veluet, furred with Mineuer, and fringed round about with Gold. These were called Parliament Roabes, but vpon his head he did weare a Cappe of blacke Veluet. The Noble-men in like manner also being attired in their Roabes of honor, attended vpon the Kings Maestie, from thence to the Marble Chaire set

in

in Westminster Hall, and from thence vnto a Royall Throne set vp for him in *S. Peters Church* at Westminster. But the way whereby he went, was by the Kings Almshouse all couered with blew Cloth.

And in this order they set forward.

All the Gentlemen went by two & two together.

All the Esquires by two and two also. The Secretaries of the Latine & French tongues.

The Senators or Aldermen of London. The chiefe Porter or Vsher alone.

Three Crosses.

They of the Quier of the Church of *Westminster* in their Coapes.

The Subdeacon of the Kings Chappell, with the singing men of the same.

The Bishops in their Pontificalibus.

The Chancellour of the Augmentation, and the Venetian Secretary.

The Gouernour of the Wardrobe, with the Duke Phillip.

The Controller of the Kings house, with an Ambassador of Scotland.

The Treasurer of the Kings house, with another Ambassador of Scotland.

The Almshouse, with the Ambassadour of France.

Secretary Peter, with another Ambassadour of France.

Secretary Paget, with the Emperors Ambassadour.

Garter King of Armes, and the Maior of the Citie of London.

The Earle of Rutland carrying Saint Edwards Spurres, and with him the Earle of Huntingdon, carrying S. Edwards Staffe.

After that, three drawne swords; the first whereof was borne by the Baron of *S. John*, great Master of the Kings house: the second, by Baron *Russell*, keeper of the Priuate Seale: the third, which is called *Cortayna* was carried in the middle betwix the other two, by the earl of Darby.

A Sword was also carried before in the Scabbard vnder drawne, vnto which vpon the left hand was ioyned the Earle of *Arundell*, as Earle Marshall in stead of the Protector.

The Duke of *Somerset* Protector of the Kingdome, carried the Crowne, whose right side the Duke of *Suffolke* with a

Globe and Crosse of gold enclosed, & his left side the Marquesse *Forset*, with the Royall Scepter.

At length the Kings Maestie went vnder a Thole or Canopy, which the Barons of the five Ports (by an ancient right) did beare, supported on the right hand by the Bishop of *Durham*, and on the left by the Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

The Earle of *Warwicke*, as great Chamberlaine of England, held vp the Kings traine: whom the Marques of *Northampton* assisted on the one side, and *Baron Seymour of Sudley*, Admirall of England, both of them of the Kings priuy Chamber.

The Gentlemen of the priuy Chamber. The Noblemen of the kingdome, attyred in the Robes of honour, euerie one of them according to his place and ancientt: whom the Gentlemen Pensioners, the Captaine of the Guard, & the Yeomen of the Guard themselves did follow.

The King in this order being brought to Saint Peters Church, was placed in the Chaire of Saint Edward the King, in the middle of a Throne, seven steppes high. This Throne was erected nere vnto the Altar vpon a Stage, arising with steppes on both sides, couered with Carpets and hangings of Arras. Where, after the King had rested a litle, being by certaine Noble Courtiers carryed in another Chaire vnto the four sides of the Stage: he was by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* declared vnto the people (standing round about) both by Gods and Mans Lawes to be the right and lawfull King of England, France, and Ireland; and proclaimed that day to be crowned, consecrated, and anointed. Vnto whom he demanded, whether they would obey and serue, or not? By whom it was againe with a loud cry answered; *God save the King: And euer live his Maestie*.

This being done, he was againe placed in the Chaire of the Throne, the Quier singing of an Anthem: The King from thence descending vnto the Altar, there offered his Cloake, and certaine Money, (viz.) XX. Shillings, and afterward lay downe flat before the Altar, the Archbishop saying certaine Prayers; as *Deus fidelium*, &c. And afterward in formall words, swore an oath vnto the King before

fore the people.

There the king being againe prostrate, the Archbishop againe kneeling downe, beganne the Hymne *Veni Creator spiritus* &c. and said other Prayers over the King: two other Bishops beginning the Letany, which at length ended, the King arose and came againe vnto his throne: and from thence was brought to a retiring place (commonly called a *Transe*) where having put off all his former garments, hee was by the Chamberlaine of England apparelled agayne with other, (viz.) a Crimson Coate, open vpon the backe and the breast, the shoulders and the Elbowes, with a linnen Cappe vpon his head, wrought with gold. The *Chancellor* in the meane time, from the Stage proclaimed vnto the people the Kings generall pardon.

The King brought back againe out of the *Transe* vnto the thronaire, and from thence vnto the Altar, vnder a cloath of golde (the strings of his Coate and Shirt being opened) was by the Arch-bishop with formall raiers vnto God, vpon the Palmes of his hands, vpon his breast, betwixt his shoulders, in the ioynts of his Armes, and Crowne, with hallowed oile and chrisme anointed; the Quire in the meane time singing the Anthemie *Inno-cent Salomonem*, &c.

After this anointing (the oyle being lightly wiped off) the openings of his coate and shirt were agayne by the arch-bishop closed, who put vpon his hands a payre of Linnen Gloves, and a Linnen Cappe, (brought thither by the great Chamberlayne,) and so brought backe vnto the *Transe*, was with a Royall Roabe againe reuited.

At length returning againe vnto the Altar, hee there offered vp the Sward wherewith hee was girt, to be afterwards with five pound in money redeemed. The royall Ornaments were after that consecrated. The King sitting before the Altar, the Archbishop and the Protectour brought vnto him three Crownes.

The first was the Crowne of Saint Edward the King.

The second was the ancient Crowne of the Kings of England.

The third was of all the richest, made for that day, and for that purpose (and fit for the Kings head) which being all

by turnes, with the great sounding of Trumpets, and the applause of the People, put vpon his head: the Quire also singing *Te Deum Laudamus*, &c. The Archbishop put a Ring vpon the third finger of the Kings right hand, at which time hee was likewise by the Maister of the Jewells bedecked with Bracelets and other most rich and most precious Jewells.

The Earle of *Shrewsbury* deliuered the Scepter into the Kings hand.

The Archbishop deliuered vnto him Saint Edward the Kings little Staffe.

The Earle of *Rutland* deliued vnto him a payre of golden Spures.

The Duke of *Suffolke* gave vnto him the golden Globe.

The Earle of *Oxford* deliuered him the other Royalties.

Hee in this manner attired with all Royall Ornaments (viz.) apparelled with a royall Roabe, and crowned with a Crowne vpon his head, carrying in his right hand a Scepter, and a golden Globe in his left, being brought vnto the Thronaire, hee satte downe in the Chaire of S. Edward the King. Where first the Duke of *Somerset* Protector of England, vpon his knees in formall words did his due homage and fealty vnto the King and his heires, the kings of England: whom the Archbishops of *Canterburie* followed and kissed the Kings knee. The same againe did all the rest of the Nobility, which could so doe. But such as stood about (and with the shortnesse of the time excluded, could not come ne) the Protectour vpon his knees pronouncing their homage, holding vp their hands, cryed out with loud voyces together, Long liue EDWARD the sixth our King.

Diuine seruice at length being done by the Archbishop and two Bishops, the King at the offering time came downe vnto the Altar, where in the pater of S. Edwards Chalice, he offered an hallowed little Cruet or Cruet of Wine, and a pound of gold: and then having bowed downe his head, the Archbishop sayde certaine Prayers, and blessed the King, and so returning vnto his Thronaire, there kissed the Paxe being offered him.

Last of all, hee being brought vnto the Altar, the Archbishop taking the Crowne

Crowne from off his head, layde it vpon the Altar. From thence the King going into the Trauers, deliuered his royall Ornaments vnto the Deane of Westminster to be layde vpon the Altar: and in his inner purple Gowne (commonly called a Surcoat) furred with Ermins, with a Crowne vpon his head, returning vnto Westminster Hall in the same order wee before saide; staid a while in that chamber (which we call the Court of Wardes) vntill the Tables were royally furnished. The stately furniture of the Hall at that time, the multitude of Tables, the variety of dishes and sauces, and the delicate magnificence of the feast, I willingly passe ouer.

Yet this it is worthy to remember, that the Earles of *Oxford* & *Huntingdon* held water vnto the King, which the Earle of *Huntingdon* before tasted.

The Earle of *Rutland* held the Towell. The Marquesse of *Northampton* was the Caruer, & before tasted the Dishes.

The Earle of *Suffex* was Sewer of the first course, and placed it vpon the Table.

Before the coming in of the first course, the Marquesse of *Dorset* at that time Constable of England, with a little silver staffe (the signe of his office) and the Earle of *Arundell* with the rod of the Marshallship, mounted vpon trapped horses, all in cloth of gold came riding into the Hall.

Four swords were all the dinner time carried before the King.

The Ambassadors of forraine Princes, the Bishops and Noble-men, the Maior of the City of London, the Barons of the five Ports, &c. were in their order set at Tables in the same Hall.

After the second course, the kings champion (surnamed *Dimock*) a knight in complete Armour, mounted vpon a great Horse, couered with a Caparison of cloth of gold, and attended vpon with an Herald in his Coat of Armes, came into the Hall: who euen at the first, with a proud gate went vnto the King, and with great reverence made to him his lowe obedience. Afterward praucing his carrying Horse, by a trumpet founding four times in the Hall, challenged to combate him whosoever he were, that should deny Edward the sixth of that name, to be the true, vndoubted, and lawfull King of England, France, and Ireland. And so often he cast

downe his Gantlet vnto the ground, as a pledge of his challenge so made: which when no man would take vp, the Herald deliuered it vnto him againe: which done, the King did drinke vnto him in a Cup of gold, which he thankfully accepted, and challenging the Cup due vnto him as his Fee, so departed.

Last of all, Garter king of Armes, with the rest of the heralds, having made thrice obeysance before the King, all aloud, in formall words proclaimed the kings stile, in *Latine, French, and English*, in this sort: *Largeffe, of the most Soueraigne, and most invincible Prince and King, Edward the sixth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith: and of the Church of England and Ireland, next vnder Christ in Earth supreme head: chiefe of the most Noble order and Knight-hood of the Garter.* Which same stile, when he had in *Latine and French*, and so in three other places of the Hall beside repeated, they oftentimes altogether crying out aloud, *Largeffe*, so departed.

A little before the ende of the Feast, the Maior of London (as the manner is) in a Cup of gold, gave a Cuppe of spiced Wine (which we commonly call *Tocras*) vnto the King to drinke; which after hee had tasted of, hee gaue the Cup vnto the Maior, as due vnto him for his fee.

The rest of the time was spent in creating of Knights of the Bath, and of other Knights, and in appointing of Iustings & Tiltings: All which, as not appertaining to my purpose, I omit; as also the variety of musique, the diuers kindes of shewes, & other things in number infinite, which wonderfully graced & set forth the magnificence of this coronation: of all which things, let them say more at large, which saw cyther the same, or the pompe of the Coronation of the most Soueraigne Queene Elizabeth, with the wonderfull happinesse of her Reigne, and the applause and ioyfullnesse of the people on every side.



## CHAP. XIX.

*The memorable and famous Coronation of our most gracious Lord King Iames, and our Soueraigne Lady  $\mathcal{Q}$ . Anne his Wife, the 25. of Iuly, 1603.*

¶ The Coppy heereof was deliuered to his Maieſty, by the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury; who faithfully obserued the forme, ſet downe in the ancient Booke kept among the Regalia at Westminster.

**T**HE King and Queen came from Westminster bridge, to the West doore of the Minſter Church.

They receiued into the Church with an Hymne or Anthem. They chaſſe along thorow the body of the Church, and ſo vp to the Stage, and do there take their places in their ſeuerall Seages Royall.

The King thiewed to the people, and they are required to make acknowledgement of their allegiance to his Maieſty, by the Archbiſhop: which they do by acclamations.

*The ſecond Anthemie is ſung.*

The King and Queene deſcend from their Thrones, and going to the Altar, there offer: the King a Pall, and a pound of gold: the Queene likewiſe offereth.

*A Prayer is ſaide by the Archbiſhop.*

A Sermon by the Biſhop of Wincheſter. After the Sermon, the King is moued by the Archbiſhop to take his Oath.

The Oath miniſtred by the Archbiſhop, and taken by the King, there is ſung, *Come Holy Ghoſt, &c.*

A prayer by the Archbiſhop: when that is done, *Letany* is ſaide or ſung by two Biſhops.

The Archbiſhop beginneth the Ceremony of the anointing, with the thankſgiving, *Liſt up your hearts, &c.*

After which, the King comming to the Altar, putteth off his vpper garments.

The Kings vnder Garments are ſo to be made, as the places to bee annoynted,

may (by the vndoing of certain loops) be made open.

The Archbiſhop annoynteth his Maieſty

{ Palmes.  
Breast.

Vpon the { Betweene the Shoulders,  
Bending of both Armes.  
Crowne of the head.

Then a Linnen Coife is put on his head, the Quier meane while ſinging the Anthem.

*Prayer made by the Archbiſhop.*

*The Inueſtiture.*

Then is the King inueſted with the Robes of King *Edward the Confeſſor*, by the Abbot of Westminster.

{ With the Tunicke.  
Cloſe Pall.  
Tuiſſini Hoſen.  
Sandals.

Spurs put on by a Peere.

Then is the Sword deliuered his Maieſty by the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, and alter girt about him by a Peere.

After, the A. mill or Collar is put on by the Abbot of Westminster.

Then the vpper Pall or Mantle Royall.

His Maieſty to be crowned with the Crowne of King *Edward the Confeſſor*.

*The fourth Anthemie.*

A Ring to be put on the fourth finger, on the left hand: after which done, the King putteth on the Linnen Gloues, & goeth to the Altar, & taking off his ſword, there offereth it.

Which ſword ſo offered, the cheefe Peere is to redeeme; and hauing redeemed it, to draw it, and leaue it ſo drawne by his Maieſty all the ſolemnity.

A Rod with the Doue to be borne in his left hand.

*A Prayer or bleſſing is pronounced by the Archbiſhop.*

Then the King graciously vouchſaith to receiue to his kiſſe the Archbiſhop or Biſhops that were aſſiſting to his Coronation.

*The Inthronizing.*

After this, the King is ledde backe to his Throne, with all ſolemnity, the Quier ſinging, *We praife thee O God, &c.*

The King is inthronized by the Archbiſhop, in the Throne Royall.

The

The Peeres do their homage to the King, ſo ſitting in his Chaire Royall.

And after the homage done, they all put their hands vp and touch the Crowne on the Kings head, as promiſing for euer to ſupport it.

*The Queenes anointing.*

¶ The ſolemnity of the Kings Coronation, and inthronizing beeing performed, the Archbiſhop leaueth the King in his Throne, and goeth to the Altar.

The Queene, who hath all this while repoſed her ſelle in her Chaire beneath, ariſeth and commeth to the ſteps of the Altar, and there kneeleth downe.

*A Prayer ſaide by the Archbiſhop.*

The queene ariſeth from her prayer, the cheefeſt Lady taketh off the Coronet fiſt, and after openeth her breaſt.

Then the queene kneeleth downe againe.

The Archbiſhop fiſt powred the anointing Oyle on the crown of her head. Then he annoynted her on the breaſt.

*A Prayer by the Archbiſhop.*

Then the cheefe Lady attendant, cloſeth the queenes Robe at her breaſt, and after putteth on her head a linnen coife.

*The Queenes Crowning.*

That done, the Archbiſhop puts on the fourth finger of the queenes left hand a Ring.

*A Prayer by the Archbiſhop.*

The Archbiſhop taking the Crowne in his hands, and laying it before him on the Altar, ſaith a prayer.

The prayer done, he ſets the Crowne on the queenes head, after that hee ſaith a prayer.

*The deliuey of the Queenes Scepter & Rod.*

After the prayer, the Archbiſhop deliuered fiſt the Scepter into her right hand the Rod of Iuory with the Doue into her left hand, both which being done, he ſaith a prayer.

Which prayer being ended, the queene ariſeth and goeth from the Altar, and is led by two Biſhops vp to the Stages, and paſſing by the King in his Throne, ſhee doth, *Inclinare Regi eius Maieſtatem (ut deſect adorando.)*

Which hauing done, ſhe is ledde to her Throne, on the left hand, and ſome what lower then the Kings, and is placed or inthronized in it.

After this, the Archbiſhop beginneth

the Communion.

Whereas after the { Collects, }  
{ Epistle. } read by the Archbi.  
{ Goſpell. }

The Nycen Creede.

*Offertory is ſung by the Quier.*

Whilt the Offertory is ſinging, the king and queene deſcend from their Throne, and come downe to the Altar. The King maketh his Oblation; fiſt of Bread and Wine: ſecondly, of a marke of gold. The queene after him offereth likewiſe.

After which, the Archbiſhop pronounceth the bleſſing ouer them: that ended, the king and queene are brought back to their chaires hard by the Altar. The Archbiſhop proceedeth with the Communion. After the Archbiſhop hath communicated himſelfe, and thoſe which aſſiſted him, the king and queene come vnto the ſteps of the Altar, there to receiue the holy Sacrament.

The Archbiſhop miniſtred the body, the Abbot the Cup. That done, the king and queene are brought backe to their Throne about the Stages.

There they ſtay till the Communion be ended. After which, they both goe into the Chappell of King *Edward the Confeſſor*, there they put off the Crownes wherewith they were crowned.

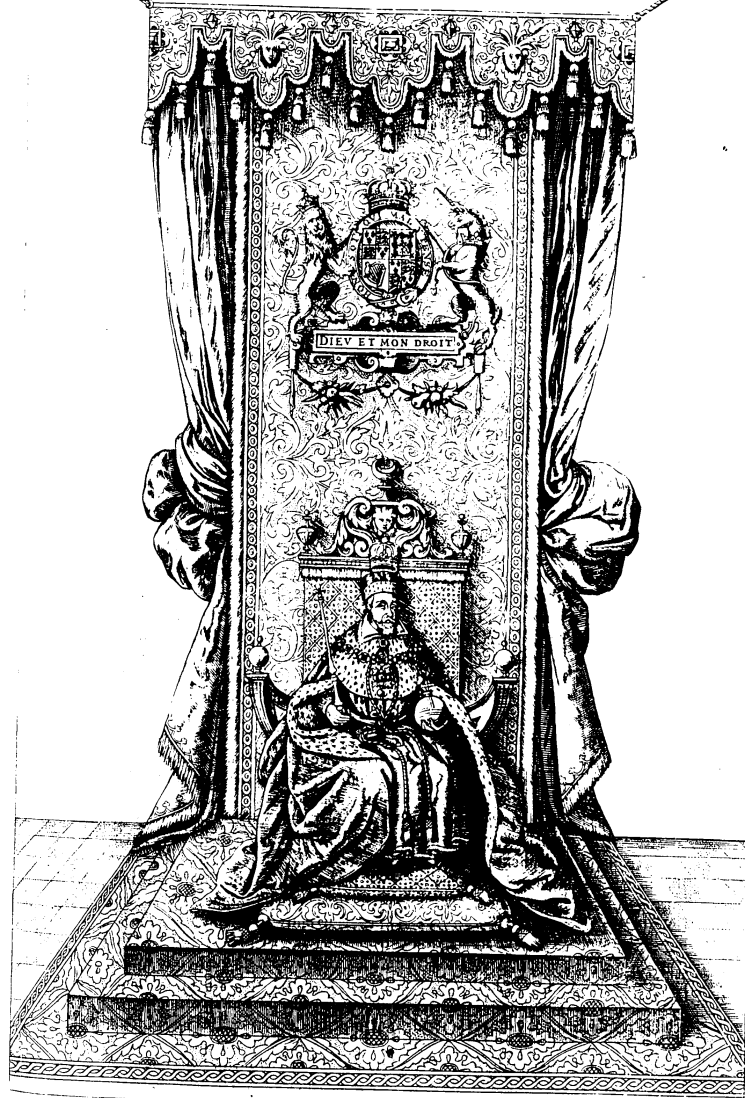
They withdraw themſelues into their Trauers. The King putteth off King *Edwards* Robes wherewith hee was inueſted.

Hee is arraid with his owne Robes royall, by the great Chamberlaine of England. Then comming forth, the Archbiſhop puts on the king & queenes heads the Imperiall Crowns, which they are to wear. The King taketh *S. Edwards* Scepter in his hand, and the queene hers. The traine is ſet in order, and they returne the ſame way they came.

After the king and queene returne to the Pallace.

The Scepters are deliuered vnto the Abbot of Westminster, to be kept there among the reſidue of the Regalia.

REGIA MAIESTAS



*Huberto I have described what manner of men the named*

*Noblemen have beene with us. The forme of their Charters and Rescripts I have set downe, with what Rites and Ceremonies they are after our manner and fashion created: and the Maiestie of the Coronation of the Kings themselves, we have declared. Here now a great field is opened unto me to speake of the right of the precedence of the Nobilitie, and of their Priviledges; but forasmuch as they rest rather upon Customs, then upon positive Lawes, I have of a set purpose omitted many things, proceeding but so farre as the Statutes of the Kingdome may be my warrant and safety.*

# CHAP. XX.

*A Statute and Act of Parliament, made in the one and thirty yere of Henry the eight, concerning placing of the Lords in the Parliament chamber, and other assemblies and conferences of Counsell.*



Orsomuch, as in all great Councils and Congregations of men, having Degrees and Offices in the commonwealth, it is very requisite and convenient, that an order should be had and taken for the placing and fitting of such persons as are bound to resort to the same, to the intent that they knowing their places, may use the same without displeasure or let of the Counsell: therefore the Kings most royall Maiestie, although it appertaineth unto his prerogative Royall, to give such honour, reputation, and placing to his Counsellors, and other his Subjects, as shall be seeming to his most excellent wisdom, is neuertheless pleased and contented for an order to be had and taken in this his most high Court of Parliament, that it shall be enacted by the authoritie of the same in manner and forme as heereafter followeth.

First, it is enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, that no person or persons of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be of (except onely the Kings children) shall at any time heereafter attempt or presume, to sit or haue place at any side of the cloth of Estate in the Parliament Chamber, neither on the one hand of the Kings highnes, nor on the o-

ther, whether the Kings Maiestie be there personally present, or absent. And forasmuch as the Kings Maiestie is iutly and lawfully Supreme Head in earth vnder God, of the Church of England, and for the good exercise of the said most royall dignitie and office, hath made Thomas Lord Cromwell, and Lord Priuie Seale his Vicegerent, for good and due administration of Iustice, to be had in all causes and cases, touching the Ecclesiastical Iurisdiction, and for the godly information and redresse of all Errours, Heresies, and abuses in the said Church. It is therefore also enacted by authoritie aforesaid, that he the said Lord Cromwell, hauing the said Office of Vicegerent, and all other persons which heereafter shall haue the said Office of the grant of the Kings highnes, his heires or successours, shall sit and be placed, aswell in this present Parliament, as in all Parliaments to be holden heereafter, on the right side of the Parliament Chamber, and vpon the same forme that the Archbishop of Canterbury sitteth on, and aboute the same Archbishop and his successors, and shall haue voice in euery Parliament to assent or dissent, as other the Lords of the Parliament haue.

And it is also enacted, that next vnto the said Vicegerent, shall sit the Archbishoppe of Canterbury, and then next vnto him on the same Forme and side, shall sit the Archbishoppe of Yorke: and next vnto him on the same side, the Bishop of London; and next to him on the same side and Forme, the Bishop of Durham; and next vnto him on the same side and Forme the Bishop of Winchester; and then all the other Bishops of both Prouinces of Canterbury and Yorke, shall sit and be placed on the same side after their ancienicies, as it hath bene accustomed.

And

# Chap. 20. XXXI. ycare of Henry the eight.

And forasmuch as such other Personages, which now haue, and hereafter shall happen to haue other great Offices of the Realme; that is to say, the Offices of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the Kings most honourable Councell, the Lord priuie Seale, the great Chamberlaine of England, the Marshall of England, the Lord Admirall, the Grand-Master or Lord Steward of the Kings most honourable household, the Kings Chamberlaine and the Kings Secretary, haue not heerebefore bene appointed and ordered for the placing and sitting in the Kings most high Court of Parliament, by reason of their Offices. It is therefore now ordained and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the Kings Councell, and the Lord Priuie Seale, being of the degree of Barons of the Parliament, or above, shall sit and be placed aswell in this present Parliament, as in all other Parliaments hereafter to be holden, on the left side of the Parliament Chamber, on the hither part of the forme of the same side, aboute all Dukes, except onely such as shall happen to be the Kings Sonne, the Kings Brother, the Kings Vnkle, the Kings Nephew, or the Kings Brothers or Sisters sonnes.

And it is also ordained and enacted by authority aforesaid, that the great Chamberlaine, the Constable, the Marshall, the Lord Admirall, the great Master, or Lord Steward, and the Kings Chamberlaine, shall sit and be placed after the Lord priuie Seale, in manner following: that is to say, euery one of them shall sit and be placed aboute all other Personages beeing of the same estates or degrees, that they shall happen to be of; that is to say, the great Chamberlaine first; the Constable next; the Marshall third; the Lord Admirall the fourth; the Grand-Master or Lord Steward the fifth; and the Kings Chamberlaine the sixth.

And it is also enacted by authority aforesaid, that the Kings cheefe Secretary being of the degree of a Baron of the Parliament, shall sit and be placed afore and aboute all Barons, nor hauing any of the Offices before mentioned. And if he be a Bishop, that then he shall sit and be placed aboute all other Bishops, nor hauing

any of the Offices afore remembred.

And it is also ordained and enacted by Authority aforesaid, that all Dukes not afore mentioned, Marquesses, Barons, Viscounts, and Barons, not hauing any of the Offices aforesaid, shall sit and be placed after their Ancienicy, as it hath bene accustomed.

And it is further enacted, that if any person or persons, which at any time hereafter shall happen to haue any of the said Offices of Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Kings Councell, Lord Priuie Seale, or cheefe Secretary, shall be vnder the degree of a Baron of the Parliament, by reason whereof, they can haue no interest to giue any assent or dissent in the said house, that then in euery such case, such of them as shall happen to be vnder the degree of a Baron, shall sit and be placed at the vppermost part of the benches, in the midst of the said Parliament, either there to sit vpon one Forme or vpon the vppermost benches, the greater them aboute the other, in order as is afore rehearsed.

Be it also enacted by Authority aforesaid, that in all trials of treasons by Peeres of this Realme, if any of the Peeres that shall be called heereafter to bee tryers of such treasons, shall happen to haue any of the Offices aforesaid, that then they hauing such Offices, shall sit and be placed according to their Offices, aboute all the other Peeres that shall be called to such trials, in manner and forme as is afore mentioned and rehearsed.

And it is also enacted by Authority aforesaid, that as well in all Parliaments, as in the Starre-Chamber, and in all other Assemblies and Conferences of Counsell, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President, the Lord priuie Seale, the great Chamberlaine, the Constable, the Marshall, the Lord Admirall, the Grand-Master, or Lord Steward, the Kings Chamberlaine, and the Kings Secretary shall sit and be placed in such order and fashion, as is afore rehearsed, and not in any other place, by authority of this present Acte.

CHAP.

## The Parliamentary Pompe.

## CHAP. XXIII.

(Viz.) *The forme and manner of the going of the States vnto the Parliament, seriously collected out of diuers examples. Wherein I thought good, especially to propound that most stately going of Queene Elizabeth, in the xxxij. yeare of her reigne.*



On Sunday (the xxij. day of November) in the Chamber of Presence (as they doe terme it) it was proclaimed that the Noble-men and States, and to all others which were bound to attend vpon the Queenes Maiestie, the next day to be holden at Westminster, should bee ready at nine of the clocke before noone, to giue their attendance, the Queene then lying in her royall house called Saint James, neare vnto Westminster. The next day at the appointed houre, the Noblemen put on their Parliament Robes in the Countsell chamber, and the Bishops theirs likewise, in another chamber next vnto the chappell: from thence they, by the Garden going into the Parke, mounted on horse-backe, attended the coming forth of the Queene. About eleuen of the clocke the most gracious Queene, attired also in a Parliament Robe, at the going out of the Garden, mounted in a Chaire of Estate, like vnto a Chariot or Horfeller, carried betwixt two white Horses. This Chaire was on euery side open, but that behind a couering hanging forth aboue, semicircle-wise, was with two litle pillars of Silver supported: vpon the top whereof, stood on high a Crowne of golde: and vpon two other pillars at her feete, stood a Lyon and a Dragon glistering with golde, made with wonderful cunning, supporting the Queenes Armes. This Chaire (which I might rather call a Throne) being altogether cunningly garnished and gilt, was most magnificently bedeckt with cloth of Silver (as

they call it) and with Cushions of the same. Wherein, after that the Queene had placed herselfe: she rest by two and two in this order set forward.

First went the *Mantellours* or *Messengers* of the Kings Court.

Afterward the Gentlemen of less note. Squiers.

Squiers of the body.

The Clarkes of the Chancerie.

The Clarkes of the Signet.

The Clarkes of the priuate Seale.

The Clarkes of the Countsell.

The Masters of the Chancerie.

The Knights Bachelours.

Knight, Bannerets.

*Trumpets here and there sounding.*

Seruaunts or Sergeants at Law.

The Kings Sergeant in an enlaced purple Gowne or Hood.

Him followed *John Popham* the Kings Atturney, with *Thomas Lygent* the Solicitor.

Two Heralds.

The Iudges of the Exchequer, whom we call *Barons* of the Exchequer.

The Iudges or Iustices of the Court of the Common Pleas, and of the Kings Bench,

*Edmund Anderson* chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas, together with *Roger Mawwel* chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, both knights.

*Christopher Wray*, chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench, or of England, & *Guthbert Gerard* Maister of the Roles, Knights both: but this man ridde in a Velvet Gowne; but aswell the rest of the Iustices, as the Barons of the Exchequer, rid in Gownes and Hoores of Skarlet, lined with a white fure called Miniver.

The younger sonnes of the Nobility according to their dignitie.

The Treasurer of the Kings Chamber.

Knights of the Bath.

The eldest sons or heires of the Nobility.

Knights of the Priuy Countsell.

Knights of the order of the George, or of the Garter.

*Francis Walsingham* knight, principall Secretary.

*Francis Kneller* Treasurer of the Queenes house, together with *Imrys Croft*, Controullet of the Queenes house, both Knights.

*Edward Norris*, the third Sonne of Baron Norris, carrying the Queenes Hat and Cloake, but vp this ranke.

Two Heralds, whom the Barons followed by two and two together.

Barons.

*Henry Baron Norris* of Rycot.

*Henry Baron Cheney* of Tuddington.

*Henry Baron Compton*,

*William Cecil* Baron of Burghley. But he went in another place, because hee was Treasurer of England.

*William West*, Baron de la Ware.

*Thomas Sackville* Baron of Buckhurst.

*John*, Baron S. John of Motesfo.

*Henry Cary* Baron of Hunsdon. He was absent because he was Gouernor of Barwicke.

*Giles Bruges* Baron Chandos.

*Roger Baron North* of Cartheloge.

*Charles Baron Howard* of Effingham.

He went in another place, because hee was Chamberlaine vnto the Queene.

*Thomas* Baron Darcy of Chiche.

*Thomas Baron Paget*.

*Edmund Baron Sheffield* of Buxterwick.

*Charles Baron Willoughby* of Parham.

*Robert Baron Rich* of Leze.

*Philip Baron Wharton* of Wharton.

*William Baron Eure* of Witten.

*Henry Baron Cromwell* of Vlcombe.

*Lewes Baron Morgant* of Turney.

*Thomas Baron Burgh* of Gainsburgh.

*Henry Baron Wentworth* of Nettlested.

*Fredericke Baron Windsor* of Bradenham.

*William Baron Faux* of Harroden.

*William Baron Sandes* of Vine.

*John Baron Darcy* of Menill.

*Cuthbert Baron Ogle* of Bothall.

*William Baron Montjoy*.

*John Baron Sturton*.

*John Baron Lumley*.

*Edward Baron Dudley*.

*Henry Baron Scroope* of Bolton.

He was absent, for that he was Gouernor of Carlile.

*Arthur Baron Gray* of Wilton.

*Edward Baron Stafford*, of Stafford.

*William Brooke* Baron of Cobham.

*Gregorie Fynes*, Baron Dacres of Herstmonceux.

*Edward Parker* Baron Morley.

*Henry Baron Barkley*.

*Peregrine Bertie* Bar. Willoughby of Eresby.

*Edward Baron Zouch* of Haringworth.

*George Touchet* Baron Audley.

*Henry Neuill* Baron of Abergaunemy.

Two Heralds going before the Bishops.

The Bishop of Gloucester.

The Bishop of S. Asaph.

Bishop of Chester.

Bishop of Carlile.

Bishop of Peterbowan.

Bishop of Landaff.

Bishop of Hereford.

Bishop of Cicester.

Bishop of Litchfield.

Bishop of Bath.

Bishop of Rochester.

Bishop of Worcester.

Bishop of S. Daniels.

Bishop of Bangor.

Bishop of Lincolne.

Bishop of Sarisbury.

Bishop of Norwich.

Bishop of Excester.

Bishop of Ely.

Bishop of Winchester.

Prelate of the Garter. Bishop of Durham.

Bishop of London, Chancellor to the Bishop of Canterbury.

These three Bishops, (viz.) the Bishops

of London, Durham, and Winchester, by

force of Acte of Parliament, made the

xxxi. yeare of King Henry the viii. goe

next vnto the Arch-bishops: but all the

rest take their places, according to the

ancientesse of their elections. Every Bi-

shops Gown was made of Scarlet cloth,

made after the fashion of Barons, and

hoods of the same, lined with Miniver, &

hanging downe behinde them.

*Henry Vicount Howard* of Bindon.

*Anthony Browne* Vicount Montacute.

Two Heralds, after whom the Earls followed.

*Edward Earle of Lincolne*. The Ad-

mirall was sicke.

*Robert Earle of Suffex*, was absent,

because he was vnder age.

*Robert Earle of Leiceister*, went in ano-

ther place, for that he was for this turne

Steward of the Queenes Houle.

*Edward Earle of Hertford*.

*Henry Earle of Penbroke*.

*Francis Earle of Bedford*.

*Henry Earle of Southampton*.

*Ambrose Earle of Warwicke*.

*William Earle of Bathe*.

*Henry Earle of Huntingdon*, was ab-

sent, because he was President of Yorke.

*Henry Earle of Suffex*.

*George Earle of Cumberland*.

Edward

*Edward Earle of Rutland.*

*William Earle of Worcester* supplied the place of the Marshall, being absent.

*Henry Erle of Kent*, went in another place because he carried the Sword.

*George Earle of Shrewsbury*, was absent being sicke.

*Henry Earle of Northumberland*, Then prisoner in the tower of London.

*Edward Earle of Oxford*, went in another place, because he was high Chamberlaine of England.

*Phillip Earle of Arundell.*

*An Herald or King of Armes.*

*William Marquesse of Winchester*: Hee in another place carried the *Cap roiall*.

Heere were places fit for Dukes: all whose parliament robes (a thing worth the noting) differed nothing from the Barons, but that they wore the guardes vpon their shoulders, three or foure fold. For although all Dukes, Marquesses, and Earles, in their creations are attired with garments of Silke and Veluet, which are called Robes or garments of Honour: yet in Parliaments they vse the same that Barons doe, made of Skarlet, with certayne differences of white Furres, for as fringes or edgings on their shoulders: for that there they al sit by reason of their Baronies, and according to their dignitie take their places.

*Thomas Bromley* Knight Chancellour of England; with *William Cicill* Baron of *Burghley* ridde together. But the great Seale of England, was by one footman carried before the Chancellour: but hee himselfe was attired in a Gowne of black Veluet lined with Sables.

*John Whitgift* also, Arch-bishoppe of *Canterbury*: with *Edwin Sands* Arch-bishop of *Torke* followed next after them.

*Clarenceux King of Armes.*

Two Sergeants at Armes with silver scepters, which we call Maces, gilt.

*Garter* chiefe King at Armes, in his Heralds coate, hauing the chiefe gentleman Visser on his right hand.

The Marquess of *Winchester* did beare the *Cap roiall*, vpon whose left hand the Earle of *Worcester* carried the Rod of the Marshallship of England, in steed of *George Earle of Shrewsbury*, then earle Marshall, who was then in the Parliament Chamber, although he was not heere present, for that he was sicke of the Gout.

The Earle of *Kent* after them carried the sword, on whose right hand went the earle of *Oxford*, then great Chamberlaine of England, and on his left hand the Earle of *Leicester*, *Seneſchall*, or Steward of the queenes house.

The queenes Maiesty carried in a chaire as we haue before said. She her selfe decked vp in a purple Robe, furred with *Ermine*. But her inner Garment was of purple veluet also, more straighter vnto her body, turned vp at the hand, with the same furre.

*Foure* Quiries of the Stable (whom in French they call *Eſquires*) and the Footmen in their rich Coates were attendant about the queene: and without them all along in a ranke, waited the Gentlemen Pensioners with their *Partisans*.

After them followed the Earle of *Darbie*, Master of the Horse (instead of the Earle of *Leicester*, who at this time supplied the place of the Steward) leading a spare horse of state: by whom on the left hand rode *Charles Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Chamberlaine of the queenes house, both of them attired in their Parliament Robes.

After these followed also *Christopher Hatton*, Knight Vice-Chamberlaine, with many Noble women, Ladies, and other Noble Courtiers.

In this order and Royall pompe, the queene came vnto the South gate of *S. Peters Church* at Westminster, where the Bishop of *Sarisbury*, the Kings Almoner, and Doctor *Goodman* Deane of that Church, with the *Prebendaries*, and all the quier receiued Her in their Coapes. Without the Porch was set a Forme, furnished with Carpets and Cushions, at which the queene vpon her knees, receiued of the Deane the golden Scepter of *S. Edward*, which he layde vpon the Cushion before her: and hauing receiued a little Booke of the Deane, vnto her selfe softly prayed. Afterward shee came into the Church, vnder a stately Canopy of Cloth of Silver, which fixe Knights supported.

The Marchionesse of *Northampton*, and the countesse of *Oxford* bare vp the train: Baron *Howard of Effingham* being Chamberlaine supporting her: *Christopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlaine going on the other side, but not supporting her. But forasmuch

forasmuch as the Queenes robes made of rich silke and Ermines, were too weighty and chargeable for her well to beare, the Earle of *Arundell* on the right hand, and the Earle of *Penbrooke* on the left, held them vp from her shoulders.

Before the Lord Chancellour and the Lord Treasurer, went the singing men and Quiristers, singing of Psalmes, and when the Queene was now come vnto the royall withdrawing or retryng place (commonly called the *Tranſe*) prepared for them vpon the right hand of the Quier, neare vnto the Communion Table: the Noble-men tooke their places vpon Formes, beneath the *Tranſe*, but the Bishops fate themselves downe beneath the Pulpit, on the north side of the Quier.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, after a psalme sung, made a sermon, the sword and cap of Honour beeing in the meane time borne before him.

The sermon with a psalme ended, the Queene on foote vnder a Canopy, went vnto the south gate of the Church, carrying in her hand the Scepter, dedicated to King *Edward* the Confessor. In which place, shee restor'd it vnto the Deane of *Westminster*, of whom shee had before receiued it, to be againe layd vp.

It is worthy note, that whilst the Queenes Maiesty was hearing diuine seruice in the Church, the Earle of *Leicester* (for that time Steward of the Queenes house) went vnto the Lower Parliament house, to be there present at the answer of the Rescripts, (which our Lawyers call the Returne of the *Writtes*) before sent forth for the summoning of the knights of the shires, and for the Burgesſes of the townes thither, and met the Queene coming vnto the vpper Parliament house.

The Queene being come thither, first retired her selfe into her owne priue Chamber, where resting her selfe a little, the Noble-men in the meane while, had in due order placed themselves in the vpper house: and at length the Queene her selfe came forth, the Sword, the Cappe, and the Rod of the Marshallship of *England* being borne before her, and the other Officers going before her, shee went vp into the Royall Throne, the Nobilitie of the Kingdome sitting downe about her.

In the middle of the vpper house lie great Sackes of cloth filled with wooll: vpon the vppermost whereof sitteth the Chancellour, and vpon those which lie towards the sides of the house, sit the Maister of the Rolles, the *Queenes Secretary*, the *Iudges*, the *Barons of the Exchequer*, and certayne Lawyers, aswell *Ciuitilians* as Common Lawyers. Vpon the lowest of all, sitteth the Clarke of the Parliament house, with the Clarke of the *Crowne*, behinde whom the other Clarks write, resting vpon their knees.

When the Queene was set, and that they of the neather house (*viz. the* Knights of the Shires, and the Burgesſes of the Cities) were let in, the commended the Lord Chancellour, standing on the right hand by her, to make his Oration: who turning himselfe vnto the Nobilitie, and the rest there present, declared vnto them, in her Maiesties name, that this assembly of Parliament to be for three causes called (*viz.*) For the glorie of Almighty God, and the furthering of true Religion: For the health and preservation of her royall Maiesty, and the welfare of the Common-weale. Which after that hee had aloude and most eloquently at large declared, turning his speech vnto the Knights and Burgesſes, standing on an heape together below: hee willed them to make choyse of their Prolocutor, and to giue notice of him so chosen, to the Lordes of the Priue Counsell from whom they should expect what the *Queenes* pleasure and answer was concerning him so chosen, to be afterward presented.

When the Chancellour had ended his speech, the Clarke of the Parliament rising vp in French, and with a lowd voice proclaimed the names of them, which as Delegates had the power within certain dayes to vnderstand of the affaires aswell of the Kingdomes of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as of the Dukedoms of *Normandie* and *Aquitaine*, and to heare and examine the requests and petitions of them of the islands and parties beyond the Seas.

Which things being done, the Chancellour prorogued the Parliament, the *Queene* descending from her Throne, and retiring into her Priue Chamber, there put off her parliament robes: which when

when the Barons had in like manner also done, they in order (with the Sword, the Cappe of Honour, and the Rod of the Marthallship carried before her) attended her vnto her Barge, wherein shee from thence was downe the Riuer carried backe vnto her Pallace (called *White Hall*;) through which she passed into the Parke, where she mounting vpon a most couragious Horse, the Nobility, States, and most honourable men and women attending her, shee happily returned vnto her Pallace of *S. James*, from whence she before came.

Vpon Thursday following, the day appointed for the presenting of the Prolocutor, the *Queene* about three of the clocke in the after noone, by the Parke came from her royall house of *S. James*, vnto her pallace of *White Hall*; and when she had in her Chamber put on her Parliament robes, she went to her Throne, the Sword, the Cappe, and the Rodde of the Marthallship, being after the wonted manner carried before her: The Lord *Chamberlaine* going on the right hand of the Sword, and the Lord Steward on the left, with the Lord *Treasurer*, *Garter*, the *vishers*, & the Sergeants at Armes going before them. At length, when the Noble men were set downe, the *Chancellour* on the right hand, and the high *Treasurour* of *England* on the left hand, stood beside the *Queene* without the barres.

Then at length, the Knights of the Shires, and the Burgesses of the Cities being admitted in, brought in their most learned Lawyer (viz.) *John Puckering*, who standing at the barre, and hauing thrice made most lowe obeisance, sayd what he might, to shew himselfe vnfit to vnder-take so great a burthen, requesting most earnestly, that they would make choice of another *Prolocutor*, vnto whom the *Queene* by the *Chancellour* made answer, That shee liked exceeding well of the choice of him already made, and that she ratified the same.

Which done, the *Prolocutor* framed himselfe to another manner of speech, wherein hee particularly rehearsed what great benefits were redounded vnto the Commonweale, by the most wise gouernement of her royall Maiestie: he declared her singular vertues, her very naturall and motherly care ouer her Sub-

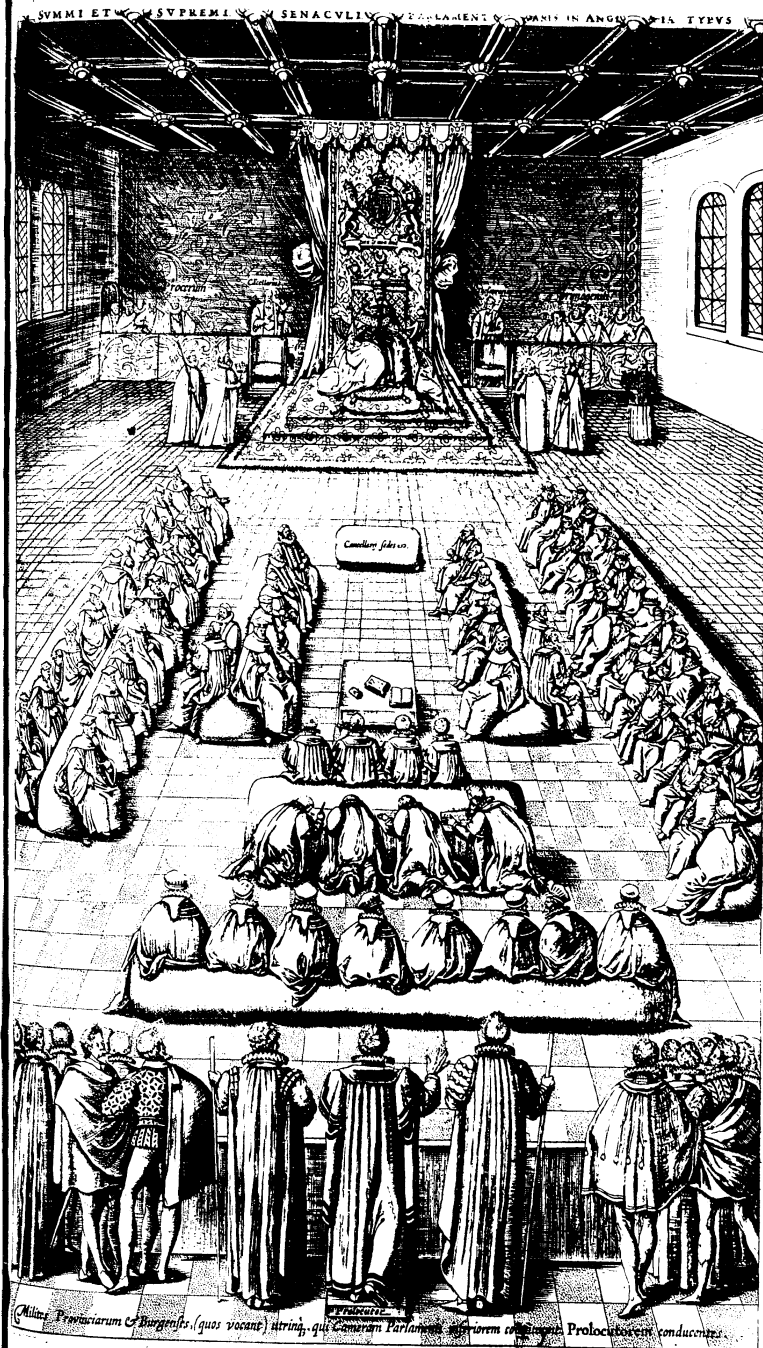
iects: But especially in that she had then called together the Estates of the Kingdome, there to consult and consider of the most weightiest affaires of the Common-weale, earnestly admonishing the Bishops to provide for the Ecclesiasticall and Church matters: the Nobilitie and the rest to bee carefull of the profite and welfare of the Common-weale. In the conclusion of his speech, he most humbly requested, that the auncient Rights and Priuiledges of the Lower house of the Burgesses, (viz.) of freely deliuering of their speech and minds, and of being free from Arrests, as well themselves as their Seruants, during the time of the parliament, might be kept whole and vntouched. And if that in any thing not well by them vnderstoode, they should happen to offend, he requested leaue awhile for himselfe as for the rest, to haue access vnto her royall Maiestie.

His Oration at length ended, the *Chancellour*, by the *Queene* commanded, and in some poynts, by her instructed, highly commended the *Prolocutors* Oration, and in the *Queenes* name graunted the leaue he had requested.

Which things being so on both sides dispatched, the *Queene* rose and retired herselfe into her private Chamber, put off her Parliament robes, and so attended vpon with the Nobilitie, came downe: and at the West side of the Parliament house, mounted into her chaire of Estate, a very royall one; and from thence with a great traine of Noblemen and honorable Ladies attending her (the Earle of *Kent* carrying the Sword before her) shee by Torch-light through the Parke, returned vnto her Pallace of *Saint James*, from whence she before came.

The manner of sitting in the Upper house of Parliament, is in this Platforme following in the next Page, most truly and lively described.

CHAP.



Alites, Prolocutorum & Burgesses, (quos vocant) siring, qui Cameram Parliamenti, auctorem totiusque Prolocutorum conducentes.





ȝ his paderne pad on his hippe, ȝif he þonne heþoe þe ȝe him pilleȝe  
and on his melleage oȝ iourney rode in his houþold, if he then had a þeþne that him folloved.  
¶ *nuncius eius esset & equitauerit in familiā, si tunc etiā Thynum sibi famulantē habuerit,*

De to Cynger ut þan Fif hida hapoe ȝ on Cynger ȝetl his þilapoe Denode ȝ  
whooto the Kinges expedition fine þyþes had, and in the Kinges Pallace his Loyd serued, and  
qui ad Regiam expeditionem ȝy las habuerit, et assidit in Regia aula Domino seruerit, terque

Spila mio his æpode ȝepopa to Cyng he moȝt ȝiððan mio his ȝopate his þilapoe  
thrice with his erande had gone to the king, he might afterwarð with his fozz Dath his Lozres  
cuius nuncius ad Regem venerit, hic deinceps data fidelitate Domini personā sustinere poterat

applan at inȝlican neodan; And þif þe ȝe ȝeah þ he þeande to eople þonne þeȝ  
put play at any nede. And if a þeþne so thiured that he became an Cacle, then was he þeþne-  
si opus fuisset. *Quod si Thynus ita cunctum erat ut Comes euaserit pari erat deinceps*

ȝiððan an eople niht ȝeþeode. And ȝif Wayrepe ȝe ȝeah þ he þeþoe þiððe oȝe  
foth an Cacles right woȝþy. And if a þeþant so thyned, that hee passed thire ouer the  
Comite dignitate. *Et si Mercator ita rem fecisset, ut tē rāstū mare sua peritū*

þio sæ be his ægenum cþaþe, he ȝiððonne ȝiððan þe ȝe ȝeþeode; And ȝif leop,  
lunde sea of his olone Caste, he was thencefoth the þeþne right woȝþy. And if a þeþol-  
traiccerit, paritunc erat cum Thyno dignitate. *Quod si Literarum studiosus lute-*

ner ȝe ȝeah þuþ lare þ he had þeþoe ȝ þenode Xpe, he ȝiððonne ȝiððan næde  
le so thyned through learning, that he had degre and serued Chriþt, he was thencefoth of dignity  
uis progressum fecisset, ut ordines habuerit & Christo inseruerit, erat deinde venerandum

ȝ nuinde ȝa micel ȝeþeode ȝa þe ȝe ȝeþeode, buton he forþoȝe þ he ȝiððan  
and peace so much woȝþy as thereto belonged, unless he forþe so that he the use of his re-  
et immuns quantum ad locum eius se habebat, nisi ita excidisset ut suo munere uti non

te notian ne moȝteȝ  
ȝe ne might.

þolnisset.

These

The name of  
a Baron from  
whence and  
when it came  
into England.

These ruines or rubbishes of antiquity,  
make shew of a perpetuity of Nobility, e-  
uen from the beginning of this lland, but  
times are changed, and we in them also.  
For King Edward the Confessor, last of the  
Saxon blood, coming out of Normandy,  
bringing then in the Title of a Baron, the  
Thynes from that time began to grow  
out of vse; so that at this day men remem-  
ber not so much as the names of them.  
And at length, that name of Baronage  
began to be both in dignity and power to  
magnificent about the rest, as that in the  
name of the Baronage of England, all the  
Nobility of the Land seemed to be com-  
prehended. As for Dukes, they were (as it  
were) fetcht from long exile, and againe  
renewed by King Edward the third. And  
Marquesses & Vicounts, were altogether  
newly brought in by King Richard the se-  
cond, and King Henry the first.

But our Kings descended of the Nor-  
man blood, together with the Crowne of  
the Kingdome, granted an hereditary &  
successory perpetuity vnto honourable ti-  
tles, such I meane as are the Titles of Earl-  
domes and Baronies) without any diffe-  
rence of sex at all. Which thing I thought  
good to make manifest, by the examples  
of the more ancient times. In the reckon-  
ing vp whereof that I may the better ac-  
quit and discharge my selfe; in the very  
entrance of my speech, there be 3 things,  
whereof I would haue the Reader by the  
way, to be especially forewarned. First,  
concerning the disposition and inclinati-  
on of our Kings, in the creating of the no-  
bility. Secondly, of the custome of trans-  
ferring of honours and dignities by Fa-  
milies. And thirdly, of the force of time, &  
the change and alteration of things. For  
why, our Kings (who only and alone, doe  
in their kingdome beare the absolute rule  
and sway) are with vs efficient causes of  
all Politicall Nobility. The Titles of Na-  
med Nobility, by our custome, haue this  
naturall and common together with the  
Crowne it selfe, that the heyres male say-  
ing, they deuolue vnto the Women, ex-  
cept in the first Charters it be by expresse  
words otherwise provided; and yet so, as  
that regard is alwayes to bee had of the  
time, which is euery where wont to beare  
sway in the formality of things.

In this manner William the first, King  
and Conqueror, Harold being overcome,

having obtained the Soueraignty, accord-  
ing to his pleasure bestowed dignities &  
honors vpon his companions and others,  
(viz.) some of them so annexed and com-  
ioyned vnto the Fees themselves, as that  
euery yet at this day, the possessors thereof,  
may seeme to be ennobled, euery with the  
possession of the places onely. As our Bi-  
shops at this day, as also certaine ecclesi-  
asticall Abbots and Priors; who by rea-  
son of the Baronies ioyned vnto their Bi-  
shoppricks, enioy the titles and prehe-  
minence of Barons in the highest assemblies  
of the kingdome in Parliament. Other-  
tyme of the dignities and honors, he gaue  
and granted also, together with the lands  
and fees themselves. As he gaue to Hugh  
Lupus his kinsman and a Norman, the earl-  
dome of Chester. *Ad Conquerentium &  
tenendum sibi & heredibus, adeo libere per  
gladium sicut ipse Rex tenuit Angliam per  
Coronam.* To conquer and hold it to him  
and his heyres, as freely by the Sword, as  
the King himselfe helde England by the  
Crowne. With the Earldome of Rich-  
mond hee graced Alanus Rufus, his Ne-  
pew, and then Earle of Britaine in France  
and his heyres: *Ita libere & honorifice ut  
eundem Edvinus Comes antea tenuerat:* so  
freely and honorably as Earle Edwin had  
before holden the same. And the Earle-  
dome of Arundel, which Harold possessed,  
he granted with a fee vnto Roger of Mont-  
gomery. The first two of which honors (the  
heyres male sayling) by women either ones  
passed into other Families, but the latter  
Earldome, Robert the Sonne of Roger  
being attainted of treason, returned  
vnto King Henry the first, who gaue  
the same in dowry vnto Queene Adeliza  
his Wife.

The succeeding Kings more sparing-  
ly, bestowed such dignities to bee holden  
of them in Fee, granting only for the bet-  
ter and more honourable maintenance of  
their stocke and honour, the third part  
of the Pleas of the County (as they terme  
it) which they in their Charters called  
Tertium Denarium, or the third penny. So  
that hee which receiued the third penny  
of any Prouince, he the same man by the  
same ancient Law of succession, was cal-  
led Earle of the same Prouince: and so  
by custome the women, the heyres male  
sayling.

And if any Earle or Baron dying without Sonnes, had many women his heires, howsoever order was, either by covenant, or by way of partition taken, concerning the Lands and possessions, according to the common Lawes of the kingdome, yet the dignity and honour, a thing of it selfe indisfutable, was still left to be disposed of, according to the Kings pleasure. Who in bestowing thereof, for the most part respected the prerogative of birth.

By which right, King *Henry* the third, after the death of *John* the *Scot*, dead without issue (other lands and reuenues being by agreement giuen vnto his three Sisters) vntied the Earldome of *Chesster*, with the honor thereof vnto the Crown. This is also manifest in the Earldome of *Arundell*: which (after *Robert* of *Belisime*, Sonne to the foresaid *Roger* of *Montgomery*, driven out by *Henry* the first King *Henry* the second bestowed vpon *William* of *Albini*, Queene *Adeliza* his Mothers Husband, and by a new Charter, confirmed it in Fee, together with the inheritance to him and his heires, with the third penny of the Pleas of *Suffex*, whereof he created him Earle. But *Hugh* the great, Nephew of this *William* the first, being dead without issue, all the inheritance of the Earldome was diuided among his foure Sisters. Whose dignity and honour for all that, together with the Castle of *Arundel*, was by *Edward* the first, at length giuen to *Richard Fitz-Alan* (viz.) the Nephewes Sonne to *John Fitz-Alan* and *Isabel*, the second of the foresaid Sisters.

Now let vs passe from *Henry* the third, vnto *Edward* the first his Sonne. When as for a time a great dissention was betwixt him and certaine of his Nobility (viz.) *Gilbert* of *Clare* Earle of *Hertford* and of *Gloucester*: *Humfrey* of *Bohun*, earle of *Hertford* and *Suffex*, and Constable of *England*, and *Roger Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, Marshall of the kingdome, and that all those Noble-men, at length had lost their Earldomes and Offices, they being reconciled vnto the King, afterward by new Charters received the same againe in this manner.

The first of them, received the same vnto himselfe & *Joane* the same kings daughter his second wife, for teame of both their liues, and to the Children to bee by them two begotten (his two Daughters

by his first wife being excluded.) This *Joane* (called *Joane* of *Acon*) bare vnto her husband *Gilbert*, a Sonne called also *Gilbert*; but shee the second time, secretly married vnto one *Radulph*, of *Mont Hermer* (without the King her Fathers knowledge) in her owne right, made also the same *Radulph* Earle so long as shee liued. But the at length being dead, *Gilbert* her sonne, by the foresaid *Gilbert*, succeeded againe into the Earldome, *Radulph* his Father in Law being yet aliue. In the very same manner he restored the Earldoms and Office of Constableship vnto the foresaid *Humfrey* of *Bohun*, vnto whom also he gaue in marriage *Elizabeth*, another of his Daughters, widdow to *John* Earle of *Holland*; and vnto the third, he restored the Earldome of *Norfolke*, and the office of the *Marescall*, with a yearly encrease of a thousand Markes; yet vpon condition, that the heires male of his body to be begotten, sayling, both of them should returne againe vnto the King. At length, this *Roger* dyed without issue, in the xxxv. year of him the said *Edward* the first viz. in the last yeare of his reigne: and King *Edward* his Son, the second of that name, by a new Creation & Charter, gaue the Earldome and the Marshallship vnto *Thomas* of *Brotherton* his Brother, and his heires male.

These things wee haue thus propounded, thereby to shew, how according to the diuers dispositions of Princes, & changes of times, it hath by little and little varied in the first bestowing of dignities and honours. Of which thing (that new Law) and to them of ancient time vnknowne, made by King *Edward* the first himselfe, seemeth afterward to haue bene of no small weight and moment, whereby, hee fauouring certaine priuate men, more carefull of their owne surname, then of their posterity, it was thought vnto him good, & so decreed, to make Fees to belong to men only. That law I say, which I would in Latine call *Genitilium Municipale*, & which the Lawyers commonly call *lex Tallatium*, and *Tallabile*: or the Law of cutting off: for that it cutteth off successions before generall, and retraieth them vnto the particular heires of Families: which seemeth also to haue giuen an occasion of change in the giuing and bestowing of dignities and honors.

For

For euer since that time, in the creating of any new Earle, it is begonne to be altogether by expresse words in all Charters provided, that it shall bee but for terme of life onely, or descend vnto the heires males alone, the Women being quite excluded. And this I need not by examples to proue; for why, the thing it selfe proueth the same. But the force and efficacy of this Lawe of *Entaile*, (or of cutting off) I haue thought good thus in few words to declare.

The Lands and Fees of the earledome of *Oxford* (*Robert* Earle of *Oxford* and Duke of *Ireland*, being condemed of treason) by that Law came to *Albericus Vere* vncle to *Robert*, who therefore in Parliament, requested of the King, the Title of the Earledome also, and obtained the same. This is also most manifest, by the example of the Earldomes of *Arundell* and of *Surrey*, ioyned together in the family of *Fitz-Alan*. For *Edmund Fitz-Alan* Earle of *Arundell*, married the onely sister and heire of Earle *Richard*, and of her begot *Richard*, happy with his twice marriage. Vnto this *Richard*, the sonne of *Edmund*, and his heires male by *Alenor* of *Lancaster* (his second wife) begotten, and to be begotten, the Castle, Honour, and Lordship of *Arundell* were entailed in the one and twentieth yeare of *Edward* the third. And afterward (viz.) the same yere, Earle *John* his brother being dead without issue, enriched also with the encrease of the Earledome of *Surrey*, he was called Earle of *Arundell* and *Surrey*. Of *Alenor Richard* begot a sonne, called *Richard*, at length Earle of *Arundell* and *Surrey* also: and *John Fitz-Alan* his second sonne, in the right of his wife, called *Baron Maltreuers*. This *Richard* had *Thomas*, his onely Sonne, dead without issue; and foure Daughters his Co-heires (viz.) *Elizabeth*, *Joane*, *Margaret*, and *Alice*, who diuided the Earledome of *Surrey* amongst them. Howbeit the dignity thereof was granted to *John Mowbray* duke of *Suffolke*, begotten of *Elizabeth* the eldest sister; who by the ancient custome of Succession challenged vnto himselfe the Earledome of *Arundell* also. But *John Baron* of *Maltreuers*, Nephew to the first *John Fitz-Alan*, and Baron of *Maltreuers*, by his sonne *John* opposed himselfe against this man, and withstood

him, challenging vnto himselfe the possession of that caitle and demaine of *Arundell*, as fallen vnto him by the good right of the Law of *Entaile*.

For *Thomas* the last Earle being dead without issue (as is afore-said, he alleged the demaine of the Castle nor to belong vnto the Sisters, but to descend vnto his heires male and kinsmen, of whom hee himselfe was nearest of kinne vnto the said Earle *Thomas*: of which Fee, seeing by Law he held the possession, he affirmed the Title of honour and dignitie more sily to agree vnto himselfe then to lie in vaine, and to no purpose hidden in the Duke himselfe. Which thing, although hee could not obtrayne, yet *John* his sonne, a most famous warriour, after the death of his Father, with the applause and good liking of all men, obtained by Acte of parliament, in the eleuenth yeare of King *Henry* the sixth. Of whom also, for his great deserts and most noble vertues, he was the yeare after, rewarded with the dukedome of *Thurania* in *France*. And this *John*, both Earle and Duke, being dead, *Humphrey* his son, in short time after dead without issue (notwithstanding his sister) left the earledome of *Arundell* entailed vnto *William* his vncle, in whom afterward it took such root, as that we haue seene it in the male line, to haue brought forth most famous and renowned Earles, euen vnto this our age.

And what wee haue sayd concerning Earles, the same be it said also of Barons created by Charters. But in Barons created by Relcripts or Writs of Summons yet resting vpon most auncient custome, not so.

For in them (one onely excepted, sent forth to *Henry Bromflet*, wherein it was provided him, that same *Henry* and his heires male of his body lawfully begotten, only to be Barons of *Fey*) women, the heires male failing, were not in ancient time forbidden or embarred, but that they might be accounted, and by name styled honourable, with the preeminence of the dignity and calling of Barons. And after they had borne a Childe, according to the auncient fauour of our Lawes, and the reuerend custome of the Kingdome, graced their husbands also with the same honour; & with the same by inheritance ennobled

ennobled their children; yea, even without the possession of those places, from whence the names of such dignities and honours may seeme first to haue risen. For Fees and locall possessions, circumscribed by the Lawe, are translated and carried from one family to an other, and vsually enrich their Lords and owners the possessours thereof: but yet of themselves, neyther bring nor take away Nobilitie, either Dative or Native. By Examples to manifest these things were but needelesse; for why, all the most auncient Baronies, and the more auncient sort of the Barons at this day, are in this poynt on my side, and giue voices with me. Now, if any man studious of these things, by chaunce meeting with some things of other nature, shall more curiously dispute against these matters, vnto him I would oppose, eyther the force of time, or the carelesnesse and lacke of looking vnto. But, Customes are still like themselves, neyther are we to detract from the authoritie of Kings, who although they haue such supereminence, and vnderminate prerogative, as that they may seeme sometimes to haue of fauour graunted, some things beside the Lawes; yet shall it not appeare them requested, to haue done, or yet suffered any thing to bee done, contrarie vnto the Customes of Stockes and Families. So they sometime not regarding the solemnities of Ceremonies and Charters, haue onely by their becke (that I may so say) suffered dignities and honours to bee transferred, as in *Ranulph Blundeuill*, Earle of *Chester*, and of *Lincolne* to bee scene. For the Earledome of *Chester*, he permitted after the manner, to descend to *John* the Scot his Nephew, by *Maud* the eldest of his Sisters. But the Earledome of *Lincolne*, (the King thereunto consenting) hee yet alius deliuered vnto *Hawisa* another of his Sisters, now married to *Robert Quincy*, by his deede, in the fouteenth year of the reigne of King *Henrie* the third, in these words following.

**R**anulphus Earle of *Lincolne*, vnto all men present, and to come, which shall see this present Writing, greeting. I would haue it to come vnto the generall knowledge of you all, mee to haue

giuen and graunted, and by this my present writing, to haue confirmed to the Lady *Hawisa* of *Quincy*, my most deare Sister, the Earledome of *Lincolne*, (viz.) as farre forth as it vnto mee belonged, so that the may thereof be Countesse. To haue and to hold the same of my Lord the King of *England*, and his heires, vnto the said *Hawisa* and her heires, freely, quietly, fully, peaceably, and wholly by right of inheritance, with all the appuriances, and liberties vnto the aforesaid Earledome belonging. And that this present Writing may stand in force for ever, I haue thought it good so firme and strengthen the same, by the setting of of my Seale. These being witnesses.

*Hawisa* with this her brothers writing in this manner endowed, was forthwith Countesse of *Lincolne*, who yet liuing, presently gaue the same to *John* Lade her sonne in lawe. So also I may not passe ouer *Hugh Courtney* the first of that family and name, in the time of King *Edward* the third: for he, when hee had for many years after the death of *Isabell de Fortibus* (whose sole heire hee was) quietly possessed the lands and Fees of the earledome of *Denfbire*, without eyther the Title or Inuettiture of an Earle, and that at length contention arose betwixt him and the Kings officers of the Exchequer, for the repayment of the third penny, for that hee as yet vsed not the Stile of an Earle, hee hauing written Letters supplicatorie vnto the King, then busied in the warres in *Scotland*, receiued answer; That taking vnto himselfe the Name and Dignitie of an Earle, hee should cause himselfe, from that time forward, to bee named and called Earle of *Denfbire*, in these words.

**T**he King to his welbeloued and faithful, *Hugh of Courtney* the Elder, &c. Greeting, &c. Whereas you, as appeareth by your Petition exhibited before vs and our Councell, haue of long bene sued for the repayment of eightene pounds, sixe shillings and eight pence, of the yearly Fee of the Earledome of *Denfbire*, which *Isabell de Fortibus*, late Countesse of *Denfbire*, whose heire you are, and the heires of her the said Countesse, and yours, Earles of *Denfbire*, yearly

yearly receiued by the hands of the Sherifes of that Countie that were for the time being, and which you likewise after the death of the aforesaid Countesse, as her heire for a certaine time receiued: And for that they haue bene from you detained, because you haue in no wife named and tiled your selfe an Earle: as by the Certificate of the Treasurer, and of the Barons of our Exchequer, by our commandement made in to our Chancerie, more at large doth appeare. Wee, for that the inheritance which was the aforesaid Countesses, and the inheritance of her Predecessours, and yours, the Earles of *Denfbire*, vnto you descended by hereditary right, and that you at this present hold the same inheritance; willing in this part to prouide, as well for our owne Dignitie, and the equitie of our Kingdome, as for your honour: will and command you, in requesting you, that in taking vnto you the name and honour of an Earle, you from henceforth cause your selfe to be called Earle of *Denfbire*, knowing that wee will make the aforesaid Fee to bee yearly paid vnto you, as it hath bene wont to bee paid vnto the Earles of *Denfbire* your Predecessours. Witness the King at *New-castle* vpon *Tyne*, the two and twentieth day of February, & in the ninth year of our reigne.

Last of all, we haue scene this same not long since, in *Phillip Howard* confirmed. For hee, after the most auncient right of the Earledome of *Arundell*, tooke vnto himselfe the Title of *Arundell*, the *Queene* onely consenting therunto, and approving the same; no forme of Charter repeated, or of any forme of his Creation being therunto ioyned.

Whereto it seemeth also to appertaine, that our most auncient Earles were of auncient time wont (according to the diuersitie of the places) where they for the most part chose to dwell, to bee called by diuerse Titles of Dignities. For *Reynold* who was Earle of *Cornewall*, for his continuall dwelling at *Winton*, was oftentimes called Earle of *Winton*.

*Robert of Ferrars* the younger, Earle of *Ferrars* in *Normantie*, and of *Derbie* in *England*, sometime wrote himselfe Earle

of *Tutbury*, a Castle (vide licet) in the Borders of *Staffordshire* built by his Progenitors. *Baldwine* and *Richard of Rivers*, were sometime called Earles of *Exeter*, and sometimes Lords of the *Ile of Wight*, for their continuall dwelling in the same places; when as yet in the meane time, they were both Earles of *Denfbire*. *William* also of *Albiniac*, Earle of *Arundell* and *Suffes*, the first of that name, in the Letters of agreement betwixt king *Stephen* and king *Henrie* the second, set himselfe thereto a Witness, by the name of *William* Earle of *Cirencester*, for that he there oftentimes dwelt. Adde heereunto also if you please, the Earle of *Pembrooke* to haue bene called the Earle of *Strigula*, of the Castle of *Strigula*, built by *William Fitz-Osborne* Earle of *Hereford*, and the Seate of the Earles of *Pembrooke*.

These things (I say) were of olde and in auncient time, but now at this day, not so. For such is the force of time, and change in altering of the forms of things, as that it eating out of the olde, bringeth still in new. So vnto Earles, whom we said in auncient time to haue bene rewarded with the third penny of the Province whereof they were earles, to maintain their Honour and Dignitie, a certaine summe of money is at this day yearly payed them out of the Exchequer, and they enjoy the Titles of such places, as wherein they haue not any iurisdiction, administration, or profite at all. Barons also, who as the Fathers and Senators in auncient time among the Romans, were chosen by their *Seueritas*; were in like manner wont to bee esteemed and valued by Knights Fees (for why, hee which had and possessed threene Knights fees, and a little more, was then to bee accounted among the Barons) are now, more sildome times chosen for their vertue, their great wealth, and large possessions.

Neither is there any let, but that a man may hold and still retaine, the name and Title of a Barony, the head of which Barony (as they tearme it) he hath afterward sold or alienated to some other common person.

In briefe, our Kings royall maiesty is alwayes like it selfe, constant, and the same; which hauing regard to the vertue, stock, wealth,

wealth, and substance of any man (whereby hee may with his Councellor seruice, profit the Common-weale) may in euery place freely giue and bestow Dignities and Honours, sometime chusing moe Barons then one, out of one & the same family, the custome of the succession of the former and more auncient Baron, beeing still kept whole, and not in anie hurt: as we see, *Edward* the sixth wisely to haue done in the familie of the *Wiltoughbies*, which family (that for breuitie sake I should not reckon vp moe) beside the most auncient Barony of the *Wiltoughbies* of *Eresby*, brought forth another Barony also of *Parham*. Wherefore we acknowledge our Kings to bee the Fountaines of Politicall Nobilitie, and vnto whom we may with thanks, referre all the degrees of Honours and Dignities; wherefore I may not, without cause, seeme to reioyce on the behalfe of our Nobilitie of *Britaine*, which hath alwayes so had Kings themselves, Authours, Patrons, Gouvernours, and Defendours thereof, that when Lands, Fees, and Possessions, subiect to Couenants or agreements, are still tossed and turneyed with the stormes of the Iudiciall Courts, and of the Common Lawe; it is onely vnto the Kings themselves beholden, and resteth vpon heroicall orders and institutions, proper and familiar vnto it selfe. So that

*Per titulos numerentur sui semperq; renata  
Nobilitate viri: & prolem sua sequantur:  
Continuum propria seruantia legemorem.*

By Titles great, mens Auncestors  
were knowne still as they came,  
And for their owne posteritie,  
do still enjoy the fame;  
And flourish long without decay,  
with euermlasting fame.

For the Noble-men, for deciding of  
sutes concerning their Honours, and for  
the giuing vnto euery man that which of  
right belongeth vnto his Farme and Digni-  
tie, haue their Tribunnall or proper  
Martiall Court, which they are wont to  
call, The Court of *Chivalry*: whereof,  
when wee shall come vnto the Order of  
Knight-hood, wee shall say somewhat  
more.

The Court of  
Chivalry.

# CHAP. XXIII.

## Noblemen of the lesser sort.



He named Noble men which our Country of England beareth, and in honour excell-  
ing, I haue with as much breuitie as I could, declared, and in painting of it forth, propo-  
sed it vnto the eye: with what Lawes also they are created, and with what orders of successions they after our manner line, I haue in few wordes briefly shewed. Now if I had vnto these also ioyned the Fellowes of the Order of the Garter, I might well seeme to haue ended this Treatise, beeing about to haue written nothing at all, of those whom wee call *Noble-men of the lesser sort*, or Vnnamed: but the earnest and continual calling vpon of certaine of my friends, overcame mee. Wherefore, seeing that it is neyther altogether strange from our purpose, and may be done without straining of the Methode of that I haue taken in hand, both the place, and the requests of my friends haue inuited mee by the way to ioynne heereunto these few things heereafter following:

The Noblemen therefore of the lesser sort, are in three sorts or ranks diuidedly comprehended.

The first ranke or order, is of Knights: The second is of Esquires: The third, of them we call onely by the name of Gentlemen.

Those whom the Frenchmen simple call *Gentilshommes*, and wee in English Gentlemen, wee thus distinguish into three sorts:

First, hee which deriueth his Stocke with Armes from his Auncestors, is by bloud a Gentleman.

Secondly, hee which beareth Armes onely, although he be not yet by Stocke a Gentleman, is yet called a Gentleman, and giueth Gentry vnto his sonnes.

Third-

Three degrees or ranks of Noblemen or Gentlemen of the lesser sort.

Plaine Gentlemen, with a small other addition.

Esquires.

Thirdly, hee which is of reputation onely for his learning, or for some Office or function which hee beareth, hee onely for himselfe, is in common estimation accounted a Gentleman; although he had a common persion to his Father, and leaue his Sonnes common persons also.

An Esquire, who sometime is also called *Scutifer*, or a *shield-bearer*, and in ancient time *Homo ad Arms* (or a Man at Arms) in French *Escuire*, and in English a *Squire*, or an *Esquire*, is next vnto a Knight: as hee who in ancient time following a Knight, by his side bare his Armes, as a most faithfull fellow-souldier with him, From whence perhaps, they whom wee at this day in our Kings houses, account Squires for the bodie, seeme to haue taken their beginning. But that which at first was by institution a militarie Office, is now become a degree of dignitie: whereof, Antiquitie it selfe, and the custome of our Kingdome hath brought forth vnto vs foure kinds.

The first doth comprehend all the younger iounges of Barons, and of other Noble-men, and their first begotten Sonnes also; who together with their being first borne, make the dignitie of Esquireship successorie, so long as their issue male faileth not.

Another kinde (and that most auncient) is of them, which are borne the eldest Sonnes of Knights, and their eldest Sonnes also.

The third is of them, which of auncient time graced with Armes belonging vnto their Stocke and Family, are the first begotten and chiefe of their house and stocke. And these by a certayne prerogative of being the eldest or first born, goe before all the rest of the Gentlemen of the same Family aside descended, and are accounted Esquires.

The fourth kind respecteth the common-weale, and the Kings house. For they which beare publike Offices in the Common-weale, are of Gentlemen in reputation made Esquires. Such as are the Iudges, the Kings Attorney, and Prolocutor: the Sergeants at Law, and other Officers of like sort belonging vnto the Exchequer.

Doctors.

Vnto these also wee may especially ioynne, if not preferre, such as proceede

Doctors of Diuinitie, or otherwise in other professions in the Vniuersities. For Doctorship is a Title of Dignitie more noble, then they which are Gentlemen but by their Stocke onely: vnto whom also after our manner, in the Kings Commissions concerning the publike affaires, so much preeminence is giuen, as that they may well seeme in dignitie, to bee compared with Knights.

In the Kings house also, the Appari-  
tors, commonly called Sergeants at Arms, Heralds, and all serving in the Kings Court, whom for the preeminence of their Offices, we also call Sergeants, are made Esquires with chaunces, (viz.) with a Collar made of Siluer and blacke SS put about their neckes by the Kings themselves.

Knights (in French called *Cheualiers*) are with vs called either Knights Bar-  
nets, Knights of the Bath, or Knights Bachelors.

Other there be of the Garter also, but of another sort, then that they are to be comprehended in a kind, to be compared with these as in due place is to be shewed.

Banneret is a degree of Honour, esteemed the last amongst the greatest (I meane *Nobilitum maiorum*) or the first with those of the second ranke. I heere formes of creations I haue obserued, as sometimes vnder the Royall Standerd displayed: the person hauing the lower end of his Pennon cut off into a square (such as Barons vse) receiueth that Honour: Or as *Edward* the third enioyned *William de la Poole* by Patten, *Vi statum & honorem tenet & continuet Banneretii, To him and to his heeres*: Or as *Nicholaus de Grey* was declared, by Writ of King *Edward* the second, to be, *Defamilia Regis inquam Bannerettus*; thereby meaning, both Precedencie and Salary accordingly.

The two other Knight-hoods *Bachelors*, and of the *Bath*, admit this difference betweene them, that to the one from elective grace of the Soueraigne (to attend himselfe or Queene in their inaugurations, or his Childrens creations) there is annexed a Ministeriall duetie to their knightly dignities; the other, nothing being left but their bare Stile and proper Merite; and therefore they are eyther in the Record, mentioned by none o-  
ther

Knights.

Bannetiers

Sir Rob. Cort.

Kl. Franc. 13.  
Ed. 1.

Ex com. G.  
de 13. Ed. 2.

Inglethorpe Crest  
 Crest of the  
 Chevaliers

ther name then *Milites simplici*, yet had in former ages (as well as other degrees of honour) many worthy and religious ceremonies, as also peculiar robes at their Creations (as appeareth copiously both in story and record.) But they by iniury of times, and promiscuous admissions (which somewhat declined their reputation) had bene fully lost, had not the other preferred the memory and vie of such venerable order.

As for right of precedency betwene these two; or whether such temporall service enlarged to the one more then the other, inuileth a perpetuall priority or no, I leave it to the discussion of those, to whom in due of place, and depth of Judgement, it properly belongeth.

No man is borne a Knight, but men vpon their knees receiue that Dignity (which is not but together with life lost, or taken away) of the King, or his Lieutenant generally; hauing regard eyther to his stocke, his vertue, or his fortune, or his aches done at home or abroad; lightly striking him that is so to be created, vpon the shoulder with a drawne Sword. The Prince speaking these words in French; *Soyez bon Cheualier d'oresenauant au nom de Dieu*: (Be from hence-forth a good Knight, in the name of God.) And they which are so made Knights, hauing killed the Sword, and this word (*Sir*) being added vnto their names, for tearme of their lines, are euery where (after the French manner in calling of their Kings) distinguished from other men; *Sir John Norris*, *Sir Francis Drake*. A dignity indeede of it selfe so found, apparant, & full of honor, as that it euery where becometh most great Dukes and Earles: and which even Kings themselves haue not disdained kindly to thanke one another for. For so we reade our King *Henry* the second of that name, to haue made *Malcolme* King of the *Scots*, Knight at *Turwin* in *France*, for his good seruice at *Thelouise*, in the year 1159. And *Alexander*, the Sonne of *William* King of the *Scots*, being not 14. years old, to haue receiued the order of knighthood in *England*, in the year 1212. *Hugh Perre* restored vnto the Earledome of *Oxford*, was by the King made Knight. *Henry of Lacy* also in the right of his Wife, and by the resignation of his Mother in law, promoted to be Earle of *Lincolne*, recei-

ued the third penny of his Earledome from the time he was made knight, about ten yeares more or lesse before he was created Earle. Beside that, the ancient Register of the Church of *Abingdon* thus reporteth.

*Richard* Earle of *Chester*, with his mother *Ermentrude*, lodged in the Towne of *Abingdon*; *Farrinus* the Abbot, and the Countesse his Mother, earnestly calling vpon him, confirmed for wel done, whatsoever was done concerning the Land of *Wimondisleie*, and with his writing strengthened the same. Which writing, he appointed to be sealed with his Mothers Seale, for he being not yet knighted, all the Letters by him any whether directed, were closed with his Mothers Seale. And for this cause it is, that it is noted, the writing to be signed rather with the seale of the Countesse, then of the Earle himself. Of which writing, this is the forme; *Richardus Comes Cestrie, & Ermentruda Comitissa Mater eius, Nigillo de Oylly, &c.* *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, and *Ermentruda* the Countesse, his Mother, to *Nigill* of *Oylly, &c.*

This same thing doe also the ancient formes of the Parliament writs testifie. For it is manifest, Kings haue bene wont to summon the Nobility of the kingdom vnto their Parliaments. *Ioanni Marchioni de Montacuto Cheualier* (vnto *John Marquesse of Montacute* Knight: And *Henricus vi. Henricus Vicecomiti Bourchier Militi* (*Henry* the vi. vnto *Henry Vicecount Bourchier* Knight.) 1. *Edward* 4. &c. Which manner of calling, although it hath begun of long to grow out of vse in others of the Nobility, yet eyther in calling out of new Barons, or in summoning of the olde, it is still right seriously obserued: as *Gulielmus Brooke de Cobham Cheualier* (vnto *William Brooke of Cobham* knight.) And *Gulielmo Cecil de Burghley Militi* (to *William Cecil* of *Burghley* knight) when as they both were commonly knowne and called Barons or Lords of *Cobham*, &c. of *Burghley*: so that a man would almost say, the order of knights to be the Seminary of the Baronage of *England*.

I let passe in the meane time, with how great solemnity of the kingdom, and charges of the Subiects, Kings in ancient time were wont to conferre and bestow this Military honour and dignity vpon their

noia Militi-  
 r. Taccaut  
 or Cheualier

their eldest Sonnes, (viz.) the Princes of *Wales*, and with what luster and magnificence, Emperours and Kings ioyned in league together, (by a certaine mutuall and as it were natural power of monarks among themselves, in bestowing Nobility according to the Lawe of Nations) haue dismissed one anothers Subiects & Ambassadors, graced with this Dignitie. I list onely heereunto to ioine an auncient forme, with the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, out of an old Chronicle of a certayne namelesse writer; Anno (saith he) 1316. *Dominus richardus de Rodney factus fuit Miles apud Keynsham die translationis Sancti Thomae Martyris in praesentia domini Almarici Comitis de Penbroke, qui cinxit eum gladio, & Dominus Maurinus de Barkley super pedem dextrum posuit unum calcar: & Dominus Bartholomew de Badelismere* (Baron & verque) *supposuit aliud super pedem sinistrum in Aula, & hoc facto, recepit eum honore.* In the year 1316. Lord *Richard* of *Rodney*, was made Knight at *Keynsham*, vpon the day of the translation of *Saint Thomas* the Martyr, in the presence of *Amarius* Earle of *Penbrooke*, who girt him with the Sword: and the Lord *Maurice* of *Barkley* put one Spurre on his right foot, and the Lord *Bartholomew* of *Badelismere* (both of them Barons) put the other Spurre vpon his left foot in the Hall; and this done, he with honour departed. But now according to the manner of the time, we liue after another fashion; and in this, as in other things, the change and alteration of things hath taught vs, what an alteration of things the long continuance of time is able to make. So in thinking of the beginning of Knights, and as well of the antiquitie of the Order of Knighthood, as of the preheminance thereof aboue other dignities and honours, I can scarce relesue my selfe, but that this name of olde should seeme to make shew vnto me of some (I wot not what) magnificent and maiestical things contrayned in the same, and more excellent then Nobility it selfe: and mounting (as it were) into the royall Thronoes, sitteth as it were a Iudge in the Iudgement seate, and the Protectour of all ciuill Nobility. For the deciding of sutes concerning honours, and for the preseruacion vnto euery man the right of his fame or dignity, the natu-

rall tribunall Seate or Court for the Nobilitie, is euery where called *Militaris*, that is to say, the Martiall or Military Court, and commonly, the Court of Chivalrie: the forme wherof with vs is this. The appoynted place for the holding thereof, is the Kings Hall: wherein the Constable of the Kingdome, and the Marshall of *England* sit as Iudges, where any Plaintiffe, either in case of dignities or of Armes, or of any other sute or controuersie concerning Nobility and Honour, may sue the Defendant. But the forme wherein the Constable of *England* was wont to call the Nobility and Gentry vnto his Court or Iudgement seate, was on this sort:

*Iehan filz de Fey Constable d'Angleterre, &c.*

*John* the Kings Sonne, Constable of *England*, and Varden of the East-marches toward *Scotland*, to our welbeloued *Cozin*, *Sir Rafe Neule*, Earle of *Westmerland*, and Marshall of *England*, greeting. We command and charge you that you come to come and appeare before vs at *Westminster*, the ninth day of May next coming, before *Monsieur Edward Hastings*, to answer to *Monsieur Reynold* Lord of *Grey*, and of *Rutheyn*, concerning that which he shall then charge him with in our court of Cheualry, concerning the full vsing and bearing of his Armes, and to that the Lord *Grey* saith, and as it shall be more fully declared at the same day; and further to doe and receiue that which the Lawe and the custome of our said Court shall in this part require. Returning before vs at the afore said day with this our Precept, al that you shall therein haue done. Given at *Westminster* vnder the Seale of our Office, the first day of May, in the reigne of my most dread Lord and Father King *Henry* the fourth, after the Conquest, the eight.

*Iehan filz. frere, e Fieulz un Roys, Duc de Bedford, &c.*

*John*, Sonne, Brother, and Vreckle to Kings, Duke of *Bedford* and *Anjou*, Earle of *Richmond*, and of *Kendall*, and Constable of *England*, vnto our welbeloued *Cozin*, *John* duke of *Northfolke*, Marshall of *England*, greeting. We command and charge



charge you, that you cause to be arrested, and to come before vs our Lieutenant at *Wexminster*, vpon the 15. of *S. Hillarie* next comming, *William Clopton* of the Countie of *Suffolke* Esquire, then to answer before vs or our Lieutenant in the Court of Chiuallrie, to *Robert Elund* of the Countie of *Lincolne* Esquire, to that which he the said *Robert* shal then charge him with by the way of Armes, as hauing set and put to the Scale of his Armes to a false and forged writing, done to the hurt and danger of him the said *Robert* an hundred pounds, and more then that, as he saith. Returning before vs at the sayd day, with this our *Mandate*, all that which you shall haue therein done. Given vnder the Scale of our Office, the 23. day of Nouember, in the fixteenth yeare of the reigne of our Lord the King, & since the Conquest of *England*, the hundred.

The forme of the prosecuting of the action, is on both sides tryed, by the looking into of Letters Patents, auncient Charters, and of Euidences (as they tearme them) and by Witneses. All things are (for the most part) acted by their Aduocates, in Writings, in Latine or in French. At length the definitive Sentence, according vnto equitie and right, and our owne heroycall custome, and not after any strange maner, sealed with the publike Scale of the Office is openly read, and afterward is deliuered to the Earle Marshall, to be put into execution. If any thing chance to be vnprovidedly done, or vnadvisedly in the suite ouer-slipped on eyther part, it is lawfull for them to appeale vnto the king, who is wont to referre the whole matter vnto the Bishops, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, vnto the learned Lawyers, and others of most vpright life, to be diligently againe examined & expounded. And euen in this very manner it was argued, adiuaged, and appealed, betwixt *Reynold Baron Gray of Ruthen*, and *Edward Hastings* Knight, concerning the Armes of the *Hastings*, in the reigne of King *Henry* the third. Likewise, betwixt the Barons of *Louell* and *Morley*, for the Armes of the familie of *Burnell*. And *Richard Scroope* Plaintife, against *Robert Grosvenour* Defendant, in an Action of Armes in the ninth yeare of the reigne

of King *Richard* the second.

But this I leaue to the iudicious labor of that noble person and excellent iudgement, who now can onely repaire the lamented ruines of that Iurisdiction, hauing bequeathed vnto him the *Genius* of those his renowned Auncelours, that so many yeares filled vp with famous memory, the Iudgement Seate of this Royall Court, referring the eye of further search, eyther to the Kings Records, or to those Registers of Armes and Honor whome it concerneth most to seeke out such Monuments with the Genealogies of Families, and the Armes of Stockes and Kindreds to distinguish the same, to write things done, and to register them vp in Bookes, for the perpetuall remembrance thereof. And who themselves acknowledging the high Constable, and the Earle Marshall of *England* for their Patrons, receiue yearly pensions from the Kings, and are by them with notable priuiledges rewarded.

Heere at length I might haue a large occasion to speake of the solemne Ceremonies of the Heralds; of their institution, immunities (both in time of peace and warre) and of the auncient reputation had of them amongst all Nations: if it were lawfull for mee to roame at large beyond the breuitie I haue vnto my selfe propounded, and whom therefore I had purposed in silence to haue passed ouer. But, lest I writing of so many degrees of out Noblemen, and so great things concerning Politicall Nobility, (in leauing to be spokemen for themselves) I might seeme to haue spoken vnadvisedly, and not indifferently, I thought it good briefly, and by the way, to touch these things concerning Heralds. They were in auncient time *Forlifers*, or as Messengers of the publike faith and credit. But since the time Princes and Monarks, for dispatch of their affaires, first began to haue their Ambassadors still resident one of them with another, the reputation of Heralds is so impaired, as that they euerie where liue as men neglected, & quite ouerthrowne. Yet what our Heraldes be, and in what houses, and vnder what Lawes they (by the fauour of our Kings) together with vs in safety dwell, I will heere, as it were, in a short Inuentorie, propound vnto the eye of the Reader.

The

Three Kings, which of their offices are called

Garter, who goeth first, as cheefe Ringleader of the all: not so much for the antiquity of his creation (for he was first created by King *Henry* the first) as for the super-eminnence of the Order of the Garter.

*Clarentius*. } Both of the ordained by K.  
*Norroy*. } Edward the 3. and are called  
Prouinciall kings of Armes.

The Collegiate society of Heraldes, consisteth of xiiij. persons, (viz:) of

Sixe Heraldes, which by the names of their additions are called,

*Somer set.*  
*Chester.*  
*Windefor.*  
*Richemond.*  
*Lancaster.*  
*Yorke.*

Foure Pursuiuantes, which in Heraldrie you may call learners and followers, vnto whom other Names are giuen also, (viz)

*Rougedragon.*  
*Portculis.*  
*Blew-mantell*  
*Rouge croix.*

All those by the names of *Kings*, *Heralds*, and *Pursuiuants*, are by the Kings themselves immediatelie, or by the Constable of the Kingdome, or the Marshall with the Kings Authority, crowned with Crownes, graced with Collars, attired with their rich Coates, named by their names of addition, and with certaine appointed Ceremonies created, receiue their yearly stipends out of the Kings Exchequer, to consult and meete together, about Armes and Authenticall Monuments, and helping and profiting vnto the Art of Heraldry. And they by the Kings Charter Incorporate, are endowed with a publike house in London, the cheefe City of the Kingdome: where (besides the Immunities and Priuiledges whereby they liue) they are with the preheminnences of their degrees and functions, one from another distinguished.

Are set to preserve the dignity and reputation of their society, and governe the rest, as for example.

For some of them.

*Garret* King of Armes, for the superiour Dignity of the Garter, is of the cheefe; whose peculiar Office it is, with all dutifull service to attend vpon the Knights of that order. To advertise them which are chosen of their new election, to call them to be entailed at *Windsor*, and to cause their Armes to be hangd vpon their seates. At their burials, to haue a care of their Funerall Rites & Ceremonies. Wherefore, (beside the yearly wages given him by the Knights) he is by the King himselfe rewarded with a Salary double to the rest. In every new Emperour, King, Prince, Duke, Marquess, Earle, Vicount, Baron, or Knight, to be into this order enlauded, hee challengeth of him the vppermost Garment, which he on that day weareth. He also sheweth vnto every new Baron, called vnto the Parliament, the place wherein he is to sit among his Peeres, and ordereth other things concerning their order.

*Clarentius*, who is King of Armes of al the East, West, & South Provinces of England, on this side of the Riuer of *Trent*.

*Norroy*, who is also acknowledged for King of Arms through the north part of the kingdom, beyond the Riuer of *Trent*.

These two haue by charter power to visit the Noblemens Families, to set downe their Pedegrees, to distinguish their armes, & in the open Market-place, to reprove such as falsely take vpon the Nobility or Gentry. And to order euery Mans Exequies & Funerals, according to their Dignity, & to appoint vnto them their Armes or Ensignes, &c. And in all things govern the *Heralds* as well as *Garter*.

Other some are pointed to obey (viz.)

*Heralds and Pursuivants*

Who in all things endeavour themselves for the defence of their society, or to their own lawfull profit in priuies, and willingly depend of the commandments of the kings

And these onely are the Kings *Heralds*, with vs so called, for that they receive wages of the kings, and with publike seruice, serue all the Nobility of the kingdom.

Howbeit, Noble-men and Peeres of this Land, in ancient time had their *Heralds* peculiar vnto themselves. For *Chester* the Herald, and *Falco* the Pursuivant,

liued at the command of the Prince of Wales, and serued him. *Humfrey*, Duke of *Glocester*, and Earle of *Penbrooke*, had the Herald *Penbrooke* his household Seruant.

*Richard* also, Duke of *Glocester*, hauing now obtained the kingdom, would needs haue his Herald *Glocester*, to be called King of Armes for all Wales. *Charles*

*Brandon*

*Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, retained *Suffolke Herald*, and *Marlowe* the Pursuivant, his Seruants. The Marquess of *Dorchester*, kept *Grobby* the Herald. The Earle of *Northumberland* kept *Northumberland* the Herald, and *Esperance* the Pursuivant. *Arthur Plantaginet*, Vicount *Lisle*, took vnto himselfe *Lisle* the Pursuivant: and Baron *Hastings*, *Hasting* the Pursuivant. These it pleased me to haue out of many others rehearsed, who serued Noblemen in their peculiar and domestick seruices. But the condition of the Seruant is made better, by the dignity of his Lord and Master, so these forenamed *Heralds* liued not with like authority or priuiledges as with the Kings.

So I breifely touch all things, for the beautifying and setting forth of Politicall Nobility: Now at length (by the *Heralds* leaue) let it be lawfull for mee to ioyn hereunto and insert some few things concerning Armes, whereby Noblemen are wont to be knowne from the vulgar sort, and to be among themselves by families diuided, being wont in ancient time to be more sparingly bestowed, then in this our age, and onely vpon such as had with their good seruice deserved them.

But such kinde of Armes seeme not to haue taken beginning, but of such military rewards, as were wont to be given vnto well deseruing men, in the Roman Common-weale. For the *Romans*, alwayes most strived for the obtaining of honor and glory, for the nourishing whereof, they with ornaments and rewards, laboured to stirre vp mens mindes, for the performance of noble actions, both at home and abroad. In warres flourished Military guises, *Trophies*, *Triumphall Armes*, *Letters Laureat*, &c. In time of peace, at home were shewed honourable Titles, Images, Statues, and such like. Things indeed wisely at first deuised, and afterward so together with the Empire encreased, that how many, and what manner of Crowns, Bracelets, Chaines, and Crests, euery man had deserued; what manner of trappings, Spears, Darts, or Belts, they had gotten: these they were wont in their expeditions in the wars, to beare in their Targets and Bucklers, or set vpon their Helmes; and againe, returning home, in time of peace, euery good Seruitor did hang them vp in their houses; and those Ornaments they

by the name of Armes, were wont by long order of succession, to deliuer ouer vnto their posterity: and heereof those armes of Families, heere and there dispersed by the Nobility, vsed in diuers kingdomes, were (if it please you so to thinke) of the *Germans* called *Wappen*, in our language *Armes*, and in Latine *Armata*, for that with them the enemies were repulsed.

These things the ancient *Roman* *Coyne* declare, and the credible ancient *Romane* Writers; the vse wherof so at length prevailed in kingdomes, that as names distinguished men from men, even so Armes diuided Nations from Nations, and Families from Families: first granted by Kings themselves, but afterward by the *Heralds* (Kings of Armes) by a Royall transmissive power granted vnto them, they euery where especially seruing the Politicall Nobility, vnto whom I willingly leaue these things. And therefore the name and office of the *Heralds* was euery where notable, and well becomming an honest man; whom they of ancient time went to call the *Fosterers of Politicall Nobility*, the Arbiters of Equity, the Protectors of Verity, the Ambassadors of Princes, and the Writers of mens noble actes.

But woe is me, that I carried with a certaine winde of this Method, haue thus euen against my will landed vpon our *Heralds*, whom (I know not by what destiny) euery man sigheth and mourneth to see them working their owne destruction. Although indeed it be not so much to be maruailed at, seeing that the cause is right manifest (for lawfull bee it for mee to say the truth, which the thing it selfe speaketh) (viz.) the want of the *Martiall Court*, or *Court of Chindry*, wherof I but now spake. For why, Nobility it selfe beeing oftentimes hurt or impaired, the *Heralds* themselves therewith languish also.

And yet for all that, herocall truth watech not her Patronnes, euen amongst the most Noble and reuerend Antiquity, although as it were banished, and almost a stranger in her owne house, hath together with the Muses, her most louing, kinde and earnest Patronnes, and who were not euen vnto my selfe also wanting in the performing of these my endeavors & purposes.

*These are the Orders and De-*

*grees, of both our sorts of Nobility, Named and Unnamed. Now into what ranks they are among themselves divided, and what honour they owe one of them unto another (by a certaine right of precedence) receive heere in briefe.*

- 1 THE Kings Maiesty.
- 2 The Prince of Wales.
- 3 Dukes descended of the Royall blood.
- 4 Dukes not descended of Royall blood.
- 5 Dukes eldest Sonnes descended of the Royall blood.
- 6 Marquesses.
- 7 Dukes eldest Sonnes.
- 8 Earles.
- 9 Marquesses eldest Sonnes.
- 10 Dukes younger Sonnes of the blood Royall.
- 11 Dukes second Sonnes.
- 12 Vicounts.
- 13 Earles eldest Sonnes.
- 14 Marquesses second Sonnes.
- 15 Barons.
- 16 Vicounts eldest Sonnes.
- 17 Earles second Sonnes.
- 18 Barons eldest Sonnes.
- 19 Knights Bannaretts.
- 20 Vicounts second Sonnes.
- 21 Barons second Sonnes.
- 22 Knights Batchellors.
- 23 Esquires for the body.
- 24 Knights Bannaretts eldest Sonnes.
- 25 Knights Batchellors eldest Sonnes.
- 26 Esquires.
- 27 Gentlemen.

The Sonnes of Knights, which are of the Kings priuy Councell, for the time, hold the places which their Fathers being knighted, were knowne to hold, beneath the Barons Sonnes. But the antiquity of the creation of euery Knight is to bee regarded: by which reasons, the Sonnes of the elder Knights, goe before the Sonnes of them that were more later created. Amongst Esquires, the antiquity of their Families, their wealth, and publike offices are considered; whereby it commeth to passe, that the wiues of them of the chee-

fer Families, or of such as beare great Offices take their places before others.

Howbeit, wee see no certainty to bee heere set downe concerning the places of Esquires or their Wiues, neyther concerning the places of younger Brothers wiues forasmuch as many such things oftentimes chance, as cannot in any certaine rules be comprehended: like as it vseth to happen in Named Nobility (viz.) in Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons.

*Now at last let vs passe vnto  
Knights of the Order of the Garter.*



E said in the beginning, in the diuiding and reckoning vp of our Nobility, it not to be beside our purpose, if I should vnto them also ioyne the fellowship of the order of the Garter, of others (by farre) the most honourable. For that it maketh Knights, and sometime them of the lesser Nobility also, being met for their vertue and valour, both in peace and warre about others famous, not only equall vnto Noblemen at home, but almost even vnto Kings themselves & Emperors. An order verily of all the orders of the Christian world (if it be to be compared with any other) most ancient and most famous, wherein the most true Nobility it selfe, together with Religion and vertue, attended vpon with fine and twenty most famous Knights, is seene that (I may so say) with vndeified Maiesty to sit in the Royall Throne. Wherefore, seeing that it is an order of so great dignity, and more famous then any other Nobility; & greater, then that it can in ranke with the other orders be included, as which includeth all the other degrees of Nobility, I haue purposed as briefly as I could, here to set it downe alone, and there-withall to conclude this Treatise.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXV.

*The Order of the Knights of the Garter, when, and by whom it was ordayned.*



Edward the third, the most invincible King of England and of France, a Prince principally endowed with al manner of piety, magnanimitic, and wisdom, in the xxiii. yeare of his reigne, after he had oftentimes ouer the Frenchmen and Scots triumphed, vnto the honour of Almighty God, whereunto he (as becomed a deuout King referred al things) in his Castle at Windsor, ordained the Military Ornaments and Ceremonies of the Knights of the Garter: whereunto he gaue the name of the Blew Garter (but commonly called the Garter) and wherein hee appoynted the Kings of England as chiefe, and fife and twentie Knights or Fellowes and Companions together. Who being men both for their martial prowesse and birth, most famous, and most chosen Chieftaines solemnely sworne, and binding themselves together with a bond of mutuall and perpetual friendship, for the defence of the honour and dignity of their Colledge and Fellowship, refuse not to vndergoe any danger, no not death it selfe. And therefore they are called *Fellowes of the Garter*, for that they haue the Calfe of their Leg bound about with a little Girdle, set with precious stones, which we call a Garter: the speciall Cognisance of the order, whereon it is in French, in golden Letters thus writte: *Hon. Soit. Qui. Mal. r. Penfe.* All these Knights once yearly attired in the Robes and Ornaments of their Order, meete together vpon the 23. day of April, a day dedicated to Saint George, The Rites and ceremonies, where-with they for the most great preheminance of their Order, are with most great solemnity chosen and entauled at Windsor, and the Statutes vnder which these Fellowes and Companions liue, seeing they can in iust Volumes be scarce contained, cannot heere in few words be expressed. Wherefore I list onely to rehearse the names of them, which from the beginning, or to-

gether with king Edward himselfe, were the Founders thereof, or else haue by our Kings from time to time, for some their vertue about others, bene still chosen to be Fellowes of that most honorable Order, in stead of them that were dead, euen vnto this our age.

Edward the third King of England and of France, &c. *Supreme or Governour of the Order of the Garter, and with him the fife and twenty first Founders thereof, which number they neuer exceed.*

Henry Duke of Lancaster.

Peter Captaine Bouche.

William Montacute, Earle of Salisburie.

John, Lord of the Iland, otherwise called

Lisle.

John Beauchampe, knight.

Hugh Courtney, knight.

John Grey of Codnor, knight.

Atiles Stapleton, knight.

Hugh Wrothesley, knight.

John Chandos, knight Bannaret.

Otho Holland, knight.

Sancho Dampredicourt, knight.

Edward Prince of Wales, King Edward

his eldest Sonne.

Thomas Beauchampe, Earle of Warwick.

Raffe Stafford, Earle of Stafford.

Roger Mortimer, Earle of March.

Bartholmew of Burgherit, knight.

John, Lord Mohun, Baron.

Thomas Holland, knight.

Richard Fitz. Simon, knight.

Thomas Wale, knight.

Neele Lorange, knight.

James Audley, knight.

Henry Esme, knight.

Walter Pauley, knight.

*The Founders of this Order*

*being dead, these following were in the time of Edward the third chosen, and being elected into the places of the dead, supplied their rooms.*

Richard, surnamed Burdeaux, eldest sonne of the Prince of Wales, who was also King of England, after Edward the

the

the third his grand-father, and was second of that name.

*Lionell*, surnamed of *Antwerp*, the son of King *Edward*, Duke of *Clarence*, and Earle of *Ulster*.

*John*, surnamed of *Gaunt*, fourth son of King *Edward*, first duke of *Richmond*, and after of *Lancaster*.

*Edmund* of *Langley*, fifth Sonne of King *Edward*, first Earle of *Cambridge*, and afterward Duke of *York*.

*John* of *Montford*, surnamed the valiant, Duke of *Britaine*, and Earle of *Richmond*, King *Edward* the third, his Sonne in law.

*Hamfrey* of *Bohun*, Earle of *Hertford*.

*William* of *Bohun*, Earle of *Northampton*.

*John* of *Hillings*, Earle of *Penbroke*.

*Thomas* of *Beauchamp*, Earle of *Warwicke*.

*Richard* Fitz-*Alan*, Earle of *Arundell*.

*Robert* of *Essex*, Earle of *Suffolke*.

*Hugh* of *Stafford*, Earle of *Stafford*.

*Ingelmar* of *Concy*, Earle of *Bedford*.

*Oniscard* of *Engolefme*, Earle of *Huntingdon*.

*Edward* Baron *Spencer*.

*William* Baron *Laumer*.

*Regnold* Baron *Cobham* of *Sterborow*.

*John* Baron *Neuill* of *Raby*.

*Raffe* Baron *Basset* of *Drayton*.

*Gualter* *Morny*, Knight *Bannaret*.

*Thomas* of *Ford*, Knight.

*Thomas* *Felton*, Knight.

*Francis* *Van Halle*, Knight.

*Alan* *Baxbull*, Knight.

*Richard* *Pemurze*, Knight.

*Thomas* *Vreight*, Knight.

*Thomas* *Banneister*, Knight.

*Richard* *la Vache*, Knight.

*Guy* of *Brianne*, Knight.

Richard, the second of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, &c. Soueraigne of the Order of the Garter, & they which by him were chosen into that Order.

**T**homas of *Woodstocke*, Earle of *Buckingham*, and afterward Duke of *Gloucester*, sixth Sonne to King *Edward* the third.

*Henry* of *Lancaster*, Earle of *Darby*, & Duke of *Hertford*, and afterward Duke of *Lancaster*, and at length King of *England*, of that name the fourth.

*William*, Duke of *Gelderland*.

*William*, surnamed of *Honnault*, was first Earle of *Normant*, and afterward Duke of *Holland*, *Hennault*, and of *Zealand*.

*Thomas* *Holland*, Earle of *Kent*, and afterward Duke of *Surrey*.

*John* *Holland*, Earle of *Huntingdon*, and Duke of *Excester*.

*Thomas* *Mowbray*, Earle of *Nottingham*, and afterward Duke of *Norfolke*, and Earle Marshall of *England*.

*Edward*, Earle of *Rutland*, Duke of *Albemarle*, and *Edmund* of *Langley* his Father being dead, Duke of *York*.

*Michaell* *de la Poole*, Earle of *Suffolke*, and Chancellor of *England*.

*William* *Scroope*, Earle of *Wiltshire*, & Treasurer of *England*.

*William* of *Beauchampe*, Baron of *Bergavenny*.

*John* *Beaumont*, Baron.

*William* *Willoughby*, Baron.

*Richard* *Grey*, Baron.

*Nicholas* *Sarnesfeld*, Knight.

*Philip* *de la Vache*, Knight.

*Robert* *Knolles*, Knight.

*Guy* of *Brianne*, Knight.

*Simon* *Burley*, Knight.

*John* *D'Euerux*, Knight.

*Brian* *Stapleton*, Knight.

*Richard* *Burley*, Knight.

*Peter* *Courtney*, Knight.

*John* *Burley*, Knight.

*John* *Bourchier*, Knight.

*Thomas* *Grandison*, Knight.

*Lewer* *Clifford*, Knight.

*Robert* *Dunstanwill*, Knight.

*Robert* of *Namar*, Knight.

Henry the fourth of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, &c. chiefe of the Garter: and they which in his Reigne were chosen into the places vacant.

**H**ENRY Prince of *Wales*, the eldest Sonne of King *Henry*, who afterward (his Father being dead) was himselfe King, fifth of that name.

*Thomas* of *Lancaster*, Duke of *Clarence*, King *Henry* his second Sonne.

*John* Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, third Sonne of King *Henry*.

*Hamfrey* Duke of *Gloucester*, fourth Sonne of

of King *Henry*,

*Thomas* *Beaufort*, Duke of *Excester*, Son to *John* of *Garrut*, Duke of *Lancaster*.

*Robert*, County Palatine, Duke of *Barris*.

*John* *Beaufort*, Earle of *Somerset*, Brother to *Thomas* Duke of *Excester*.

*Thomas* Fitz-*Alan*, Earle of *Arundell*.

*Edmund* *Stafford*, Earle of *Stafford*.

*Edmond* *Holland*, Earle of *Kent*.

*Rafe* *Neut*, Earle of *Westmerland*.

*Gilbert* Lord *Talbot*, Baron.

*Gilbert* Lord *Reos*, Baron.

*Thomas* Lord *Morley*, Baron.

*Edward* Lord *Powis*, Baron.

*John* Lord *Louel*, Baron.

*Hugh* Lord *Burnel*, Baron.

*John* *Cornwell* Knight, afterward Baron *Faulhope*.

*William* of *Arundel*, Knight.

*John* *Stanley* Knight, Steward of the Kings house.

*Robert* *Vinsreuil*, Knight.

*Thomas* *Rampston* Knight, Constable of the Tower of *London*.

*Thomas* *Epingham*, Knight.

*John* *Sallie*, Knight.

*Sanctius* of *Trane*, Knight.

Henrie the sixth of that name, king of *England*, and of *France*, &c. Chiefe of the order of the Garter, and the Knights whom he graced with the Garter, in stead of them that were dead.

*Sigismund* King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, Marquess of *Madenburge*, and Emperor elect.

*John* King of *Portugall*.

*Christian* King of *Denmark*.

*Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*.

*John* *Holland*, Earle of *Huntingdon*, and afterward Duke of *Excester*.

*William* *de la Poole*, first Earle, afterward Marquess, and at length Duke of *Suffolke*.

*John* *Mowbray*, Earle Marshall, and afterward Duke of *Norfolke*.

*Thomas* *Montacute*, Earle of *Salisbury*.

*Richard* *Pere* Earle of *Oxford*.

*Richard* *Beauchampe*, Earle of *Warwicke*.

*Thomas*, Baron *Cameys*.

*John*, Baron *Clifford*.

*Robert*, Baron *Willoughby*.

*William* *Philip*, Baron *Bardolfe*.

*Henry*, Baron *Fitz-hugh*.

*Leues*, *Robert* Baron *Bourchier*.

*Hugh* *Stafford*, Baron *Bourchier*.

*Walter*, Baron *Hungerford*.

*Simon* *Felbridge*, Knight.

*John* *Grey* of *Lyton*, Knight.

*John* *Dabrigecourt*, Knight.

*John* *Robart*, Knight.

*Trank* *van Clux*, a German knight.

*William* *Harington*, Knight.

*John* *Blount*, Knight.

Henrie the sixth of that name, King of *England*, and *France*, &c. chiefe of the Order of the Garter, and the Knights of the Garter by him made.

**A**lbert, Duke of *Austria*, King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and afterward Emperor.

*Fredericke*, Duke of *Austria*, Emperour, & *Albertus* his Brother.

*Edward*, King of *Portingall*.

*Aphonius*, King of *Aragon*, *Neples*, & *Sicilie*.

*Casmire*, King of *Polonia*.

*Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, King *Henry* his eldest Sonne.

*Peter*, Duke of *Conimbris*, *John* King of *Portingall* his Sonne.

*Henry*, Duke of *Visantium*, *John* King of *Portingall* his Sonne.

Duke of *Brunswicke*.

*Richard*, Duke of *York*, Father to King *Edward* the fourth.

*John* *Beaufort*, Earle, and afterward Duke of *Somerset*.

*Edmund* *Beaufort*, Earle *Moriton*, afterward Marquess, and at last Duke of *Somerset*.

*Isper* Earle of *Penbroke*, and afterward Duke of *Buckingham*.

*John* *Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolke*.

*Hamfrey*, Earle of *Stafford*, and afterward Duke of *Buckingham*.

*Gaston* de *Foix*, Capitaine de la *Bouche*, Earle of *Longueille*.

*John* de *Foix*, Earle of *Candalia*.

*Alaxius* *Dalmada* Earle of *Auerence*.

*John* Fitz-*Alan*, Earle of *Arundell*.

*Richard* *Neuill*, Earle of *Salisbury*.

*Richard* *Neuill*, Earle of *Warwicke*.

*John* Baron *Talbot*, afterward Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

*John*

*John* Baron Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury, his Sonne.

*James* Butler, Earle of Wiltshire and Ormond.

*William* Nevill, Lord Fauconbridge, afterward Earle of Kent.

*Richard* Woodvill, Earle Rivers.

*Henry* Vicount Bourchier, and afterward Earle of Essex.

*John* Beaumont, Vicount Beaumont.

*John* Sutton, Baron Dudley.

*Thomas*, Baron Scales.

*John*, Baron Grey of Ruthin.

*Rafe*, Baron Butler of Sudely.

*Lionell*, Baron Welles.

*John*, Baron Bourchier of Berners.

*Thomas*, Baron Stanley.

*William*, Baron Bonuill.

*John*, Baron Wenlocke.

*John*, Baron Beauchamp of Puyvik.

*Thomas*, Baron Hoz.

*John* Ratcliff, Knight.

*John* Falstoff, Knight.

*Thomas* Kiriell, Knight.

*Edward* Hall, Knight.

**Edward**, fourth of that name, K. of England and France, &c. Supreme Governour of the Order of the Garter, chose these Knights, into the vacant places of them that were dead.

**F**erdinand, King of Sicily and of Naples, King Alfonso his base sonne.

*John*, King of Portugal.

*Edward*, Prince of Wales.

*Charles*, Duke of Burgundy.

*Francis* Sfortia, Duke of Milan.

*Fredericke*, Duke of Vrbin.

*Hercules*, Duke of Ferrara.

*Richard*, Duke of Yorke, the Kings sonne.

*Richard*, Duke of Gloucester, who afterward vsurped the Kingdome.

*John* Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

*John*, Baron Howard, afterward Duke of Norfolk.

*John* de la Poole, Duke of Suffolke.

*Henry* Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

*John* Nevill, Marquesse Mont-acute.

*Thomas* Grey, Marquesse Dorset.

*James* Douglas, Earle Douglas in Scotland.

*William* Fitz-Alan, Earle of Arundell.

*Thomas*, Baron Maltravers, the sonne of

*William*, and afterward Earle of Arundell.

*Anthony* Woodville, Baron Scales, afterward Earle Rivers.

*William*, Baron Herbert, afterward created Earle of Pembroke.

*John* Stafford, Earle of Wiltshire.

*Henry* Percy, Earle of Northumberland.

*John* Tiptoft, Earle of Worcester.

*Galliard* Duras, Lord Duras.

*John*, Baron Scroppe of Bolton.

*Walter* Deuerux, Baron Fevers of Chartley.

*Guastier* Blount, Baron of Montjoy.

*William*, Baron Hastings, the Kings Chamberlaine.

*John* Ayley, Knight.

*William* Chamberlaine, Knight.

*William* Farre, Knight.

*Robert* Harcourt.

*Thomas* Mont-gomery, Knight.

**Edward**, the first of that name, king King of England and France, &c. Supreme Governour of the Order of the Garter, vnder whom was no election of new Knights of that order. For as hee had all the places filled with Knights by his Father, while hee yet lived, euen so he left them. Hee exceeding onely the seates of the Prince, and of *John* King of Portugal.

**Richard**, the third of that name, King of England and of France, &c. Cheefe of the Order of the Garter, & the Fellowes chosen into that Order, during the time of his Reigne.

**T**homas Howard, Earle of Surrey, and Duke of Norfolk.

*Thomas*, Baron Stanley, afterward Earle of Derby.

*Francis*, Vicount Louell.

*John* Coners, Knight.

*Richard* Radcliff, Knight.

*Thomas* Burgh, Knight.

*Richard* Tunstall, Knight.

Henry,

**Henry**, the seventh of that name, King of England, and of France, cheife of this most honorable Order, and the Fellowes chosen into the places of them that were dead, during the time of his Reigne.

**M**aximilian, king of the Romaines, & afterward Emperor, chosen, his Father *Frederick* Emperor then living.

*John*, King of Portugal.

*John*, King of Denmarke.

*Philip*, King of Castile, Arch-Duke of Austria, Son to *Maximilian* the Emperor.

*Aphonsus*, Duke of Calabria and Naples, King of Sicilia and Ierusalem.

*Arthur*, Prince of Wales, the Kings eldest Sonne.

*Henry*, Duke of Yorke, & Prince of Wales, his Brother *Arthur* being dead, and he the same, afterward King of England.

*Vbald*, Earle of Montferat, and Duke of Vrbin, and of Pesseran.

*Edward* Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

*Thomas* Grey, Marquesse Dorset.

*John* Vere, Earle of Oxford.

*Henry* Percy, Earle of Northumberland.

*George* Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury.

*Henry* Bourchier, Earle of Essex.

*Richard* Grey, Earle of Kent.

*Edward* Courtney, Earle of Denbire.

*Henry*, Baron Stafford, afterward Earle of Wiltshire.

*Edmund* de la Poole, Earle of Suffolke.

*Charles* Somersct, Knight Banaret, and afterward created Earle of Worcester.

*Gerard* Fitz-gerald, Earle of Kildare.

*John* Welles, Vicount Welles.

*George* Stanley, Baron Strange.

*William* Stanley, the Kings Chamberlaine.

*John*, Baron Dynham.

*Robert* Willoughby, Baron Brooke, Steward of the Kings house.

*Giles* D'Aubeny.

*Edward* Poynings, Knight.

*Edward* Widenill, Knight.

*Gilbert* Talbot, Knight.

*John* Cheney, Knight.

*Richard* Guilford, Knight.

*Thomas* Louell, Knight.

*Thomas* Brandon, Knight.

*Reynold* Bray, Knight.

*Ryce* Ap Thomas, a Welchman.

*John* Sauage, Knight.

*Richard* Poole, Knight.

**Henry**, the eight of that name, K. of England, France, and Ireland: Supream Governor of the Order of the Garter, notably chose & ascribed these of the Order of the Garter, into the vacant seates and places of the knights that were dead.

**C**harles the Emperor, fift of that name, king of Spaine.

*Ferdinand*, king of the Romaines, and hee the same king of Hungary and Bohemia, Brother to *Charles* the Emperor.

*Francis* the French king, first of that name.

*Emmanuel*, King of Portugal.

*James*, the fift of that name, king of Scots.

*Henry* the Kings Sonne, otherwise called Fitz-Roy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset.

*Julian* de Meduces, brother to *Leo*, the tenth Bishop of Rome.

*Edward* Seymour, Earle of Hertford, and afterward Duke of Somerset.

*Thomas* Howard, Earle of Surrey, and at length Duke of Norfolk.

*Charles* Brandon, Master of the Horse, and afterward Duke of Suffolke.

*John* Sutton, alias Dudley, Vicount L'Isle, who was afterward Earle of Warwick.

*Anna*, Duke Mont-morency.

*Henry* Courtney, Earle of Denbire, and afterward Marquesse of Excester.

*William* Farre of Kendall, who was afterward Earle of Essex, & at length Marquesse of Northampton.

*William* Paulet, Baron S. John of Basing, afterward created Earle of Wiltshire, & at last Marquesse of Winchester.

*Henry* Earle of Surrey, Sonne to *Thomas* Duke of Norfolk.

*Thomas* Bullen, Treasurer of the Kings house, afterward Vicount Rochfort, and at length Earle of Wiltshire and Ormond.

*William* Fitz-Alan, Earle of Arundell.

*John* Vere, Earle of Oxford.

*Henry* Percy, Earle of Northumberland.

*Rafe* Nevill, Earle of Westmerland.

*Francis* Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury.

Philip

*Philip of Chabot*, Earle of *New-blanch*, Admirall of *France*.

*Thomas Manners*, Baron *Ross*, who was afterward Earle of *Rutland*.

*Robert Ratcliff*, Vicount *Fitz-Walter*, afterward Earle of *Suffex*.

*Henry Clifford*, Earle of *Cumberland*.

*William Fitz-Williams*, Treasurer of the Kings house, and afterward Earle of *Southampton*.

*Thomas*, Baron *Cromwell*, who was afterward Earle of *Essex*.

*John*, Baron *Russell*, afterward Earle of *Bedford*.

*Thomas*, Baron *Wriothesley*, who was afterward created Earle of *Southampton*.

*Arthur Plantagenet*, Vicount *Lisle*, King *Edward* the fourth, his base Sonne.

*Walter Deuereux*, Baron *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, and afterward created Vicount *Hereford*.

*Edward Howard*, Admirall of England, in *Brittaine America*.

*George Newill*, Baron of *Abergeneny*.

*Thomas West*, Baron de la *Ware*.

*Thomas*, Baron *Dacres* of *Gillesland*.

*Thomas*, Baron *Darcy* of the North.

*Edward Sutton*, Baron *Dudley*.

*William Blount*, Baron *Montjoy*.

*Edward Stanley*, Baron *Monteagle*.

*William*, Baron *Sands*.

*Henry*, Baron *Marney*.

*Thomas*, Baron *Audley* of *Walden*, and Chancellor of England.

*John Gage*, Knight, Controller of the kings house.

*Henry Guilford*, Knight, Master of the horse, & after Controller of the house.

*Nicholas Carew*, Knight, Master of the Horse.

*Anthony Browne*, Knight, Master of the Horse.

*Thomas Cheney*, Knight, Waraen of the Cinque-Ports.

*Richard Wingfield*, Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of *LANCASTER*.

*Anthony Wingfield*, Knight, Vice-Chamberlaine to the King, Captaine of the Guard, and after Controller of the Kings house.

*Anthony Saint-Leger*, Knight, Deputy of *Ireland*.

*John Wallop*, Knight, Captaine of *Gwynes* in *France*.

**Edward the sixth**, King of England, France, and Ireland, Supream Lord of the Garter: by him these men following, were admitted into the said Order.

**H**enry the second, king of *France*.

*Henry Grey*, Marquess *Dorset*, after Duke of *Suffolke*.

*Henry Newill*, Earle of *Westmerland*.

*Edward Stanley*, Earle of *Darby*.

*Francis Hastings*, Earle of *Huntington*.

*William Herbert*, Earle of *Penbrooke*.

*Thomas Seymour*, Baron of *Sudely*.

*Thomas West*, Baron de la *Ware*.

*George Brooke*, Baron of *Cobham*.

*Edward Baron Clinton*, Admirall of England, and after created Earle of *Lincolne*.

*William Paget*, Baron of *Beaufort*.

*Thomas Darcy*, Baron of *Chiche*.

*Andrew Sutton*, (alias *Dudley*), Knight.

**Mary**, Queen of England, France and Ireland, and Supream Lady of the Order of the Garter, these men (for orders sake) the other Knights being dead, were preferred into their places.

**P**hilip, King of *Spain*, husband to the Queene.

*Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of *Savoy*.

*Henry Radcliff*, Sonne of *Henry* Earle of *Suffex*.

*Anthony Browne*, Vicount *Mount-acute*.

*William Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*.

*William Grey*, Baron of *Wilton*.

*Edward Hastings*, Master of the Horse, after Baron *Hastings* of *Loughborough*, and Chamberlaine to the Queene.

*Robert Rochester*, Knight, dyed before the instalment.

**Elizabeth** of famous memorie, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Supream Lady of the moit noble Order of the Garter, chose into that Order, these men following.

*Maximillian*

*Maximillian* the Emperor, King of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*.

*Charles* the ninth, King of *France*.

*Henry* the third, King of *France*.

*Fredericke*, King of *Denmarke*.

*Adolph*, Duke of *Halsatia*.

*John Casimire*, Count-Palatine of *Rhine*, and Duke of *Baravia*.

*Francis* of *Navareny*, Duke.

*Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*.

*Fredericke*, Duke of *Wittenberge*.

*William Parre*, Marquess of *Northampton*.

*Thomas Percie*, Earle of *Northumberland*.

*George Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

*Henry Stanley*, Earle of *Darby*.

*William Summerfet*, Earle of *Worcester*.

*Henry Manners*, Earle of *Rutland*.

*Henry Hastings*, Earle of *Huntington*.

*Amorse Sutton* (alias *Dudley*) Earle of *Warwicke*.

*Francis Russell*, Earle of *Bedford*.

*Henry Herbert*, Earle of *Penbrooke*.

*Robert Sutton* (alias *Dudley*) Earle of *Leicester*.

*Walter Deuereux*, Earle of *Essex*.

*Edward Manners*, Earle of *Rutland*.

*Henry Radcliffe*, Earle of *Suffex*.

*Robert Deuereux*, Earle of *Essex*.

*Gilbert Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

*George Clifford*, Earle of *Cumberland*.

*Henry Percy*, Earle of *Northumberland*.

*Edward Summerfet*, Earle of *Worcester*.

*Robert Radcliff*, Earle of *Suffex*.

*William Stanley*, Earle of *Darby*.

*Arthur Grey*, Baron of *Milton*.

*Charles Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, and Admirall of England, 1575, after Earle of *Nottingham*.

*Edmund Burges*, Baron *Chandos*.

*Henry Cary*, Baron of *Hunsdon*.

*William Cecil*, Baron of *Burghley*.

*William Brooke*, Baron of *Cobham*.

*Henry Scroope*, Baron of *Bolton*.

*Thomas Sackvill*, Baron of *Buckhurst*, after Earle of *Dorset*, and Lord High-Treasurer of England.

*Thomas*, Baron de *Burgh*.

*Edmund*, Baron *Sheffield*.

*Thomas Howard*, Baron *Howard* of *Walden*, after Earle of *Suffolke*, and Lord Chamberlaine to the Kings Maiefty, also Lord high-Treasurer of England.

*George Cary*, Baron de *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlaine to Queene *Elizabeth*.

*Charles Blount*, Baron *Montjoy*, 1597, after Earle of *Devonshire*.

*Henry Brooke*, Baron *Cobham*.

*Thomas Cecil*, Baron of *Burghley*.

*Henry Sidney*, Knight, President of the Marches of *Wales*.

*Christopher Hatten*, Knight, Lord Chancellor of England.

*Francis Knolles*, Knight, Treasurer of the Queens house.

*Henry Lea*, Knight, Keeper of the Armory.

*James* the first, of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Supream Lord of the Garter: by him these men following, were admitted into the said Order.

*Christiern*, fourth of that name, King of *Denmarke*.

*Henry*, eldest Son to King *James*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, & Earle of *Chester*.

*Charles* Duke of *York*, second Son to the Kings Maiefty, after Prince of Great Brittain.

*Fredericke*, Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

*Graue Morru*, after Prince of *Orange*.

*Lewes*, Duke of *Lennox*, Earle of *Richmond*.

*Henry Wriothesley*, Earle of *Southampton*.

*John Ereskin*, Earle of *Mar*.

*William Herbert*, Earle of *Penbrooke*, after Lord Chamberlaine vnto the Kings Maiefty.

*Fredericke*, Duke of *Wittenberge*, installed but elected in the year, 1597.

*Vlricke*, Duke of *Alsatia*.

*Henry Howard*, Earle of *Northampton*.

*Robert Cecil*, Earle of *Salisbury*, after Lord high-Treasurer of England.

*Thomas Howard*, Vicount *Buckingham*.

*George Hume*, Earle of *Dunbarre*.

*Philip Herbert*, Earle of *Montgomery*.

*Philip Howard*, Earle of *Arundell*.

*Robert Carre*, Vicount *Rochester*, after Earle of *Somerset*.

*Thomas Ereskin*, Vicount *Fenton*.

*William* Baron *Knolles* de *graves*, Treasurer of the Kings house, after Vicount *Wallingford*.

*Francis*, Earle of *Rutland*.

*George Villers*, after Vicount *Villers*, Earle and Marquess of *Buckingham*.

*Robert Sidney*, Vicount *Lyle*, after Earle of *Leicester*.



*Terminitionum Garteriani Ordinis habitus, à fronte & à tergo.*



*Ornamentum fibulae (vulgo Garterus) gemmis & literis insignis auri. HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE. Lat. ratum: quamvis Ordinis sit Symbolum peccare, vestibus cooperatum, ob oculos demonstrari inquitur.*



## THE PERORATION, OR EPILOGVE OF THE WHOLE VVORKE.



Thus haue I at last concluded this treatise of *Nobilitie Politicke, Vaine, and Nature*, as breecely as I could, and the greatnesse & dignety of the subiect would permit. First, generally, as applyed to the Customes of Countries, whereto the same is tide; then particularly exemplified, by the Rites and Ceremonies in vse among our selues. Wherein, if seeking to adorne the magnificence of so stately a Theame, with eloquence of words, and beauty of style, as it selfe doth deserue, I seeme to haue failed, I must plead for my selfe, as a plaine meaning man, that sometimes through zeale and deuotion to the Church, vnderooke to carue an Image, representing the Deity and greatnesse of his God, out of trembling and feare, was forced to craue ayde of skilfuller workmen, hauing nothing to excuse the weaknesse of his wit, and expire wi hall, the horror of his worke, but pious simplicitie. Euen such is my case; For I willingly confesse, that being doubtfull of my selfe when I tooke this Taske in hand, yet my hope and comfort was, that howeouer I might erre, and heerein bewray my skil, my faults prouing veniall, I might giue occasion, to stir vp riper wits, to further the perfection of this rude and rough-hewen worke, and VVetston-like at least, to set and sharpen others.

If now by the sight and view heereof, (such as it is) any like to take the paines from the sheathe, to the blade; from the

shape, to the substance; & from the shadow, to the body, to wade any further; the Volume now succeeding, aswell of all the Persons, as their atchieuements of honour, marriages, alliances, and descents, that euer this Monarchy hath inuested & ennobled with the titles and degrees of *Political Nobility*, from the Earles vpward. (*Vice-Comes* and *Barones* make a Volume of themselves) digested into Catalogues, will further declare.

A worke, though not so perfect as the time may make it proue, for at the beginning, what thing was euer so? (Without price be it spoken) of extraordinary study, care, and industry. Wherein, if onely for the publike, I haue thus employed my selfe, and done my best endeavour, *To serue out begeth the fruit.* Let no man take occasion to taxe me of double diligence, much lesse of affectation, selfe-loue, or flattery, that propounding thus a Pilgrimage pretended to bee generall, I haue spent my whole deuotion on the Saints of Great Brittain. I was to fit my mould to the matter already framed, and therto wholly bending and deuiling with my selfe, I ayd with all in secret to redeeme so faue a subiect (subsisting euery where on speciall Lawes and Rites) from the wandring *Ideas* of discounting Philosophers, and contemplatiue Diuines to her owne proper Station, and peculiar Customes, that others else-where desirous of the like, I might seeme rather to giue, then to flay their good example.

It remains then now, to make good my first diuision into *Celestiall, Morall, and Politicall Nobility*, that I lay downe

Heere a professe  
of men inter-  
ferre, and  
exaltation, which  
is the desire of  
all men, and  
the end of all  
their labours, and  
the goal of all  
their desires, and  
the crown of all  
their labours, and  
the reward of all  
their desires.

Piety.

Probity.

Grace.

Eugenia.

Eugenes.

Ingenuite.

Generosity.

Christianity.

Civility.

the dignity of each by themselves, that by plaine demonstration and comparing of their Essences mutually together, the world may see, how euen this of Great Brittain (which heere I call Ours) is of it selfe absolutely, the most assured Pattern, and best ordered of all others.

By Gods eternall prouidence, it is so fore-ordayned, that for ornament and safety of humane life and Nature, we see and feele daily, some steps as it were of diuine intelligence, and seeds of Morall vertue, still fostered vp within vs, euen in this lower world.

*Est Deus in nobis agitante celsatus Ilo.*

That (diuine intelligence) by heavenly inspiration, doth teach vs to know God, and moues vs to serue him with all holiness of soule, and religious obseruation.

This (vertuous disposition) by an inbred ingenuity, becomes the Mother of this our Positiue Nobility. For, as these two still ioyned together, first open the way by steps and degrees (though by diuers passages) to come to Kingly Grace, and Soueraigne *Eudochyia*, Daintely; so

*Ex Ingeniis sunt Eugenesia Eugenes.* from inbred Ingenuity, men first become Generous, which also leades them on in the selfe-same Nobility Natiuely. For as godlinesse or piety, by diuine inspiration, and in-bred Ingenuity, by vertues infusion, makes vulgar men exempted, and so honestly respected about their fellows, that nothing may disgrace them, but iniquity and heresie, yelding matter and occasion to this kinde of Nobility that subiects obtaine from Soueraigne grace & fauour, Daintely: Euen so, where grace becomes so fixed in the person of any, that nothing can remoue it but Death or high-treason; it begets generosity by descending to posterity, Natiuely. So that,

as to be gloriously happy in the world to come, by diuine inspiration from God to man, by the name of piety, proceeds from Christianity imputatiuely. And as to be honourably esteemed before God and man, for inbred ingenuity, by the name of probity, proceeds from ciuility infusiue; so to be lawfully exempted from the vulgar sort, by the name of Generosity, proceeds from grace, Mediate or Immediate respectively al worthily ennobled in their severall kinds and places: whereby the meanest Subiect being thus made happy,

becomes as well *Nobilis* (which wee call a gentleman, and the French sound *Gentilhomme*) as the Emperor himselfe, saying; *Foy de Gentilhomme. And, Me vray Gentilhomme aussi bien que le Roy.* Though in English and in French, the word it selfe seeme straightened. For we call no man Noble, but from the Baron vpward, where *Nobilis* in Latine, includes the meanest Gentleman, as well as Lords and others. The names of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vice-Counts & Barons, &c. beeing titles of preheminance, to distinguish the celebrity of each mans place & function, for orderly precedence.

Thus then, though none become Christians by the rules of piety, carnally; and our inbred-ingenuity, proceed not from our Parents by the rules of probity, naturally; yet a Gentleman, one may be both reputed, and so called by the lawes of celebrity, alias Cheualry, alias Heraldry, euen for humanity, and honest conuersation ciuilly, and so become ennobled in himselfe and his posterity Politically. For, *Est aliquid clarum Magnorum splendor Avorum Illud posteritas emula calcar habet.*

And as to be a Christian, is the glory of all Nobility, and to be an honest man, is of it selfe most honourable: so to be advanced by the eye of Soueraigne Majesty, with such Ensignes of Nobility, as demonstrate his celebrity in himselfe and his posterity, is properly most Noble; Armes being in this respect ordayned to limit Families, as proper names do men. Whereby (this) stands distinguished fr the other (two.)

For the first, from religious imputation, being hid fro the world, makes Christians only glorious by faith, with God in heauen.

The second, from vertuous infusion, makes honesty most honorable, & vertue still admired by good works among men.

And this third, from absolute affection in Soueraigne loue and grace, makes subiects rise ennobled respectively abroad, but properly at home, for seruices performed in the Church and Common-weale.

Now, all that haue the happinesse to be glorified in heauen, or honoured vpon earth, or ennobled at the least, receive it first or last from God, & his Lieutenants, whose infusiue grace and greatnesse, are the grounds of all our credits.

The first, by Diuines, being religiously taught

Nobility, or Gentility.

\* There is a private way in England, for our Nobles, men, to the House of Lords, in points of honour, as put to no other ostentation by laying their hands on their breast, and rest upon their knees.

Glory. Honour.

Noble. Armes.

Glorious.

Honorable.

Nobility Philosophicall.

Ennobled.

Fano.

Nobility Theologicall.

Noble. Armes.

Nobility Philosophicall.

taught, and the second by Philosophers, being morally disputed, like Twins of one birth, or cousin-germans at least, by piety and probity in a heavenly kinde of kindred, makes mortall men immortal, and by fame to liue for euer. But the third, which this Treatise hath begot, or gladly would restore, being mere positiue with Kings, within their kingdomes, and Orphant-like committed to their care and speciall trust, depends vpon their wils, their Rites and Country Customes. From whence it is, we see such Rankes of Nobility, such severall names of dignities, and titles of honor, bestowed vpon Subiects for Piety and Probity, conspicuous in the world by Soueraigne grace and fauour. Who at first, being but meane, and of slender beginnings, become at last extolled to places of renowne, from the foot-stool, advanced to the type and top of honour, & the same like ebbes and floods, with time againe decline.

These kindes of Nobility thus severally laide open, and by a three-fold disposition made apt to be diuided, are not (notwithstanding) so at odds within themselves, that their Natures and their Essences admit no reconciliation, or may not be vnited in one Person altogether.

For the first, being celestiall, and meere ly diuine, admits no worldly vanity, whose Soueraigne is God, and whose Robes of perfection wee shall then put on vpon vs, when wee come to bee presented before Christ our King in Heauen. This is our cheefest glory, our *summum bonum*, and highest blisse, whereto who strives to rise, and hopes to attaine, must worke it out by faith, and lay his foundation on the true Christian-Catholique and Apostolique-Religion; without which, euen Vertue her selfe, with all her Morall Lessons, avails vs nothing, as pointing onely to this end, ayms at this happinesse, but obtains it neuer.

And they that being heere conuersant with me on earth, haue their mindes fo cleare and enlightened from above, that fore-seeing this end, they bend themselves thereto, and by a prudent care and constancy, still aiming at Iustice, seeke onely the good of the Church and Common-weale. These (I say) by their vertues once conspicuous, become for euer famous, and worthily honoured with that

kinde of Nobility, which Philosophers lo magnifie and extoll vnto the world.

Now, these also at length being noted by their names, and made knowne to Soueraigne Kings (that as Gods with God Almighty rule heere the earth in common) are by them ennobled; first Daintely, with that Nobility, which descending to posterity, by right of inheritance, is Natiue of it selfe, and in all places subiect to peculiar Customes. From whence it comes to passe, that seeing Honesty, the height and type of honour, and vertue the way that leads vs therunto; we admire more Nobility Daintely, being truly deriued and raised for it selfe, then that which is Natiue, and descended from other, as whose person first for vertues sake, being for it selfe beloued, becomes with all illustrious, and layes the foundation of happinesse in others. Nam *Genus & Prauos, & Quae non fecimus Ipsi: tunc ei nostra voco.* For though in Nobility Politike and Ciuill, Generosity by antiquity, seeme to be respected: and to be borne a Lord, be more Noble, then so to be created; yet is it not so honourable, though farre more generous. For Vertue of her selfe being euerly way magnificent, first honours the Father, then dignifies the Sonne, & magnifies posterity, which by the *Gretians* is more significantly spoken, and better vnderstood, by their *Eugenesia* and *geniun* applying this to Ingenuity, which belongs vnto the minde, and that vnto Celebrity more proper to the kinde.

This then at the last, is that Celestiall, Morall, and Politick Nobility, that at first I propounded: whercof, when Diuines in their Sermons seeme to speake, and Philosophers by discourses goe about to dispute, they demonstrate nothing but Allegoricall *Ideas*, and imaginary shadowes, the substance whercof, wee must hope to finde in Heauen; when as heere euen on earth, for the good & furtherance both of Church and Common-weale, it is cherished and dignified at the hands of Soueraigne Kings, and as fittest for graue Councillors placed next vnto themselves, whercof this rude Treatise contains the truest pattern that the world affords; namely, The Nobility of this Monarchy of Great-Brittain. And therein as *Julius Caesar* and *Modell* of the rest, the most Honourably-Noble Order of knights of the

A 223 Garter: there

Nobility Politike.

Honorable. Generous.

Eugenesia. Geniun.

The Epitome or Modell of all three kinds of Nobility, in one Order of the knights of the Garter.

there being nothing found recorded, for Religion, in these more becoming a christian; for Vertue more Heroical; nor for Policy, more assured, then this Religiously most Honourable and most Noble Society. For whereas all other of like institution, by growing ouer-vulgar, are become the leffe esteemed; or proving idle but idle, are at all hands neglected: onely This is still so well supplied with the Flower of true Nobility, that euer fresh and springing by yearly shewes and lustres, it dismiseth the beholders with greater admiration, then the best words of my Pen are able to viter.

For heere, all be hold Maieſty her ſelfe, be-  
tweene Greatneſſe and Decorum, de-  
ſcend from her Throne, to walke & talke  
kindly with her owne Nobility: and No-  
bility it ſelfe betweene Honour and Reue-  
rence, aſcending on the Seate of her own  
Soueraine Maieſty.

Heere the Religion of our Church,  
the Wisdome of our State, and the No-  
bility of our Court, admiring Kingly Ma-  
iesty, meete all in one together.

And heere our King with his Prince,  
our Prince with his Peeres, and our Peeres  
with their Worthies, meeete and march  
together in one Bond of Loue, in one  
Order of Chiuallry, for mutuall defence  
both of Church and Common-wealth,  
amazing the beholders with the fately  
sight and view of one personall Maiesty,  
in one fellowship of Honour, and one  
body of vnflained and true Nobility.

Heere therefore to conclude, as the fittest place to end this weak and flander Treatise. If that which hath bene said, deserves to be regarded (as Truth sayes it should) why do the Sovereignes and Monarchs of the world, then wrong themselves in their Greatnesse and Authority, giuing way to proud violence, and prophane intrusion, whereby Popes haue put downe Emperors, & Cardinals presume to compare themselves with Kings? For whereas they alone by speciall Commission and Preheminence of place, and Vncommunicable power, and Prerogative of Grace, are made the Moderators of the vertuous endeours, and onely Creators of all Titles of Honour, belonging to their Subiects, they suffer Nobility to be tied, as it were against her owne Nature, to Fees, Houses, Castles, Cities, and

Lands, fencelesse and transitory, that neither infuse Religion, nor administer Iustice, nor encrease cyther in their prophane Possessors, nor make vulgar Tenants more honest, or more noble. For *Ornan. la potius est in uitate Domus quam ex Domo dignitas uicenda querenda, neq. a Domo Domus sed a Domino Dominus est uobis honestanda.*

And thus having ended in the best fort I could, if I were to yeeld a reason of all that I have done, in a word, it shoud be thus: The glory of God, and my Countries honour, to whom all stand indebted in all that we are, or can be of our felices. Allegiance & Service to my Sovereaigne, and his Nobility, and affection by Alliance, to the memory of mine Uncle and deceased Friend, were the Motives only moved mee to take this worke in hand.

Having therefore now both offered  
vp, and thus paid all my vov'es : mine  
*Enthusiasme* compels mee to salute his  
blessed *Geni'u*, that by louing of Nobili-  
ty, so hartly & so well, thus happily made  
happy, liues ennobled now in Heauen.

Quod tua prima fides videri sentisse, nec vltra  
In Patria complere decem fura E. te spectant:  
Ecce Opus exegi, signorum pignus Amicum,  
Quamvis, Litor edax quatuor ab oblique ventus  
Quam videri deus, quem latius patet orbem  
Aspici, poterit spaciis mihi diffusi am:  
Parte tamen me iure tui, super illi, personis  
Abstulit.

*Quaque patet domitis Britannia: patens Terris,  
Dolus: per ora virum: proque omnia fecula viæ,  
Si quid habet, grati Generosa propago, vitæ.*

What then didst thou attempt, our Country worth to show,  
But couldst not bring to pass the Fate to slide the hand;  
Loe here, I have perform'd that (All your love may know,  
Which envy shall not ease, nor withering age wast and.

And though the day be past, that hath thy Soule remou'd  
From hence; and bodies mortall shape be parted cleane away,  
And threats the life to me: yet that I neuer loſe,  
(I meane thy better part) I hope, I shall againe enjoy.

And now, as far as British power, by Fame it self is rais'd,  
Or taming sword, or by the helpe of any learned Pen;  
The name shall live, and Thou by future ages prais'd,  
If Honour dwell in Noble blood, or Honesty with Men.

A11

Efficient, as without which it hath no Being, namely, soueraigne *Eudochy*, or Grace and Favour, without which, as it could not subsist, so is it not lost, but onlie by *Lele-Maestie*, high Treason. Therefore, from the soueraigne, as from the fountaine, it is deriued both *Datiue* & *Natiue*, and is bestowed, either

For, and during life only

Or made

Hereditarie,  
& ſueceſſive

*Regula iuris.*

For, as to infamie & basenesse, the Gates of dignitie are neuer set open : so Honor once bestowed by soueraigne grace, is not to be detracted to the Parties shame.

*All Nobility political,  
is derived,  
and best  
knowne by  
the causes.*

Materiall, or the Subject, wherof foueraigns create nobilitie. to wit,

{ Virtue, that of her } *Militarily,*  
 { self is conspicuously } or,  
 { noted, either } *Civilly.*

Fortune, or habilitie } Fees, or In-  
tr sustaine Nobilitie, } heritance of  
Namely, } Landes and  
Goods.

Which albeit they become diminished and spent, yet is not Nobilitie w<sup>th</sup>all lost or extinct, that of her Nature is Hereditarie.

Formally, as how men become lawfully dignified according to rites and ceremonies, and peculiar customs of Countries, either

In *England*  
nobility is  
distingui-  
shed into

Greater, called Nobles Titulary by Letters patents, or writs of *ſommons* to the Parliament, viz.

Leſſer made by Commiſſion, or without Letters patents.

The Prince of Wales.  
Dukes.  
Marquesſes.  
Earles.  
Vice-Counts.  
Barons.

Knights.                      { Bannere  
Squires.                      { Bath.  
Gentlemen.                      { Batchellors.

Finall, to what end,  
to wit,

Service done, and to be done, to { the King,  
and  
Commonweale.

NOBILITY political, is a Dignitie bestowed by Soueraigne Grace, upon Persons of Vertue or ability, for life, or for euer, whereby a Man exempted and raised by Degrees, becomes lawfully preferred above the vulgar People, the better to doe seruice to the King and Commonwealtb.

Est, aliquid clarus Magnorum splendor Auorum,  
Illud Posteritas æmula calcar habet.

The



THE SIXT BOOKE.  
OF THE GOVERNEMENT  
and Administration of Iustice, obserued in the  
Common-wealth of *Gennes* or  
Geneway.

CHAP. I.



The people of *Liguria* are contained betwixt the Rivers of *Tarus* & *Maera*, along the Sea-coast, & the downefall of the *Apennines*. Of all which

country, the city *Gennes* or *Geneway* (most noble for antiquity and power) hath (for the larger part of time) held the rule and Soueraignty because both for buildings, as also in nobilitie of actions, and in respect of valiant men, it hath euermore beene very notable among all the rest of former times. This Cittie gracing the South with hearbs, beaueous lookes, is most proudly built vpon the Sea-coast, and hath her backe vpon the North, at the foote of a mountaine: euen as if the were defended downe the mount, and come to repose her selfe vpon a Plaine, the mountaine remaining on her backe part to defend the citie from the furious North. It is not altogether plaine nor mountainous, but participateth both of the one and other giring about the compass of fixe miles, so faire and goodly as can be desired.

And because concerning her Antiquitie, we can not deliuer any thing certaine (in regarde some doe maintaine, that it was built by *Genous* or *Iuno*, the daughter of *Saturne*; others, by *Genunius*, the companion of *Phaeton*; and some by *Ianus*, who was said to be *Noah*) it shall be sufficient therefore to say, that it was accounted a city two hundred and ninetie yeares before the coming of *Christ* on the earth, as manifestly appeareth (setting aside *Titus Livius* in the Decade of his eight Booke) by a Table of Brasse, found (no long time since) in the Valley of *Pozzeners*, and placed in the Church of *Saint Laurence*: whereon is engrauen in ancient Letters, That in the Consulship of *Lucius Caelius*, and of *Quintus Manilius*, Iudges were sent from the Senate of *Rome*, to discide the variance betwene the *Vitturi*, and the people of *Geneway*, concerning the neare neighbouring valley. And because as well the sententiall execution, as the gaole deliuerie of prisoners, which were in respect of that strife maintained, was to succede and follow in *Geneway*; therefore we may heereby comprehend, that the City (vntill that time) consisted vpon some other considerations.

Now,

Concerning the antiquitie of *Geneway*, and by what it was first found.

A brasse table found in the vale of *Pozzeners*.

\* A River which diuides *Nabone* & *Liguria*.  
\* A river running out of *Apenninus*, & parting *Liguria* from *Heruitia*.

The situation of the citie of *Geneway*.

Geneway possessed diuers countries in the East part in former times.

The people of this nation addicted to merchandize greatly.

The readers of the *Genewayes* for dangerous occasions.

*Andrea Doria* Admirall to the King of *France*, and deliuerer of *Geneway* from *French* thralldome.

Now, this so noble Cittie, in former times held a great estate, and was possessed of many Countries in the East parts: and now it is very powerfull by Sea in all respects, sometimes seruing the Duke of *Millaine*, sometimes the king of *France*, euer being traueled with much busines, either in regard of being an illustrious and famous Cittie, or because it is the passage, and (euen as it were) the gate for going from the mountaines into *Italy*. Whereupon some conceiue and are perswaded, that it was called *Ianna*, as a Gate for *Italie*, and not *Ianna* of *Ianus*, who was old father *Noah*. But let it be in maner howsoeuer, the men of this nation are industrious, euermore attentive to merchandize, whereby they attaine vnto great wealth, and as with other people it fareth, euen so amongst them, there is alwayes great plenty of money, because no one priuate man, but very many more beside, haue made passage of five hundred thousand ducats, euen after the best valuation.

And yet these men so great and wealthy, being molested by some parcialities, which diuers times haue endangered *Italie*, are now, and so haue beene for no small time, ready with their weapons in hand, expulsiue now one familie, and soone after another, from the State; and now the Nobles gaining superiouritie, afterward the popular fort; one side fauouring the *Adorni*, another the *Fregosi*, and at length reduced (by the benefit of prince *Andrea Doria*) to the present libertie which they now enioy. For *Geneway* being in the power of the *French*, and *Doria* departing from seruice to the King of *France*, to whom hee was Admirall: at one and the selfe same time, deliuered both himselfe and Countrey from seruilitie to the King of *France*, and queltionlesse with vnconquerable corage. For he might haue impatronised and possessed himselfe of the whole State, being entreated and euen (as it were) constrained by his friends, that he would vouchsafe to take the command of them: but he rather affected (setting aside all ambition) to restore them to their former freedom, with so much glory to him in future ages, as so rare an example in him did iustly merit: whereto (perhaps) hee might be the rather incited, by the enuie

he bare to *Christopher Columbus*, because, if he opened to modern people the other part of the world, which had for so many yeares beene shut vp from all other: so this other (with wel governed thoughts) spurning at all appetite of dominion, might open to his owne Citizens (with their libertie) the State so long lockt vp, by the discord of their owne opinions. Wherefore, desferuedly the *Genewayes* erected a Statue to his perpetuall glorie, and the memorable renouew of his immortal actions: as for his immente gift by his worthy industrie, was done to *Columbus*, by the Princes of *Spain*.

*Geneway* thus receiuing in anno 1528. her nouell reformation; entred vpon the same forme of gouernement which it now maintaineth. A description was then made, and therein set downe all the Families of account, as well noble as popular, appearing as descended of fixe houses in *Geneway*: and the reckoning grew to, that in *Geneway* there were found 28. Families. All the rest remaining out of this account, and yet were of some consideration, but not deriued from those fixe houses: were aggregated and written downe in the aforesaide number of twentie eight families, by the title of Nobilitie, excluding the remainder of the people and Plebeians. And notwithstanding this entrance thus made, there was an addition to the number of these Nobles, of tenne persons in like sort ennobled, either for their riches or vertue, and these were made choice of euerie yeare, applying their paines still fro hand to hand.

With all this prouidence, they could not yet so well preuaile, but in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred seauenty and foure, a new tumult arose in the Common-wealth, and as in the wonted ciuile dissensions: so a diuision happened that yeare, betwene two factions, termed olde and new. The principall occasion which moued this contention, was, that the olde side, being not contented to haue the greater part of authoritie in the Common-wealth; did mortally hate the new side, abhorring & disdaining (albeit that the new side, both for ancient Nobility, and true vertuous merit, were equal to them in all respects) to ioyne in kindred with them. This was infinitely

*Andrea Doria* enuious of the honour of *Christopher Columbus*, in the restoring of his Countries libertie.

A Statue erected in honour of *Andrea Doria*.

An obseruation made concerning the best Families in *Geneway*, deriued of fixe and amounting to eight and twentie.

The noblemen more added to the former number of eight and twentie.

A new tumult between two factions, olde & new in the Common-wealth.

Matteo Senarega a man of great account among the Geneways, striving to decrease this perturbation.

There are none to visit as with full eyes, when they are grieved on an obdurate opus.

The new faction, reunited by general voice against the old, by the means of Senarega.

All fires and tempers, united by common counsel, by the recommendation of Senarega.

infinitely displeasing to *Matteo Senarega*, a Citizen of most eminent authority, and who (at that time) was great Chancellor, and chiefe Secretarie of the Common-wealth; also had bene principall of the new side more then once, and both of the publike & priuate Council; with very singular Eloquence hee intreated them, affirming, that it was not well, that such diuersitie of interests and priuate respects, should haue life in one and the same City: shewing also by lively reasons, how unsuitable it was to euery man, and likewise profitable for the State, that all should conuerse and like mutually together.

But the words and euident reasons of *Senarega*, failing of sufficient efficacy, pushed vp the olde side with greater obstinacie, yet drew a farre better opinion of the new, prouoking so farre to defend them, that oftentimes he was in danger of his life among them. For the old side did great yemie, that the authoritie of *Senarega* should reach to such a height, that in him onely should be reposed, the efficacy of the publike and priuate gouernement. Neuerthelesse, *Senarega* opposing their pernicious demonstrations with wonderfull wisdom, moued especially (as the same went) by a generous disdaine, wrought in such sort, that the new side assumed the chiefe place in gouernement, excluding (well-neare) all the olde, contrayning them to forsake their Countrey, if they attempted any Armes or violence against the new side.

These words would much haue stirred the Common-wealth, if *Senarega*, foreseeing the weighty perill, and preferring the publike good of all (being most iustly to be affected) before any priuate respect whatsoever, had not bridled the head-strong course of intended hostilitie. Wherefore hee wrought so painfullly with the *Geneways* themselves, the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and especially with *Pope Gregorie* the thirteenth, all fauoring him with their helpfull assistance, as the tumults in the City were quiered, and after some few deperate accidents, the furie of Armes was quite blasted, wherein both the faithfulness of *Senarega*, and his admirable wisdome euidently appeared. Hee be-

ing appointed (by vniuersall consent) Ambasiadour to *Rome*, with infinite prouidence and care (to the honour of the Common-wealth, and his owne great reputation) discretely qualified both factions, already growne to such a head on either side, both by power and maleuolence; as not onely threatened danger to the Countrey it selfe, but likewise to haue filled all *Italy* with innumerable calamities and confusions; whereof the *Pope* (by his Breues) deliuered most honourable testimonie, writing the motions of *Senarega* to the *Doge*, as also to the Procurators of the Common-wealth of *Geneway*.

### The great Council.

From the whole bodie of the before-mentioned Families, is congregated a Council of foure hundred persons yere-ly, who together with the Duke and the *Gouernours*, haue the charge of the Common-wealth in their power. This Council maketh election of the Duke, and of the eight *Gouernours*, (because the *Gouernours* are the iust number of eight) and haue care of the State for two yeares continuance. They manage matters of importance, and concerning generall good, as also for the conseruation of the Seignorie: and these *Gouernours* (with the Duke) are properly called the *Signoria*. But and if they are at any time to handle some occasions, which are not so important and weightie, but of meaner consideration: The *Signoria* haue a lesser Council in readie seruice, consisting of an hundred men of the Nobilitie, elected by the *Signoria* by lotterie, and out of the maine bodie of the foresayd foure hundred.

### The Duke.

The head or chiefe of the Common-wealth is the Duke, because he hath the Title and Honour which appertaine vnto him: and it is an ancient custom in the City, whereto by variouse Lawes, diuers persons haue attained, but in any course of Lawe. He continueth but two yeares, and in all that time of his au-

\* A Table signifying the Dukes of Venice and Geneway.

A Council consisting of all persons, and whome they haue.

The Signoria or Council of Geneway.

A lesser Council called the hundred Noblemen.

The most eminent Officer in the Common-wealth, on his authority extendeth for two yeares.

thority, he dwelleth in the publique Pallace, hauing five hundred high *Germanes* as his Guard, representing heerein the forme of an absolute Soueraignetie. At the beginning of the assumption of his magistracie, for two dayes hee is clothed in his Ducall ornaments; but afterward, and the whole consistence of his regiment, hee weareth other habites, but yet of Veluet or crimson Sattin, and sometime purple. His authoritie is very important, because hee onely, and not any other, may propound what cause hee will in Council and in the Senate, which is forbidden vnto any other Senatour. Whereupon, whosoever would record any Lawe to the Common-wealth, or else propound a motion of some important matter, he must break it to the duke, and passe it by his meanes.

The manner of the Dukes elections is thus: The third day of the month of January, the Senate doth assemble with the lesser Council, without the person of the passed Duke; because hee hauing ended his Office of two yeares, returneth the first day of January home to his own house as a priuate person, and remaineth a Procurator all his life time. The lesser Council with the Senate, doe elect among them (by ballot) eight and twenty Noblemen, one for each Familie, who so soone as they are chosen, are called into the Pallace, and there shut vpp in a place by themselves, and there together with those Senatours, who eyther in regard of age, or by continuance of the Families are not capable of the dukedom: they elect eightene men amongst themselves, one for a Familie; and those eightene, together with the same Senatours, do elect another eight and twentie, which eight and twentie are called, and being lockt vp with the foresayd Senatours, they proceede by balloting them that are to bee propounded to the Council to be Duke. But heere you must know, that they may propound no more to the great Council, but foure persons onely, and in the election of that number, it is necessarie, that the eight and twentie doe agree in two third parts amongst themselves, with the part of the foresaid Senatours. This being agreed between them, before they come forth of the Consistorie, they elect ano-

ther eight and twenty, one for each Familie, who returne together with them, from balloting the foresaid foure. And they rise from their Election with the two thirds, and put in place of him or them (not formerly approoued) one, or more, but of the number of the Senate: which being done, the Council meete together, and they propound the names of the foure men concluded on and elected by the Electors: whereupon, hee of the foure that hath the most ballots, is named for Duke. And at the time when I wrote this discourse in that honourable degree of Duke, was chosen the most courteous and famous Lord, *Paulo Baptista Caluo*, sometime a Iudge, a most worthy man, for goodnesse of life, and practise in the worlds occasions.

### Of the eight Gouernours.

There sit vpon the Bench (with the Duke) eight *Gouernours*, as his counsellors, and their Office doth endure for two yeares: and they, with the duke are named the *Signoria*, and gouerne the Common-wealth. All these together cannot deliberate on any thing, where in the interest of the people is concerned, or of any chiefe important busines; but they call for the ayde of the Great Council. These *Gouernours* are elected by two at a time, at fixe and fixe months; and their elections made in this manner.

The lesser Council and the Duke being assembled together, they elect eight and twenty men, one for euery Familie, who being chosen by the Senate and Duke, doe propound sometimes twelue, sometimes foureene men to the great Council; who (by balloting) do make election of one of them at a time. The next day following, they obserue the same order in electing the second, to wit, the lesser Council do elect another eight and twenty, and that eight and twenty performe the rest as hath bene said. Euery one of the eight *Gouernours* ending his office, remayneth Procurator or Attorney for two yeares space: so that in the Colledge of the Proctors, there are alwayes eight, that stand for the gouernement of the Common-wealth; and all these come into the Senate with the duke, and with the eight *Gouernours* delibera-

Where in the Dukes authority consists about all other.

In what manner the Duke is elected on January 3 day.

Balloting is a kind of choice by Ballots, or small balles, which each man puts in on his behalf, who he would haue in nomination.

Paulo Baptista Caluo, sometime a Iudge, a most worthy man, for goodnesse of life, and practise in the worlds occasions.

Counsellors sitting on the Bench with the Duke.

The manner how the Gouernours are chosen by the Duke and lesser Council.

Procurators alwayes assisting the Common-wealth.

deliberating together on important matters; and thus with these Gouvernours & the Duke consisteth the whole summe of the State. Two of them haue abiding in the Pallace, the other keepe at their owne houses; and they change by turnes two at a time, at three months, and three months.

*Of the Procurators or Proctors.*

Concerning these Proctors, some of them liuing, doe come to be in the Office of Duke, and some doe remaine in charge but two yeares, and they are such as haue bene Gouvernours. They haue care for procuring all publike occasions, collecting the rents and reuenues, and other such like businesse; being men of chiefe reputation, and of no meane importance.

*Of the Potesitate or Proctor.*

AL the forenamed Magistrats, do onlie attend vpon the gouernement of the Common-wealth. Next now, concerning matters of Iustice and Iudgement (speaking first of criminall causes) they are guided and ordered in common by a forraigne Potesitate, who is a doctor, and they graunt him an honourable stipend. He hath his residence in a Pallace, which is neare to the Dukes, and he heareth and iudgeth all offences happening; but can assigne no capitall punishment, without consent of the Senare. Two other Doctors, being strangers also, doe assist him, whereof the one is called the Iudge of Malefactours, and the other Fiscall or Attornei generall: and by the ayde of these two Iudges, all processe and suites are formed against guilty persons, dealing also in cases of like nature. Beside these afore-named, the Potesitate hath his Vicar, who attendeth vpon Civile causes, only executive.

*Of the extraordinary Office.*

There is an Office of seauen men, called Extraordinarie, and these do represent (as it were) the Princes person, because he is busied in administration of the Common-wealth. Their care consisteth, in reforming and prouonging of

variances, and granting tutors to Schollers. And because contention is forbidden betweene Parents and Parents, and betweene poore and rich by ordination: these men doe appoynt what magistrate they meete, to heare offending parent and kindred, as also the strifes betweene poore and rich. Their Office continueth the space of fixe months, and is of much dignitie.

*Of the sine supreme Sindicators.*

There is also a Magistracie, wherein are sine men, called supreme Sindicators; They haue authority to arraigne, not onely the Duke, but the Gouvernours also, after the expiration of their charge; and they haue the like power ouer all other magistrats of the Commonwealth, to punish both the Duke and Gouvernours, finding them to bee delinquent.

And when the Duke is out of his Office, and that the Gouvernours haue fulfilled their magistracie; a Proclamation is published by these Supreme Sindicators, That if any man haue ought to charge the Duke withall, or the Gouvernours, let them appeare in their presence, and Iustice shall be done them. In which respect, the Duke and Gouvernours haue eight dayes assigned them for this scindication; which beeing past, and they found in error, they are punished: but being innocent, they haue a Patent assigned them of their innocence, whereby they are after called to be Proctours; because they cannot enter as Proctours, except they haue the Patent from those Supreme men, to allow their expedition. Finally, the greatnesse of this Office is such, that the Common-wealth is elected for one of these Supreme Scindicators, the Prince *Andrea Doria*, the deliuerer of his Countrey. They are elected by the lesser Councell, with the Senate, and sit in the Pallace next to the Senate, for their respect.

*Of the Rota.*

Because wee haue formerly spoken of criminall occasions, now let vs say somewhat concerning civile causes. Wherein ye are to know, that the Common-wealth doe make choice of sine do-

Such as sine and arrange the Office of highest importance; for their offi-ces

The Duke and Gouvernours haue eight dayes for their triall.

Other Doctors, being strangers, appointed to sit in civile causes.

The Proctors come to die highest dignitie of all.

The Potesitate is an Officer chosen abroad and not of the city.

Two Iudges more assist him.

Seauen men termed Extraordinarie Officers, & what their charge is.

*Of the Generall.*

THE Common-wealth hath continually a Generall, who is appointed for Armes, to serue in all occurrences, and in times of warre. At this instant it enioyeth (well deserving such a degree, and to the satisfaction of all the Nobilitie, much pleasing to the whole host of Souldiers, and vniuersall liking of the people) the Lord *Augustino Spinola*, a most honourable and valiant Gentleman of that City, full of incomparable fortitude and knowledge, not onely in the occasions of Armes, but for all managements of the world betwixt.

*Of the Office of Saint George.*

THE Office and Magistracie of Saint George, most noble among all the rest in the Cittie, was ordained in the yeare, 1407. It is now (by length of time) the conseruation of that Common-wealth, which, in those younger dayes had not any naturall riches or wealth, fitting the qualitie of such a Countrey: yet notwithstanding, it wanted not men of quicke and apprehensive iudgement, to find out the way, and forme some means for procuring of moneys, that might arise to common vse: whereupon, they that liued in those ancienter yeares, and gouerned the publike occasions, tooke vp moneys of particular persons, some by constraint, others with much willingness. And true it is, that in this money matter, such priuate persons as disburied any summes, the publike vse payed them, tenne, nine, eight and seauen in the hundred, according to the varietie of times, to the end, that they might not suffer any endammaging, by such seruice as they did for publike benefit.

Proceeding in this course, it made men willing, ready and cautelous, in seeking security for their moneys, dayly put into the publike Banque, by selling to some (as for example) the power and iurisdiction of toll for meates; to others, the imposts of wines, and to others the taxations layd on corne. And these contracts made both in publike and particular, was teamed among them Bargaining and Buying, as when particular men bought any thing of the common fort, or in generall.

Bbb And

tors, forraignes or strangers, at euery 2. yeares, which bodie of authoritie is called *Rota*. These men attend vpon Civile causes onely, and dwell in the Dukes pallace: All such matters as they censure on, are guided by ordinarie course of the Imperiall Lawes, forming their Processe and suite, according to the iudicarie order appointed for the Cittie, which is after the auncient maner.

*Of the Censors.*

NOW, as concerning Arts, Trades and Mysteries, Censors are appoynted to that charge. These men do prouide, that buyers, sellers, and all such as traficke in handi-crafts, shall haue measures, weights, and all things else to them belonging, iust, and according to the auncient Lawes. And here we are to obserue, that euery Art hath chiefe or head men, who are called Consulles, which make election of Artits amongst them. These Consulles haue authoritie in the matters of their Artes, and amongst these Consulles, such as deale in silks, may command much ouer their men: so that their power extendeth, to put them to the halter, to banish them, and perforce send them to the Gallies, or to giue other castigations to delinquents.

*Of forty Capitaines.*

IN the Cittie of Geneway there are forty Capitaines, of the number and bodie of the Nobilitie, and they are changed euery yeare. These men haue vnder them an hundred men (for one) of the people, so that they make (in all) foure thousand persons, and the Common-wealth is serued by them at all occasions. For they make a garde in time of the least suspition; and when the *Signoria* is abroad, these fortie Capitaines (bearing them company) are all clothed in Veluet, goodly and honourable ornaments, meete to attend on so great Lords. Moreover, all men in the City, and the whole Burrough, that are apt to carrie Armes, are registred downe, from the age of twentie, to threescore, and are reduced vnder the gouernment of those Capitaines, who (with them) stand alwayes obliged to be readily armed with weapons in hand, according to the auncient custome ordained.

Care for moderation, such as deale in small profits.

Consulles, the chiefe men of euery trade.

The militarie garde & discipline of the Cittie, and their ready preparation small times and occasions.

Augustino Spinola General of the Geneway forces.

At what time the Office of Saint George beganne.

Provision for money alwayes in bank for the cities vse.

Great stocks of corne arising out of meane and poore beginning.

The begin-  
ning of tra-  
ding and so-  
cie in Gene-  
way, only by  
the Banquers  
that put out  
monies to vie

And it was ordained, that whosoever disbursed an hundred pounds, hee was said to hold one place among the buyers: he that disbursed two hundred, had two places; and hee for three hundred, three, and so it passed from hand to hand. So that this kinde of commerce and vsance multiplied greatly, and had names of diuers ordinations; as of the Capitoll, of Saint Paule, and others of their profession, by dealing in Salt, and diuers other belide, whose Titles and Names grew by their trading, and helde correspondencie particularly among the best Citizens, having care for iust payments, and the dues of the profits, with consideration of the Banquer, who alwayes ordered the contracts made publicly or privately. Heereupon, the number of dealers daily encreasing, both by forraigne Nations and home-bred friends, which required diuersitie of Governours and Ouert-seers, and which else would grow to great confusion: it was therefore ordered by the *Signoria*, that all the Banquers should bee reduced and vniued into one absolute Societie, and named the Company of Saint George.

Eight gouern-  
ors or Out-  
siders of the  
Banquers,  
better called  
allowances.

Being thus ordained, they were also appointed to bee gouerned by eight Citizens from yeare to yeare, who provided and gaue order, how the Banquers should let out their summes, and receiue in their interests and allowances, whereby they held the emminencie in the Office of Saint George. And in regard they perceived, that this Office gouerned these matters with wisdom and iustice, businesse daily encreasing, and the number of places supplied by new persons: alienation of profits grew among the Commons, and the charge of the Office euery way to be greater, by reason of lands and communities interested with them, so that the Office attained to many priuiledges: first, by the *Signoria* of Geneway, and afterward of man: Popes, Emperors and great Lordes, which came to dominion in the City: So that the Office of Saint George, although it depended on the common people, as also the *Signoria* of Geneway: yet all that came to the gouernement or Seignurie of the Cittie, were sworne to conserue the Priuiledges of the Magistracie of Saint George, and to maintaine it. And because (naturally)

The daily in-  
creasing of  
the Office of  
Saint George.

things take original of weakle beginnings, and to in proceesse of time attayne to perfection: euen to did this magistrall Office, being much better ruled now, then it could be at the beginning.

First, in answering the profits to all Banquers, they are not indeterminate nor certayne, as at the original: but yet according to the proportion of former allowances, lesse or more, and according vnto expences for the conseruation of things of especiall care, and according to the fruitfulness of tolles and taxations, beside diuers other benefites, assigned by the Commons to the Banquers: they are farre more secure, and more neatly qualified, concerning mens consciences.

Moreover, this place hath obtained Seignurie and dominion by many good and sufficient allowances, which it could not haue at the beginning. Beside, euery way are made new rules and orders, whereby there is farre better expedition of Causes, for the punishing of delinquents, and submision of the people to gouernement.

And whosoever doeth consider, the high account of this Magistracie, shall finde the body of the Cittie; thereby to containe in it selfe two communities, the one great, the other lesse. The great is gouerned by the Pallace, and comprehendeth all the Cittie; the lesse is gouerned by Saint George onely, as concerning the occasions before remembered, and comprehendeth all the Banquers and changers.

The first Communitie, or the greater, is subiect to variation, and is many times vnder regiment, rather to bee tearmed Tyrannicall then otherwise: but the lesse is alwayes free, firme, and vnder the Citizens. And certainly, which is a matter admirable, and rarely found, eyther by Philosophers or others, that haue discoursed on causes concerning Common-weales, to obserue: that within the circuite of one and the same wall, and all at a time, there should be tyrannie and liberty, life ciuile and corrupt, iustice and licence.

The begin-  
ning of any  
affaires must  
be possible  
by the forces  
of times, and  
various con-  
troversies.

Two Commu-  
nities in de-  
uotion and  
how they are  
gouerned.

A note will  
wonder the ob-  
seruation.

of

### Of eight Protectors of the Office of Saint George.

Concerning this Office of S. George, there are eight men appointed to gouern it, who are called Protectours. They continue for a yeare, and are elected euery six months foure times, by the whole number of the Banquers, or Creditors for lands, & Creditors for letting forth certain summes, after this manner. Among the whole number of City Creditors, by lot are chosen 80. men, who meeting together soone after their election, they make a survey among all those foure score, and select out of them foure and twenty by balloting, who being shut vp in a roome by themselves: they may not sinder or depart, till they haue ballotted for the eight Protectors, and in this ballotterie, sixteene ballots doe confirme the election.

Another Of-  
fice called of  
four and for-  
tie, being cho-  
sen out of a  
thousand.

In the yeare 1444. an other Office was made of Saint George, consisting of men, which was then called the Office of foure and fortie, in regard of a thousand, out of which number: they were created. The occasion of creating these eight men, was, that being the space of thirty seven yeres, the Office had encreased and augmented, that the eight Protectors could not (in a whole yeare) terminate nor restrain the busie occasions happening, whereby the emoluments and interests of some creditors arose so great, and other moneys in diuers manners: it was thought fit (for setting downe good order to such Remaines, which were (in effect) the riches and substance of the office) that a necessary participation of the gaires should be digested, for the creation of such as should helpe in this prouident care, for generall vtilitie of the Office of Saint George, and yet to be carried in secret manner, for taking away all occasion of tyranny. And so eight Citizens were chosen, of which two are changed yearly: and they take charge of collecting and gouerning such ouer-plusses as do arise yearly, by the managements of the eight Protectors.

This Office hath vnder protection the Isle of Corsica, and many other Citties and important places: and thence ensue the expences layd out for their conseruation.

\*An Isle in  
the Sea Ligu-  
rianum.

### CHAP. II.

*An excellent Relation, concerning the estate of Religion and Common wealth, which was obserued among the Iewes.*



It is not to bee doubted, but by the singular counsell of our eternall God, the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, who created mankind, whereby a Church might bee assembled and congregated: a perpetuall historie concerning the creation of things, was given to men.

And although that the Philosopher *Democritus*, and others like to him, dreamed of an eternitie of a former world, or else of innumerable worlds, and made a mockerie at the beginning of things, and thought such a recital to be but fabulous: yet notwithstanding wee holde them to be most true, considering, that Almighty GOD approved the Writings of *Moses* by apparant testimonies, as by the raising vp of the dead and others.

Democritus  
dreaming of a  
former world,  
or of innume-  
rable worlds

Now, albeit wee receiue the auncient Historie of the Church, and singularly allow it for the Diuine authorities: yet there are many more Euidences of truth besides; for, the auncient names of people, doe agree with the succession of the Fathers that related them, and the order of Empires hath bene such, as they were foretold to be, and so should be in their succeeding times.

The auncient  
historie of the  
Church.

The Propheticall Historie then is the truest, and the most auncient of all other; and the reason of that continued Historie, was, not onlie to let vs know the beginning of mankind: but much more to notifie vnto vs, the Promises of the Sonne of God, and to giue vs certainty of the first, and no way to be corrupted doctrine of God, and of the restifications so oftentimes rendered to other by that doctrine, what the gouernement of the Church hath bene; for it

The propheti-  
call Historie  
the truest and  
most auncient.



The great  
blessings of  
God vpon his  
Church.

was preferred in the diuersitie of tumults amongst Empires, like to a Shippe floating vpon raging and tempestuous billows, what the battailes of the Church haue bene, and the exercises of Faith.

Now, it was a great blessing of God, that hee gaue a certayne seating vnto his Church, euen as an Academic, for more then sixteene hundred yeares in a commodious place, betweene two most potent Kingdomes of *Egypt* and *Babylon*, to the end, that throughout them both the voyce of his doctrine might be heard. There the Promises were repeated, and the Miracles adiuised, which are witnesses of the presence of God: whose will was to haue those things set downe in writing, to the end that Posteritie might be informed by true doctrine, in the conflicts of the Church, and her manifold recoveries.

Concerning  
the historie of  
later times.

And although nothing is found in writing by publike authority, touching the last times, yet notwithstanding, our Lord was careful to haue the latter Historie knowne, which hath bene declared partly by *Isephus*, and partly by *Philo*, whereof I haue made a collection, because the more studious might enioy a continuall Historie of the Iewish people, euen to the destruction of *Ierusalem*. And it pleased God, that a continued successe of histories should remaine to men: for seeing that Prophetical histories reached so farre as the reigne of the Persians, or to King *Cyrus*; the Greeke and Latine histories afterward, reported the great mutations of the following Empires, which also was seconded after by the Apostles writings, concerning the Sonne of God, borne of the Virgine *Marie*, crucified and raised againe; and after the Apostles, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Nicephorus* pursued in the Ecclesiasticall History. Wherein I make no doubt, but all such as are well aduised, will confesse, that the knowledge of the order of Times is necessarie, to understand when the Doctrine was revealed, the Sonne of God manifested, the Church congregated in diuers kinds, sometimes agitated by tempestuous stormes; and yet (after all) graciously deliuered. Wherefore, let vs giue thanks to God, for bestowing on men the continued Historie of his Sonne; and let vs keepe such Writings religiously: where-

The Church  
ouer many  
stormes hap-  
pily deliuered

in hauing taken some paines, I hope it will proue pleasing to all Christian Readers.

The beginning of the Catalogue is the continuation of soueraigne Sacrificers, or high-Priests that gouerned the Iewish people, after their returne from *Babylon*, with the princes issued of the race Royall.

## The first Familie being the Posteritie of Iesus.

### CHAP. III.

*A Catalogue of the High-Priests, or soueraigne Sacrificers, beginning with Serai and his sonne Ioseph.*

**B**Oth these were led captiue into *Babylon*, by *Nabuchodonosor* King of the Chaldeans, and dyed in exile.

*Ishah* or *Iesus*, the sonne of *Ioseph*, came backe into *Iudea* with the Prince *Zorobabel*, sixe hundred and thirtie yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ. He liued vnder the Kings of *Persia*, *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, *Xerxes*, euen to the twentieth yeare of *Artaxerxes*, *Long-hand*, and presided (as chiefe Priest) first sixe and thirtie yeares. Afterward, in regard that the building of the Temple was hindered, he went into *Babylon* to *Darius*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, whom the Holy Historie nameth *Ashuerus*, and was absent the space of eight yeares. After his returne hee was twenty yeares more in the high-Priesthood. *Philo* is of opinion, that he wrote the Historie of *Iudith*, which others (neuerthelesse) holde to be more ancient.

The

Serai and  
Ioseph.

1 Iushah  
or Iesus.

Darius  
sonne  
of Hystaspes  
or Ashuerus.

*The sonne of Iesus was Iachim.*

Iachim the  
sonne of Iesus  
or Iachim.

*Iachim* helde the Priest-hood eight yeeres, in the absence of his brother, and eight and fortie yeeres after his death. Hee liued vnder *Long-hand*, and *Darius* the Ballard, vntill the twelfth yeare of *Artaxerxes* *Ashuerus*, who was also named *Atanion*; hee did set downe in writing the Historie of *Hister*, and the memorie of *Phurim* was by him instituted, as *Philo* writeth.

Elasib the son  
of Iachim.

*Elasib* was his sonne, who was in Office of the Soueraigne Priest-hood one and twentie yeares, vntill the foure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of *Artaxerxes* *Atanion*.

Iudas or Iada  
sonne of  
Elasib.

*Iudas* or *Iada* sonne to him, was high-Priest foure and twenty yeares; vntill the third yeare of the reigne of *Darius*, who succeeded next to *Atanion*.

Iohn and Ie-  
sai sonne of  
Iudas.

*Iohn* and *Iesus* were his sonnes, the latter whereof beeing fiered with ambition, insinuated himselfe (by the power of giftes) into the fauour of *Vogeses*, Satrape of *Persia*, to take (by his helpe) the chiefe Priest-hood from his Brother: But immediately hee payed the penaltie due vnto his wicked presumption; for in a debate and blowes being moued in the temple, he was slaine by his brother. Here was the beginning of the euils in *Iudea*, about an hundred, sixtie and seauen yeares, after the returne from *Babylon*.

Vogeses  
euen-  
tured with  
an Arme  
into  
Ierusalem,  
and  
burned the  
Temple.

*Iohn* hauing murdered his brother *Iesus* in the Temple, was the cause of bringing the people into a miserable seruitude. For, the Satrape *Vogeses* being aduertised of the death of his friend *Iesus*, entred with a mightie Arme into *Ierusalem*, prophaned and pilled the Temple, saying, That he might aswell doe so, as the high-Priest to foyle it with the blood of his owne Brother: he collected the tribute money rigorously for the space of seauen yeares together, proceeding therein so saire, as forcing the Iewes to pay an hundred crownes of the Sonne, for every beaſt that they sacrificed. *Iohn* held the high-Priest-hood foure and twenty yeares, euen vnto the death of *Oebus*, and the beginning of the reigne of *Artanes*.

*His Sonnes were Iaddas and Manasses.*

*Manasses* following the example of *Ierusalem*, to strengthen himselfe against his brother, made alliance with *Sannabalat* the *Chutean*, sent *Satrape* by the last *Darius* into *Samaria*, and tooke to wife his daughter *Nicossa*. But in regard of this vnlawfull marriage, hee was reſpelled from the Sacerdotal Office, with diuerſe others for the same cause. Beeing bereft of the Priest-hood, hee made his recourse to his Father in lawe in *Samaria*, who after he had obayne leaue of *Alexander* the Great; builded a new Temple vpon an high mountayne in *Samaria* called *Gartizim*, shaping it after the forme and magnificence of that at *Ierusalem*, and there hee cauled his sonne *Manasses* to preside.

Iaddas and  
Manasses  
sons  
of Iohn.

A new Temple  
built on the  
Gartizim  
in Samaria.

Great strifes  
and contentions  
betweene  
the two Tem-  
ples.

This diuision of High-Priests, was afterwards the cause of great tumults in *Iudea*; for, as all they which were expelled from *Ierusalem*, for transgressing the Ceremonies of *Moses* Lawe, as also for some other offences, betooke themselves to this new Temple: in a short time after, they grew to such an head and strength, that inciting those Sacrificers, Apostates and Samaritans against the Iewes: it likewise gaue occasion to many riotous courses and theueries on either side.

Nothing was found by posteritie of this *Manasses*: but two hundred yeares after, the Temple on this Mount of *Gartizim* was destroyed from the topp to the bottome, by *Iohn Hircanus*, sonne vnto *Simon* the *Asmonean*, and Successor to him.

*Iaddas* administred the high-Priesthood for seauen and twentie yeares, vnder *Artanes*, and the latter *Darius*, euen to the time of *Alexander* the Great. He depriued his brother *Manasses* (and the rest) of the right of Priesthood, because (contrary to the Law of Almighty God) they had married with strange women. While *Alexander* the Great besieged the Citie of *Tyre*, hee demanded aide and tribute of this *Iaddas*, such as the Iewes had formerly payed to the Persians. Whereunto he returned answer, That in the life time of *Darius* (to whom hee tooke his oath)

Iaddas depri-  
ued his bro-  
ther Manasses  
of the Priest-  
hood.

The answer of  
Iaddas to A-  
lexander the  
great, concern-  
ing aide and  
tribute.

he neuer acknowledged any other Lord, because that the Iewish Nation had been tributarie to the Kings of *Persia*, almost euer since their returne from *Babylon*. *Alexander* growing angrie at such an answer; after the taking in of *Tyre* and *Gaza*, mounted vp to *Ierusalem* with his Armies, intending to subuigate the Iewes by strength of Armes.

Iaddus metes  
Alexander  
with all sub-  
mission.

Alexanders  
repetition of  
his dreame.

But *Iaddus* beeing thereof admonished in a dreame, tooke his Priestlie garments, and went to meete him in great humilitie, accompanied with all the Sacrificers and Citizens. *Alexander* beholding the Soueraigne high Priest, alighted on his feete, and gaue vnto him reuerend adoration. Being demanded what should moue him to reuerence an enemy, that came with submission entreatie vnto him: hee replied: *At the time of my abiding in Macedon, and thinking on the Empire of Asia, a man was presented to mee in my sleepe, in the same or like habite as the High Priest wearres, who perswaded mee to undertake the expedition of Asia, and gaue mee good hope of prosperous successe.*

When hee was entred the Citie, he was so farre from offering the least taste of an enemy, that, after hee had sacrificed, he adorned the Temple with magnificent gittes, and at his departing hee gaue them libertie to vse the Lawe of their Fore-fathers, and the immunities of the leauenth yeare, wherein the Iewes were not fowne.

*The sonnes of Iaddus were Onias and Manasses.*

Manasses Ne-  
phew to El-  
azar.

Concerning *Manasses*, wee readenot any thing, but that hee succeeded next to his Nephew *Elazar*, and was a friend to *Seleucus Gallenicus*, and that vnder his gouernement, the Samaritanes being displaced at the Iewes in despite of the Temple, and seruices there performed, they put to fire and sword the whole territory of *Ierusalem*. Some are of opinion, that this man was not the brother to *Onias*, but rather the brother vnto his wife, and make thereabout some controuerfie.

*A Catalogue of the High Priests Onias called the Ancient.*

In this mans time, *Ptolome*, the sonne of *Lagus*, desiring to make the people of the Iewes become tributarie; as hee entred vpon a Sabaoth day into the Citie of *Ierusalem*, to offer Sacrifice (the Iewes not daring to take Arms, for feare of doing contrary to the Law) vsed great cruelty against the Inhabitants, of whom he led away into *Egypt* some thousands, as captiues and hostages.

The cruelty  
of Ptolome  
against the  
Iewes, about  
the tribute-  
money.

*The Sonnes of Onias were Simon and Eleazar.*

*Simon* was named *Iustus*, for pietie and benignitie towards his Nation. The Iewes enioyed peace vnder him, all the while as the Successours of *Alexander* the great, *Antigonus*, *Demetrius*, *Seleucus* and the rest, fought in *Asia* and *Greece* for the Monarchie.

Simon fir-  
med Iustus  
was gracious  
to his nation.

*Eleazar* succeeded after his brother *Simon*, as Tutor to *Onias* the second, being as yet a childe. In his time, *Ptolome Philadelphus* enfranchised about an hundred thousand Iewish slaues, led into *Egypt*, partly by the Kings of *Persia*, partly by his father *Ptolome* the sonne of *Lagus*.

An hundred  
thousand Iewes  
gotten in liberty  
of an liberty  
by Ptolome  
Philadelphus.

Moreover, he sent Ambassadors with magnificent Presents to *Eleazar* the high Priest, requesting to haue threescore and twelue Iewes, that could translate the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets, out of the Hebrew language into the Greeke. Which being done, hee sent them backe againe with great gittes, and a Table of golde dedicated to the Temple, and other Presents of especiall value. His vnckle *Manasses* succeeded after his death; vnckle by the mother only, according to some: for the Greeke word signifieth vnckle both by father and mother.

The 3 sonnes  
of Simon, and  
a daughter  
also.

*Simon* had three sonnes; *Tobias*, whom *Philo* and *Saint Luke* in his third chapter calleth *Mattathias*; *Ioseph*, that pacified *Ptolome*. And *Annas* *Thyrannus*, the last Prince of the Iewish people, of the Lineage of *Iuda*, and house of *Dan*: who liue himselfe, for feare of *Antiochus* the Noble.

After this man, the high Priests drew vnto themselves the gouerning in all affaires.

The daughter of *Simon* the high Priest

Priest, was married to *Tobias*, of the house of *Dan*.

*Onias* being left a childe by his Father, at last, in his age succeeded to *Manasses* in the High-Priest-hood. By his auarice he offended *Ptolome*, King of *Egypt*, and raised him in rage against the Iewes, because hee refused to pay the ordinary tribute. For the high-Priests were wont to pay their reuennues yearly to the Kings of *Egypt* for their Citizens, amounting to twenty Talents, that is, twelue thousand crownes of the Sunne. But *Ioseph* afterward appealed *Ptolome*, who was Nephew to *Onias* by the Sisters side, a Prince of the posterity of *Dan*.

*Onias* succeeded his sonne *Simon*.

*Philo* saith, that he was surnamed *Iustus*. Vnder him, *Iesus* the Sonne of *Syrach* wrote his Booke called *Ecclesiasticus*. And that *Simon* had three sonnes also, who (each after other) quoynted the Priest-hood, which *Iosephus* testifieth apparantly. The Sonnes of *Simon*, were,

*Onias*. *Iesus*, otherwise called *Iafon*. *Onias*, also called *Menelaus*.

The great *Onias* is commended in the second Booke of the *Machabees*, for his pietie and iustice, and is saide, that hee was a friend to *Seleuchus*, Brother to *Antiochus* the Noble; who sometimes furnished all necessary affaires in the Temple, with the reuennues of the Realme of *Syria*. But afterward, another man, called *Simon*, who had the charge of keeping the Temple, hauing conceyued malice against *Onias* the high-Priest, reported to King *Seleuchus*, that there was an infinite masse of gold hidden in the Temple, which the Priests applied to their own priuate vses. And this was the cause, that the king wold no longer furnish the Temple with the wonted monyes; but also sent *Heliodorus*, to make seizure on the wealth, and commit it to the Kings Treasury. But as hee would haue audaciously haue entred (with his followers) into the secret place of the Temple, he was smitten downe, & very neere dead, yet recovered againe by diuine mercy, and by the prayers of *Onias*.

Heliodorus  
sent to seize  
on the wealth  
and treasure  
of the temple.

Afterward, the discord so encreased be-

tweene the Prince of the high-Priests, and the Traitor *Simon*, that many murders were committed by the friends of *Simon*: which made *Onias* to retire himselfe towards the King *Seleuchus*, and gaue way to the fury of his enemies. But before *Onias* could get thither, *Seleuchus* was dead, and *Iafon*, Brother to *Onias*, had obtaigned by bribes and gifts to *Antiochus* the Noble (succeeding the deceased King) the administration of the high-Priests office. Whereupon, *Onias* doubting King *Antiochus* as much as his Brother; durst not go to him, but went to a free place, neere to *Daphne*, a city of *Syria*, & being drawne thither by deceitfull means, was also slaine by *Andronicus*, Lieutenant to the King, and at the request of *Atenidas*, who *Iafon* hauing expulsi, possessed himselfe of the high Priests Office, as heereafter shall be declared.

Iafon getteth  
the High-  
Priests Office  
from his Bro-  
ther *Onias*.

The murder  
of great *Onias*.

*The Sonne of this Onias the Great, was Onias.*

*Onias* being left young at his Fathers death, and afterward growing to more ripenesse of yeares; standing in feare of *Alcinus* the high-Priest, he fled into *Egypt* to *Ptolome Philometor*, accompanied with some of his fellow citizens. There *Ptolome* gaue him permission, to build a Towne and a Temple, in the Territory of *Heliopolis*, in resemblance of that at *Ierusalem*, which was called *Onion*, five great miles from *Memphis*, now called the great *Cayro*. For in regard that *Ptolome* waged warre with *Antiochus* the Noble, & stood in need of his neighbours succors, he was perswaded by *Onias* to build a Temple, as if by that means, all the people of the Iewes would league with the Kings of *Egypt*, & take their part. About 230. yeeres after this Temple was built, at the same time as the City and Temple of *Ierusalem* were ruined, it was also depoyled of all her Iewels, and shut vp by Edict from *Vespasian* the Emperor.

*Onias* flyeth  
into *Egypt*, to  
*Ptolome* *Phi-*  
*lometor*.

The building  
of a new tem-  
ple in *Egypt*.

*The Sonnes of this Onias, dwelling in Egypt, were Helchias and Annas.*

These two Brethren, beeing Colonels of the *Egyptians* Army, ayded valiantly *Cleopatra*; so that her Sonne *Lathyrus* being excluded, she obtaigned the kingdome.

These two bre-  
thren Com-  
manders of  
the *Egyptians*  
Army.

But

But after that *Ptolomy* had recolected his forces, and passing into *Egypt* through *Iudea*; *Heliodorus* putting him to flight with his Army, died in *Syria* of a sharpe disease. For the rest, wee reade nothing of the posterity of the high-Priests of *Egypt*.

*Iesou*, named *Iason* also, second Sonne to *Simon*, after the death of *Seleucus*, bought of *Antiochus*, brother and successor to *Seleucus*, the high-priesthood, for five hundred Talents, that is to say, three Tunnes of gold, as wee speake vulgarly; promising him beside as an over-plus, forty eight thousand crownes of the Sun, as an annual tribute. And to gaine himselfe more grace with this wicked King, he builded places in *Ierusalem*, for the exercising of young people, in such pastimes as he had instituted; and these were to bee performed, at such times as the people vied more in the Temple. He receiued and magnificently entertained *Antiochus* Epiphanes with his Army, with Lamps and flaming fires, & songs composed in praise of the King: and this was at such time as the King departing thence, planted Garisons of strength in the Fortresses of *Ierusalem*, and this was but a beginning to the intollerable seruitude which afterward followed.

*Iason* hauing enioyed the high-Priesthood three yeares, sent his Brother *Menelaus* with gold and great charge to *Antiochus*: but now hee prouoed to be payed with coine of the same stamp, as before he had done to his brother *Onias*; for by the same crafty contriuing, *Menelaus* set him quite beside the Priesthood. And *Iason* standing now in feare of *Menelaus*, with-drew into the land of the *Ammonites*, where he closely concealed himselfe, vntill a false rumour ran abroad, that *Antiochus* entred *Egypt*, dyed. These newes so cheered vp his drooping spirits, that being accompanied with a thousand men in arms, he intruded vpon the City, where being fauoured by the inhabitants, for therapiues and cruelties committed by *Menelaus*; he slew many of *Antiochus* his faction, and compelled *Menelaus* to saue himselfe in the *Syrians* Garisons kept in the Forts.

But hearing the returne of *Antiochus* from the Land of *Egypt*, and losing all hope of the Priesthood, againe he retired among the *Ammonites*, of whom he could

not now be receiued, standing in feare of *Antiochus*, who was nere at hand with his army. Expulsiō also (for the same reason) by *Aretas*, King of *Arabia*, out of his marches, and hauing no access into *Egypt*, & lastly forsaken of all; he passed by Sea to the *Lacedemonians*, among whom hee was concerned in kindred: and yet, as a iust punishment for his ambition, he dyed very poorly in banishment.

*Onias*, named *Menelaus* also, the third Sonne of *Simon*, according to *Iosephus* (albeit in the second Booke of the *Maccabees*, he is not said to be the Sonne of *Simon* the High-Priest, but brother to one *Simon* of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, who had charge of the Temple, as we slide before in speaking of *Onias*) being sent to King *Antiochus* the Noble, by *Iason*, Prince of the sacrificing Priests, with money and commission about important affairs; did so cunningly insinuate himselfe, into the good grace of the King and his Courtiers, that by promising three hundred Talents (which is an hundred and fourscore thousand crownes of the Sun) more then all that which *Iason* payed, and accusing him of diuers crimes beside: he preuailed so farre, that the Soueraigne Priesthood was taken from *Iason*, and conferred on him in his stead.

This dignity thus obtained, he persued the same impieties as *Iason* did, in the customes and manners of the Pagans, & farre exceeding him in rapines and cruelties. For at the entring into his government, to make himselfe the surer of so ill-gotten honour; he slew *Onias*, eldest Son to *Simon* his brother, as *Iosephus* affirames, who being exiled, kept close in a franchised place neere *Daphne*, a Towne in *Syria*; there hee caused him to be murdered by *Andronicus* (Gouernour of *Calasyria*) by fraud and treason, and for which offence, *Andronicus* was sentenced with death by the King.

Afterward, being vnable to furnish the great payment of money hee had promised to the King; he sold many vessels of gold, which he had covertly stolne out of the Temple: which sacriledge comming to be knowne, great mutinies were moued among the people. At length, *Menelaus* was accused and conuicted by three Ambassadors, sent from *Ierusalem* to Tyre. But by the meanes of a Courtier, named

*Ptolomy*

The miseries and wretched end of *Iason*.

a Marchable company.

*Menelaus* his cunning insinuating with the King and Courtiers.

*Menelaus* more wicked then his brother *Iason*.

*Menelaus* is absolutely in blood; the Temple and Sanctuary are thus away by corruption.

*Ptolomy* (soundly corrupted with money) hee was absolved and the King pacified, preuailing withall so farre, that his accusers were executed for calumniators: and he returning backe to *Ierusalem*, began againe to tyrannize ouer the Citizens.

Much about this time, for the space of forty dayes, there appeared in the Heauens, hoards or bands of men, fighting both on horsebacke and foote: which prodigious signes, prognosticated the horrible calamities which soone after were to follow. For as *Antiochus* was leading his Army (the second time) into *Egypt*, purposing to vsurpe the Country by open warre, seeing he could not do it vnder colour of Guardianship, because *Ptolomy Philometor* (his Nephew) was yet but young: *Iason* rushed into the City with his Army, againe to repulse his brother from the Priesthood, over-coming a great number of the Inhabitants, that tooke part with *Antiochus* and *Menelaus*. Who finding his strength too feeble, fled to the Fortresses and Garisons of the *Syrians*, dispatching messengers vnto *Antiochus* for better ayde.

And now *Antiochus* being vrged thereto by the rigorous command of the Romanes, and deliuered by *Popilius*, left *Egypt*, comming thence in a raging madness, fearing a further reuolt of the Iewish Nation. Hauing brought his Army before the City, hee found the Gates fast shut, and the inhabitants ready to defend themselves. Whereat being vexed, he forced into the City without any great difficulty: because *Menelaus* with his faction, and the *Syrian* Garisons ran vp and downe in the City, and put to the Sword many Citizens, and giuing entrance to the enemy at the Gates. Being entred, *Antiochus* charged his people to kill all that they met with in Armes, and not to spare either age or sexe: so that within three dayes space, fourescore thousand men (or thereabout) were slaine in *Ierusalem*, beside diuers thousandes ledde away captiues, and sold for slaves.

The King, conducted by *Menelaus*, entred into the most holy part of the Temple, touching with his polluted hands the sacred Vessels, which he caused to be carried thence into *Syria*, with a thousand, eight hundred talents of treasure, as much to say, as eleuen Tuns of gold of our mo-

nie: which treasure had bin partly giuen to the Temple, and partly was put there in trust for the benefite of widowes and orphans, as into the onely surest place both for reuerence and sanctity. So, after *Antiochus* had restored *Menelaus* to the high-Priesthood againe, and had planted strong Garisons in the City (whereof *Philip of Phrygia* was Captaine, a man very bloody and cruell) hee returned backe to *Antioche* again with his great booty. Two yeares after, fearing a reuolt of the *Iewes*, he sent the Colonell *Appolonius* to *Ierusalem*, with two and twenty thousand men, who expressed no countenance of an enemy, but encamped without the City, attending for the Sabbath day, and then giuing the determined signall, hee slew & massacred the vnarmed multitude, that came forth to behold the Campe of the *Syrians*. Then entring violently into the City, hee put all to the edge of the sword that withstood him, robbing, spoyleing, & burning it in many places, throwing downe the walles and fortifications: yet ramparing the Walles and Bulwarks, in that part called, *The City of David*, and planting there a potent Garrison.

This was a preparative, to attaine (in time) to the Kings full ayme, who purposing to turne(perforce) the *Iewes* from the Law of their fore-fathers (a thing which he knew they would withstand to their vermost power) first of all he gaue order, to dispossesse them of Armes and Weapons, leaving them naked of all munitions, succour and resistance. This discomfiture made by *Appolonius* in *Ierusalem*, soone after the King sent thither *Athenus*, another of his Colonels, with an especiall Edict, whereby he commanded all Nations that were in subiection to him, to vse (in euery kindome) the same Religion which the *Greekes* did: prohibiting expressly to the *Iewes*, the vse of circumcision, & other ordinances commanded them by God. He likewise planted Garisons aswell in *Ierusalem*, as in other Cities and Townes of *Iudea*, to inflict cruell punishment on all them, that did not obtemperate the Kings Edict. Beside, the Temple was prophaned by the Kings Command, and the Image of *Iupiter Olympus* worshipped in the Sanctuary, euen in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and many pillardizes and whoredomes committed with-

*Menelaus* restored to the High Priesthood againe, by *Antiochus* and Garisons planted in the City.

The City of David in *Ierusalem*.

The *Iewes* left naked of all meanes whereby to vnderstand resistance, or to be the-licious.

A cruell Edict sent out by *Antiochus* against the *Iewes*.

The High-Priest Office bought for 500 Talents.

The entrance into the City of *Antiochus* into *Ierusalem*.

*Iason* is iustly required for treachery to his brother *Onias*.

*Iason* soone encouraged, and as quickly assumed a game.

within the circuite of the Temple. Moreover, by the same Edit Royall, the holy Bookes were forbidden ingenerall, and that man iudged worthy of death, with whom the Booke of the Law should bee found; yea, and seuerer inquisition made for it every Moneth.

As thus the Cittizens of *Ierusalem* were disarmed, oppressed, & very strong Garisons planted ouer them: euen so were they destitute of any Captain, nor daring to vie force or opposition, against the wicked commands and excessive tyrannies of *Antiochus*: considering also, that *Menelaus* the Soueraigne High-Priest, had formerly instituted the behauiours vied among Pagans in *Ierusalem*, to keepe himselfe in his dignity, & in the Kings fauour, approving and assisting all his enterprizes; in which respect, many that made veruous profession of the Law given by God, were most inhumanely murdered by the Soldiours of *Antiochus*, and their goods confiscated. Others (in great numbers) forsaking the City, and leaving all their goods behinde them, went to hide themselves in Caves and desert places, as *Mattathias* the *Asmonean* withdrew (accompanied with his children) into the little Village of *Modin*.

In the second Booke of the *Maccabees* is described the horrible punishing of two women, who were accused to the Lieutenant of *Antiochus*, that they had circumcised their children, contrary to the Kings Edit. Whereupon, they were condemned, and (for a terror to other) they were led naked through the streets of the City, their infants strangled, hanging at their breasts, and afterward throwne downe from the top of the City wall. There is also set downe, the seuen Brethren & their Mother, tormented with most exquisite tortures; and yet they helde fast the profession of the Law. By which horrible cruelties, judgement may be made, as well of the extreme rigour of *Antiochus*, as also of the miserable estate of Gods people: of whom, some reliques were yet referred, by means of the *Asmoneans*, yet refuted by God, to repress the rage of *Antiochus*, & to maintaine the Law of God by Armes, as hereafter shall be declared.

In the meane time *Menelaus*, Author, beholder and promoter of these iniquities vpon the people; retayned still the ti-

tle of Soueraigne high Sacrificer, euen then when *Iudas Maccabeus* tooke (by power) the City and the Temple: he being then hid in the Fortresse, vnder the protection of the *Syrians*, vntill that after the death of *Antiochus* the Noble, his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, having seized on *Ierusalem*, concluded peace with *Iudas Maccabeus*, and by the perauation of *Lysias*, brought him captiue into *Syria*, as the first brand of all the warre, and of the overthrowing of the *Syrian* Armies by the *Asmoneans*; and there he was also slaine, after he had held the high-Priesthood twelue yeares. This was the last Sacrificer of the posterity of *Aaron*, to whom the diuine right appertained, for administration of the Soueraigne Priesthood. For *Antiochus Eupator* appointed in the place of *Menelaus*, a certaine man named *Alcimus*, who might bee of *Aaron*s posterity; but not of the Family of that *Iesus*, who with *Zerobabell* had returned from *Babylon* into *Iudas*. This *Alcimus* presided foure yeares, and then dyed of a sudden sicknesse, two yeares after the death of *Iudas Maccabeus*.

*Alcimus* being dead, the Temple and the people was leauen yeares without a Soueraigne high-Priest, vntill such time as the power of *Ionathas* encreased, who was the Brother of *Iudas*: when the dignity of the Priesthood was transferred (by consent of the people) into the Family of the *Asmoneans*; where it remained so long, as to the beginning of the Reigne of *Herod*, about 116 yeares.

### CHAP. IIII.

#### Of the *Asmoneans*, being the second Family.

As much to say, as them of the posterity of *Simon*, to whom the principality, as well of the high-Priesthood, as also of the Jewish people being transferred, is continued from the time of *Antiochus* the Noble, vntill the Reigne of *Herod*.

*Simon. Iohn. Mattathias.*

THE Sacrificer of the Family of *Iacob* of *Ierusalem*, dwelling in the Village

of *Modin*, did first oppose himselfe against *Antiochus* the Noble; who, by horrible torments constrained the *Iews* to transgress their Law, and to deale in those behauiours vied among the Pagans; in the hundred, forty and nine yeares of the kingdome of *Syria*, an hundred fifty and nine yeares after the death of *Alexander*, and an hundred sixty and five yeares before the birth of Christ. For *Mattathias* seeing a certaine *Iew*, who (to please the King) sacrificed a forbidden beast vpon a Pagan Altar, it being prohibited by the diuine Law: enflamed with a iust and holy zeale (in the pretence of the Cittizens of his owne Nation, suffering such a wicked acte to be done, as also of the Kings Lieutenant) slew the offender, and then beating downe the Altar, deliuered arms to all them, who (making more account of the word given by God, then the threatenings of a Pagan King) had forsaken their goods and hued in the Deserts, from whence many returning daily; hee leuied a great Army, by whose helpe hee deliuered worthily the neighbouring Townes, from the Idolatries of *Antiochus*, and replanted the feruor and ordinances commanded by the Law diuine.

But this valiant man, deeply slept in age, after hee had (for a yeares space) led this his chosen wandering troope, and after hee had exhorted his Sonnes to the study of piety, as also the valiant defending of the Law given by God, against the wicked Edicts and torments of *Antiochus*, reconciling them all to concord and mutuall reuerence, dyed peaceably, in the yeare 146. of the Kingdome of *Syria*, 160. after the death of *Alexander*; and 164. before Christ was borne.

*Mattathias* had five Sonnes. *Iudas, Ionathas, Simon, Iohn*, and *Elezazar*.

*Elezazar*, otherwise called *Amran* or *Amran*, a very hardy young man, after hee had performed many valiant deeds in the first yeare after his Fathers death, going to succour *Antiochus Eupator*, Sonne to *Antiochus* the Noble, with his brother *Iudas*, hee saw (among other) a goodly Elephant, exceeding in greatness & rich furniture. Whereby, hee imagining that the King should be vpon him, ran towards him overboldly, and slaying many Soldiours

euery where about him, got vnder the Elephant, and giuing a deadly stabbe in his belly, the Elephant fell downe vpon him, and thereby was the death of *Elezazar*.

*Iohn*, surnamed *Gaddis*, after the death of his brother *Iudas*, was sent by *Ionathas*, and *Simon* his other brethren into *Arabia*, with the Jewels & precious things which they had conquered in warre, to place them in the custody and guard of the *Arabians*: but the *Ammites* layed ambushes by the way for him, and hauing slaine him, tooke also the spoyles away from him and his traine.

*Iudas* was surnamed also *Maccabeus*, which diction in Hebrew is written *Maccabai*, whereof each letter signifieth a word, taken from the Song of *Moses* in *Exodus*, in these expresse words: *MECAMOCHA BAILEM IEHOVA*? That is to say: Who is like vnto thee (O Lord) among the Gods? *Iudas* vying this sentence for his Motto or device, and making of phrase of the first Letters of the foure words, caused himselfe to bee surnamed *Maccabeus*. His father being neere his death, appointed him the cheefe guide & Leader of the poore and miserable multitude: who had rather endure all afflictions whatsoever, then renounce the doctrine given them by God. Soone after the death of his Father, hee ouercame the Army of *Apollonius*, and made vte of his Sword in all the battles hee fought afterward with a small band of men, hee vanquished the Army of *Sidon*, Governour of *Syria*, who was slaine in the field, and with him 8000. men. These victories obtained the first yeare, made *Iudas Maccabeus* highly renowned. The yeare following, which was the 147. of the Greeke reigne, *Antiochus* went into *Perfia* with his Army, and left in the kingdome of *Syria*, *Lysias* as Regent and Governour to his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, giuing him expresse charge to destroy the *Iews*. For the execution of which command, *Lysias* sent into *Palestine*, forty thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse, vnder the conduct of *Ptolomy, Nicanor* and *Corgias* his Colonels, who entered hostily with their Armies into *Iudas*, and encamped before the Village of *Emmaus*, *Iudas* perceiving perill, led his Army into *Mispas*, a place (long agone) built before the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and very famous for Religion.

There

The first opinion of the high Priest against King Antiochus

Mattathias slew a Iew for sacrificing a forbidden beast on a Pagan Altar

Mattathias drew a Iew from the idolatries of Antiochus

The death of Eleazar, and old man at Modin

Elezazar surnamed Amran

Elezazar slaine by an elephant

Iohn slaine by the Ammites

The name of Maccabeus

Maccabeus

Iudas made Lead of the people

The valiant acts of Iudas Maccabeus

Lysias made Governour of young Antiochus Eupator

The Cittizens of Ierusalem durst make no opposition in their owne defence

The horrible punishment inflicted vpon two women

The Asmonean raised by God to repress Antiochus

The small Army of men that Iudas had with him.

There he publicly commanded a fast, giving charge, that by earnest and hearty prayer they should craue of God, that to small a handfull of men (for hee had but three thousand apt for warre with him) might valiantly defend themselves against so great a power of enemies. Which being done, he remoued his Campe, and went directly to confront the host of his aduersaries, and setting vpon them in the night season, droue them to flight, & slew three thousand with the Sword. Vpon the successe of this exploite, hee went to seeke the other part of the Army, which was guided by *Gorgias*, who intended to streile vpon the *Jewes* in the dead time of night. But *Gorgias* hearing the former defeat, and perceiuing the smoke of lighted fires in the Campe of the *Jewes*, fled away in haste with his forces. So *Iudas*, with so filly a power of people, enforced the huge host of his enemies vnto flight, and got very great booties from them.

The wonderfull successe of Iudas against Gods enemies.

Lyfias commeth with a mighty Army against the Maccabees.

*Lyfias* hauing intelligence of his mens ill successe, being mad with anger, leuied a farre greater power, to make fresh warre vpon the *Maccabees*. And the year following, which was the 148. of the *Greekes* reigne, himselfe in person (for hee grew distrustfull of his Captaines) accompanied with threecore thousand foote, all of them pickt and chosen men, & fise thousand horse, invaded *Iudas*, by passing thorow *Thulmes*. And as he was encamped in *Bethsura*, on the Frontiers of *Iudas*, *Iudas Maccabeus* came to meete him with ten thousand men (so much was the number encreased, of them that detested *Ethnick* Idolatry) and after hee had inuoked publicly the ayde of God, hee fought with the enemy.

Iudas encountereth the great Army of Lyfias.

*Lyfias* perceiuing how courageously the *Jewes* fought, as men that meerey despised death, breaking furiously through his ranks, his men beginning to turne their backs, and fise thousand of them hewen in peeces; rallied together his scattered troopes, and led them backe to *Antioche*, hoping to speede better at another time with a new expedition. Where in he was preuented, by the death of *Antiochus* the Noble, who being repulsd fro besieging *Persepolis*, as hee led backe his Army in ill order by *Babylon*, and being informed (by the way) what bad successe

Antiochus repulsd at his besieging Persepolis.

his Armies had sustained in *Iudas*, he fell first into a greuous vexation of spirit, & afterward of body, so that his minthes were fittened with horrible diseases. Yet being nothing the milder by this visitation, but rather more vehemently prouoked against the *Jewes*: after his returne, he purposed a speedy journey to *Iudas*; there to raze their Cities, especially *Ierusalem*, and vterly to extirpate the *Jewish* Nation. But as he proceeded on in this violent resolution, and making too much haste on the way, the Chariot (wherein he lay sick) was ouerturned, and his body fo bruised against the ground, also the extremity of his impatience so violent, that his blood fouler-boyled, his enuies putrified, and his flesh outwardly rotted, yielding forth a most loathsome and intolerable stinke, so that in wonderfull torments, he gaue vp the ghost, acknowledging the diuine vengeance of Heauen. Thus died this most cruell Tyrant, in the 148. yeare of the *Greekes* reigne; of his owne 12. and the fourth, after those many robberies, as well of the Temple, as the City of *Ierusalem*.

The great & horrible nature of Gods iudgement declared in the death of Antiochus the 148.

*Iudas Maccabeus* much encouraged by this so notable a victory, conducted his Army to *Ierusalem*; where hee cleaned the Temple, formerly defiled and profaned by the seruite of Idols, and offered sacrifices according to the Law, in the yeare of the *Greekes*, 148. before Christs Nativity, 162. the 25. day of the Moneth of *Chisseu*, that is to say, November; the very same day, that (three yeares before) it had bene robbed & profaned by *Antiochus*, placing therein Images and Idols. He builded also *Sion*, and strongly munited *Bethsura*, that it might serue as a Fortresse against the *Turians*.

The returne of Iudas to Ierusalem, & his purifying the Temple.

Hauing done this, he kept his Armour daily on his backe, because he was still assailed by the *Idumeans*, *Asmonites*, and others, who laboured to overthrow the power of the *Jewish* Nation, which began to exalt it selfe in some good measure. But the brethren of the *Maccabees*, repulsd those insulting Nations worthily, diminishing their Armies, & fighting fortunately in many places at a time, yet vniing their victories rudely enough. In the 150. yeare of the *Greekes*, *Iudas* laide siege before the Forts of *Ierusalem*, which from the Garrison made many courses, killing such

Iudas went daily with his Armour on.

Antiochus Eupator giueth aide to Menelaus.

(such as would sacrifice in the Temple, & very much molested the Citizens. But *Antiochus Eupator*, being vrged by *Menelaus*, to lend him aide, for reliefe of them that were besieged in the forts; sent an army into *Iudas* by *Lyfias*, consisting of 10000. foote, and 20000. horse; and besieged *Bethsura* a long time. In the meane while, *Iudas* being aduertised of the Kings comming in person thither, raised his siege from before the forts, and went to meet the enemy with his Souldiers, of whom hee made some slaughters in diuers skirmishes. Yet finding himselfe to be oppressed by so ouer-great a multitude, retired into *Ierusalem*, where being enclosed within the munitions of the Temple; he endured a long and difficult siege, enforced (vpon the coming thither of *Antiochus*, who followed after *Lyfias*) to play vpon aduantages.

Antiochus layeth a very dangerous siege to Ierusalem.

So long lasted this sharpe besieging, vntill the King, being certified of *Philips* coming, who, vnder colour of reducing the *Persians* vnder the awe of *Epiphanes*, sought to possesse himselfe (as the same went) of the Kingdomes both of *Asia* and *Syria*: offered peace to them that were besieged in the Temple, with libertie of liuing according to the laws of their forefathers. But after that *Iudas* had brought his garrison out of the Temple, the King being amazed at the fortifications, beat downe their walls, contrary to the accord made at the Temple, and led *Menelaus* the Soueraigne Sacrificer captiue away with him (according as we haue saide already) instituting *Alcimus* in his stead, who also was named *Ioachim*, and so took his way home againe to *Syria*.

Menelaus led away captiue by King Antiochus into Syria.

## CHAP. V.

*Antiochus* and *Lyfias* are put to death by *Demetrius*; the wicked behaviour of *Alcimus* the high-Priest; the death of *Iudas*, and the succession of his brother *Ionathas*.

IN the 151. yeare of the *Greekes*, *Demetrius* flying from *Rome*, where hee had bin detained in hostage, made seizure on the kingdom of *Syria*: putting to death the sonne of *Epiphanes*, named *Antiochus*

*Eupator*, and his Gouvernour *Lyfias*. Now *Alcimus*, coueting to retaine still the dignitie of the High-priethood, conferred vpon him by *Eupator* and *Lyfias*: went to *Demetrius*, and there acculed all his nation (especially the *Asmoneans*) as Authors of the tumults, and perturbors of the peace of *Iudas*, & that they had throwne him out in banishment. Heereupon, the King sent *Bacchides* with a maine army, to reseat *Alcimus* in his office. Being entred *Ierusalem* with his power, by fraude hee slew many innocent Citizens, & leaving strong forces with *Alcimus* to safe protect him, returned back into *Syria*. While thus *Alcimus* abused the power and fauor of the King, for putting many to death that were contrary to him: *Iudas* finding these courses to be intolerable, & taking to heart so great cruelty in the soueraigne Sacrificer; vnderooke the defence of innocents, putting all them to death that tooke part with *Alcimus*. Whereupon, *Alcimus* fearing the vertue and power of *Iudas*, fled the second time to *Demetrius* at *Antioche*, and there formed a criminall accusation against *Iudas*.

The greedie desire of Alcimus for still enioying the Priethood.

Bacchides entereth Ierusalem with his Armie.

Iudas vnder-taketh to reuenge the outrages of Alcimus.

*Nicanor* then was sent with a puissant Army, who thought craftily to surprize *Iudas*, vnder a colour of kind conference, and so leade him along to the King. But this compact being discouered, hee entred into open armes; and being fought with all by *Iudas* in plaine battell, was constrained to retire to the fort of *Sion*. Afterward, issuing forth of *Ierusalem* in great anger, all his forces assembled together; hee threatened all the sacrificing Priests with death and vter destruction of their Temple, if they did not deliuer *Iudas* a liue to his hands. But *Iudas* hauing reinforced his Armie, encountred againe with *Nicanor* at *Bethsura*; in which battaile he slew the captaine *Nicanor*, & discomfited the whole army, being about 9000. men. This hapned the 13. day of the moneth *Adar*, which is February; and that day was afterward solemnly obserued, in regard of such a notable victorie.

Nicanor slain by Iudas in the second battell.

After these successfull aduenures, *Iudas* perswading himselfe, that *Demetrius* would seek reuenge on the *Jewes* for this his great overthrow, deuised to strengthe his power by the assistance of strangers. Heereupon, hee sent Ambassadors to the *Romanes*, to capitulate vpon confederacy

Ccc

with

Judas crutch  
aid and fauor  
of the Ro-  
manes.

with them, requesting (among other particulars) that the Senate would forbid *Demetrius*, hereafter to molest and afflict the *Jewes*. But (as humane succors are deceitfull) so the alliance of the *Romanes* was more difcommodious to the *Jewes*, then if they had giuen them no ayde at all: because it made them the more sleepey and negligent, and also was more offensive to the enemy. Whereupon it hapned, that the year following, being the 152. of the *Greekes*, *Demetrius* sent *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* with a potent army into *Judea*. There *Judas* met them with two thousand men only, and although the most part of the slip away, and forooke his company, eyther thorow wearineffe of so long a war, or fearing the enemies power, or by the practises of *Alcimus*: yet notwithstanding, he ventred on the Army of *Bacchides*, with eight hundred braue Soldiers, and fighting valiantly, there he dyed with this, in the sixth year after his fathers death, good old *Mattathias*, and before the Nativity of Christ, 158. yeares.

The valiant  
death of Ju-  
das Mache-  
beus.

The year following, which was the 153. of the *Greekes* Reigne, *Alcimus* caused the walles of the inner house of the Temple to be destroyed, which the ancient sacrificing Priests had builded: to the ende, that not any munition should remaine, which might serue to retreat the aduertiaries to the Kings of *Syria*. And hardly had they begun to beate it downe, but he was smitten suddenly with a Palfy, and therein surrendered vp his soule: but he had continued dumbe some long time before, and this was in the fourth year of his Priesthood.

Alcimus stri-  
ken with a  
sudden palfie  
dyed.

Jonathas fol-  
lowed next in  
degree to his  
brother Judas

*Jonathas* the second Sonne of *Mattathias*. *Jonathas*, or *Jonathan*, succeeded in the principality to his brother *Judas*, and by this occasion. After the death of *Machebeus*, while the *Jewes* (which had embraced the manners and religion of the *Pagans*) grew to be more emboldened, and fought for all those well disposed people, that had followed *Judas* & his Brethren, sending them to *Bacchides* to be cruelly murdered; adding also the famine, which greatly encreased, because, during the continuall warres, the fields had bene left without any tillage, so that the best persons, and which had most understanding in religion, were extremely anguished: they made their recourse to *Jonathas*, en-

treating him to undertake the defence of the poore afflicted, and to imitate therein the vertue and piety of his brother. *Jonathas* consenting to this, foone after made head mainly against *Bacchides*, and hardly escaping, retired his Soldiers into the desert, where *Bacchides* made no account to pursue them; but fortified some Townes, and planted strong Garisons in them, daily to torment the *Jewes* by fallies & courtes. Which being done, he retreated back his Army into *Syria*, after the death of *Alcimus*. By which meanes, the *Jewes* had some relaxation from warre, for about the space of two yeares, to wit, the 154. and 155. of the *Greekes* reigne.

Jonathas vo-  
luntarily en-  
terpriseth the  
cause against  
Bacchides

In the year, 156. *Bacchides* was againe incited by the apostate *Jewes*, to surprize (by some sudden aduantage) the two brethren of *Judas*: but the ambushes being revealed, hee came and openly assaulted them in the Towne of *Bethesen*. Neuerthelesse, perceiuing the Towne to be well manned, and the *Jewes* furnished with all fitting matters, as fully resolved to defend themselves valiantly: he made peace with *Jonathas*, and the captiues being surrendered on eyther side, tooke his way backe to *Syria*, which was the cause that *Judas* had some time of repose and quietnesse.

Bacchides  
was a puffed  
up with  
lustre

The year 160. *Alexander* the Noble, who sought to possesse himselfe of the kingdome of *Syria*, which was then vsurped by *Demetrius*, Brother to *Antiochus* the Noble, and vnderstanding the power of *Jonathas*; sent Ambassadors to him with worthy presents, to practise with him for to ioyne in his intention, offering him (moreouer) the Soueraigne Priesthood, on condition, that he would ayde him against *Demetrius*. Beside, he solemnly invited him to the marriage, which hee had purposed in the City of *Ptolemais*, with *Cleopatra*, daughter to *Ptolemy Philometor*. *Jonathas* being allured by these offers, vnder hope of enjoying (by this meanes) two neighbouring Kings to bee his friends; went to be present at the royall wedding, and carryed gifts of great value with him. He was entertained by the two kings, so honorably as possible might be, and afterward sent backe againe, with confirmation in the high Priesthood, as also of the principality of *Judea*, for the people (after the deceasse of *Alcimus*) had remained 7. yeares without a Soueraigne Sacrificer.

Antiochus  
sent Ambassadors  
to Jonathas  
the Noble.

Jonathas ob-  
tained the  
High Priest-  
hood, and the  
Principality  
of Judea.

By this meanes, came the dignity first of High Priesthood to the *Asmoneans*, the ninth year of the principality of *Jonathan*, 3. of the *Greekes* 160. as hath bene said; and before the birth of Christ, 100. But 5. yeares after, as *Ptolemy* had caught the kingdome of *Syria*, with his daughter *Cleopatra*; so he gaue them both to *Demetrius Nicator*, Sonne to *Demetrius*; & then *Jonathas* had work enough to do, to enter into the good grace & fauour of the new King. Neuerthelesse, by gifts and offerings he prevailed so well at last, as vpon the avouching of his grace towards him, hee recovered a great part of *Judea*, & wenne among his own people, no meane power and credite. In the latter dayes of his principality, he fortified the Temple of *Jerusalem*, and renewed alliance with the *Romanes*, contracting kinde friendship also with the *Lacedemonians*. Soone after, he was surprized in *Ptolemais*, by the fraud & treason of *Triphon*, who, although he had promised to releas him, if he might haue his two Sonnes sent him as hostages, and an hundred Talents (whereof his brother *Simon* made satisfaction, sending both the money & the children) neuertheless, the most cruell Tyrant murdered both the Father and his sonnes. Having done this abominable deed, and thinking no way to be refuted in his wicked courtes; by treachery he slew *Antiochus*, surnamed *Sedetes*, Sonne to *Alexander* the Noble, to whom he was Tutor, & for the restoring of him to his Fathers kingdome, hee had enuied *Demetrius Nicator* out of *Syria*, but got it into his owne possession. In this manner *Jonathas* held the principality of the *Jewish* people eightene yeares, and was the first administratour of the Soueraigne Priesthood of the *Asmoneans*, which hee held ten yeares.

Jonathas ac-  
cepted into  
the fauour of  
Demetrius  
Nicator.

Jonathas take  
prisoner and  
afterward  
slayeth with  
his two Sonns.

Triphon ma-  
ken himselfe  
King of Syria.

Simon elect-  
ed Duke and  
High Priest  
by one people

The govern-  
ment of Si-  
mon

*Simon* the third Sonne of *Mattathias*.

*Simon* succeeded his Brother *Jonathas*, in the year of the *Greekes*, 170. & before the Nativity of Christ, 140. being elected (by common consent of the people) Duke & Soueraigne Sacrificer: because he had valiantly assisted his Brethren *Judas* and *Jonathas*, for maintaining the doctrine giue by God, & the repressing of persecutions. At the beginning of his gouernement, he surprized some Forts from the *Greeks*, among which was that of *Jerusalem*, which till that time had bene held by the *Syrian*

Garisons, & had wonderfully tormented the Citizens. He furnished them in such sort, that they were constrained to feed themselves, and afterward purified prophaned places, the 23. day of the second Moneth, in the year, 171. Vnder him, *Judea* began to respire and breathe a while, which for the space of 25. yeares after *Antiochus* the Noble, had bin terribly shaken and waisted with continuall warres. The fields began againe to recover their former nature; places burnt and destroyed, to be re-builded; and those prophaned with Idols, to be neatly cleared: In briefe, the voyce of heavenly doctrine began againe to bee heard and deliuered in the Temple and Synagogues. In the third year of his Priesthood, *Simon* renewed alliance with the *Romanes*, and by a Decree from their Senate, was confirmed Soueraigne Sacrificer, & to be styled Prince of the people.

Judas began  
to recover  
the Temple &  
quietnesse.

Simon renew-  
ed alliance  
with the Ro-  
manes.

Antiochus  
Sedetes desired  
warre against  
Triphon.

Antiochus  
breake this  
alliance  
and vnto  
Triphon de-  
mands.

Afterward, *Antiochus Soter*, brother to *Demetrius Nicator*, preparing war against *Triphon*, who vsurped the Kingdome of *Syria*, labored *Simon* with great promises for alliance, as doubting least hee would giue hinderance to his enterprize. But haueing conquered the Kingdome of *Syria*, and *Triphon* chased thence, in the year, 174. he falsified the former alliance, & demanded diuers Townes and Cities in *Judea* of *Simon*, as also the Fort of *Jerusalem*, and a great summe of money beside; or else he would denounce warre against him, if he did not yeeld to what he demanded. Now in regard that *Simon* refused to grant so vniust a demand, *Antiochus* was sent into *Judea* with an Army, whom *John Hyrcanus* and *Judas*. Sonne to *Simon*, discomfited, as he was waisting the champaign Country; and haueing destroyed the Forts built in the Marches of *Judea* by the enemy, they returned backe with great glory.

Three yeares after, to wit, the 177. of the *Greekes*, and 133. before the birth of Christ, as *Simon* (growing now ancient) returned, visiting & ordaining the Churches, and the dissipated pollicies in *Judea*; he arriued (with his Wife and two of his Sonnes, *Judas* and *Mattathias*) neere to his kinselane *Ptolemy*, the Sonne of *Abubus*, whom hee had constituted Gouernour of the whole Region about *Iericho*. But he wickedly murdered him, sitting at the Table of a Banquet, where (most traitorously) hee had invited him, onely for that bloody purpose.

Judas began  
to recover  
the Temple &  
quietnesse.

Simon renew-  
ed alliance  
with the Ro-  
manes.

Antiochus  
Sedetes desired  
warre against  
Triphon.

Antiochus  
breake this  
alliance  
and vnto  
Triphon de-  
mands.

Simon grow-  
eth ancient  
in yeares.

Simon mur-  
dered at a Ban-  
quet by his  
Sonne in law.

Four Asmo-  
neans, the Fa-  
ther and his  
three Sonnes.

Judea not  
wholly reco-  
uered from  
Paganisme, &  
the reason  
why.

The writings  
of the Pro-  
phets safely  
preferred a-  
mongst ma-  
ny persecu-  
tors.

Judea and To-  
methas left  
not any issue

Thus foure *Asmoneans*, namely, the Fa-  
ther *Mattathias*, and three of his Sonnes  
(each after other) fighting valiantly three  
and thirty yeares, in defence of the Law  
given by God, against the persecutors of  
his people, ended their liues. And al-  
though they could not so compasse the  
matter, as to cleanse *Judea* wholly of Pa-  
gan Idolatries, because many among the  
people were (openly) Epicures, and ma-  
ny mightily delected, by seeing the woful  
calamities of the people, and others in-  
ueigled by the Gentiles prosperities; did  
willingly renounce the first received do-  
ctrine of their Fathers, and embraced the  
impieties of the Paganes: yet notwith-  
standing, they preuailed so well by their  
power, that the writings of the Prophets  
were preferred, the seruice ordained by  
God, not abolished, nor the Iewish polli-  
cy any way dissipated. All which ensued  
by the singular goodnesse of God, to the  
end, that the pollicy and ministry appoin-  
ted by him (in some good measure still  
maintained) should continue to the time  
of Christ, that men might know, when &  
how the Messias was to be sent. The prin-  
cipality and high-Priesthood continued  
(sometime) in the Family of the *Asmo-  
neans*, to the successors of *Simon*, because *Ju-  
das* and *Tomathas* had not left any issue of  
theirs.

## CHAP. VI.

Concerning the imprisonment of Simons  
two Sonnes and their Mother, by their  
cruell Uncle Ptolomie; and lastly, their  
lamentable death. The valiant actes of  
John Hyrcanus, Sonne to Simon. The  
destruction of Samaria, &c.

The Sonnes of Simon, were  
John Hyrcanus. *Judas*. *Mattathias* his suc-  
cessour.

A Daughter, married to Ptolomy, the Sonne  
of *Abobus*, Gouverneur of *Iericho*; who  
murdered his Father, as also his Wife &  
two of his Children.

*Judas* and *Mattathias*.

Having accompanied their Father,  
going with his Wife to see *Ptolomy*  
their Sonne in law, to whom he had for-  
merly spoken, to giue him the gouerne-

ment of *Iericho*: they were imprison-  
ed with their Mother, by their Uncle *Pto-  
lomy*, who before had slaine their Father at  
a Banquet. Now, while *Hyrcanus*, seeking  
to reuenge so horrible a deed, had besieged  
a small Towne, whereto *Ptolomy* had  
withdrawne himselfe: the Tyrane caused  
them there to be pitifully dismembred,  
as also their Mother; vntill such time as  
*Hyrcanus*, moued with compassion, & not  
able to endure the torturing of his bre-  
thren and Mother, raised the siege, albe-  
it his captiued Mother, still vrged him  
earnestly, to maintain the assault.

John Hyrcanus.

In the life time of his Father, hee dis-  
comfited the Army of *Antiochus Soter*,  
which was conducted by *Clearchus*. Next  
after the death of his Father, and the ta-  
king of his two Brethren, himselfe hardly  
escaping from the ambushes of the murder-  
er *Ptolomy*: hee came to reuenge his  
Fathers death, and besiedging the Towne  
whereto *Ptolomy* was returned, being ou-  
uercome with pity, by seeing the torments  
which his Mother & Brethren suf-  
fered, at every time when hee gaue the as-  
sault, considering also, that the seventh  
yeare of rest was nere at hand, hee reue-  
red his Army. Afterward, *Antiochus Soter*  
made warre vpon him, so that hee was thrust  
vp within the City of *Ierusalem*, which  
*Antiochus* besiedged in seuen places all at  
one time: being pressed with famine, hee  
yelded vp the City, vpon condition, that  
he would beate down the Fortifications  
of the City, deliuer hostages, & giue hun-  
dred Talents, that is to say, three Tunnes  
of Gold.

But as hee was in want of money, or  
accidentally seeking for some by vrgent  
necessity, or admonished so to doe by a  
dream: he opened the Sepulcher of *Da-  
uid*, wherein hee found three thousand Ta-  
lents of Gold, which amounteth to 18  
Tuns of Gold. Being thus readuanced, he  
not only made peace with *Antiochus*, but  
also entered into amity with him, so that he  
entertained him into the City with his  
Army, and being well provided of money,  
he was the first (of the Iewes) that had  
strange Soldiours vnder his pay. With  
whom hee accompanied King *Antiochus*,  
he going in warre against the *Parthians*; &  
yet his company was but slenderly be-  
neficiall to the King. For although by the  
valiancy

The death  
of Simon and  
then also  
cruelly tor-  
mented.

The Army  
of Antiochus  
Soter, vanquish-  
ed by John  
Hyrcanus.

John Hyrcanus  
besiedged  
in Ierusalem,  
and the City  
yelded vpon  
agreement.

Three thou-  
sand Talents  
of gold found  
in King Da-  
uids graue.

Hyrcanus ay-  
ded Anti-  
ochus against  
the Parthians

The Fear of  
Pantecost  
hindered Hyrcanus  
from the battaile.

The Temple  
of Garizim in  
Samaria razed.

The Idume-  
ans receive  
circumcision.

Alliance made  
with the Ro-  
manes.

Hyrcanus ma-  
de alliance  
with Alexander  
the victori-  
ous.

Antiochus  
Gryllus and  
Antiochus  
Cyzicenus  
fight for the  
kingdome of  
Syria.

valiancy of *Hyrcanus*, he overthrew a part  
of the *Parthians* Army, yet soone after,  
when *Asiaces*, King of the *Parthians*, came  
with a new Army, & he should then haue  
met and ioyned with him: Religion hin-  
dered *Hyrcanus* and the Iewes from going  
to the sight, because it was then the Feast  
of *Pentecost*. By which meanes, *Antiochus*  
being destitute of the Iewes helpe, was  
slaine, with a great number of his people.

After the death of *Antiochus Soter*, *Hyrcanus*  
began to make small account of the  
Kings of *Syria*; as being men, that (by ci-  
uill warres) had broken the forces of their  
kingdomes. Wherefore, bringing back  
his host from *Asia*, hee tooke many Cities  
and Townes in the kingdome of *Syria*,  
which had in former times appertained  
to *Iudea*. He razed also the Temple of  
*Garizim* in *Samaria*, builded by *Sannaba-  
lat the Cuttheau*, (as hath before bin reue-  
lred) two hundred yeares after it had bin  
builded in fauour of *Manasses*, Brother to  
*Iadus*, in the time of *Alexander* the great.  
Hee compelled also the *Idumeans* (after he  
had giuen them many chastenings) to re-  
ceive circumcision, and other ceremonies  
of the Iewes. And to strengthen himselfe  
the more against the Kings of *Syria*, who  
he thought not fit to make any more sur-  
prising of Cities; hee renewed alliance  
(by Ambassadors) with the *Romanes*, in  
the fourteenth yeare of his principality,  
and the 191. of the kingdome of *Syria*:  
*Cneus Demetrius Barbaross*, and *Caius Fla-  
minius* being Consuls, an hundred and  
17. yeares before the Natiuity of Christ.

Afterward, as *Demetrius Nicanor* had  
bene restored to his Kingdome by *Asi-  
aces*, and as quickly againe repulled from it  
by *Alexander Zebens*, when he prepared  
himselfe to make warre on the Iewes: so  
*Hyrcanus*, allying himselfe with *Alexander*  
the victorious, had sustained as little ioy  
thereof, if an admirable accident had not  
corrected their error. For *Antiochus Gryl-  
lus*, Sonne to *Demetrius*, seeking to reco-  
uer his Fathers kingdome, slew *Alexander*  
in battaile, and (after that victory) purpo-  
sed to invade *Hyrcanus*, the leagued friend  
to his enemy. But hearing of another pre-  
paration of warre against himselfe, by his  
brother *Antiochus Cyzicenus*; he was glad  
to keepe at home still in *Syria*. So, while  
the two brethren did well-faouredly  
content with one another (a long time)

for the kingdome of *Syria*; *Hyrcanus* and  
*Iudea* remained in quietnes, during which  
time, *Hyrcanus* well fortified himselfe by  
strong Castles newly builded, re-enfor-  
cing al his most commodious munitions,  
collecting vp great summes of money, &  
providing other necessary matters, to ex-  
ploit his warre affaires.

Finally, hee laide siege to the most  
strong City of *Samaria*, and left there his  
two Sonnes *Antigonus* and *Aristobolus*  
to continue it, while himselfe attended to  
the administration of more important  
Oeconomical affaires. Heereupon, the  
*Samaritanes* called to succour them *Anti-  
ochus Cyzicenus*; who repulled the Iewes to  
*Hyrcanus*, and chased them so farre as  
to \* *Scythopolis*. Again, the two brethren  
brought their Army before *Samaria*, and  
again *Antiochus Cyzicenus* (being reque-  
sted) entered into *Iudea*, pilling and spoy-  
ling whereouer he came. But being re-  
pulsed, hee gaue the charge of his Army  
to two of his Captaines; one of them be-  
ing slaine by the Iewes, and the other cor-  
rupted with money, surrendered (by trea-  
son) *Scythopolis*, and the other neigh-  
bouring Cities. So the City of *Samaria*, ha-  
uing endured (in great misery) a whole  
yeares siege, was at the last forced and  
quite destroyed. Such was the ending of  
this most mighty City, which (for a long  
time) had paragond it selfe equal with *Ie-  
rusalem*; but about an hundred yeares af-  
ter, it was builded againe by *Herod*, who  
named it *Sebasta*, in the honour of *Angu-  
stus Caesar*.

## CHAP. VII.

How the rest and prosperity of *Iudea*, began  
sundry Sects among the people, especially  
of the Pharisees, Sadducees, &c. The diuer-  
sity of their opinions: and a brieue narra-  
tion of the Doctrines, in use among the  
first Fathers.

THE Country of *Iudea*, being thus re-  
duced to repose & quietnes, & by the  
paines of *Hyrcanus*; her prosperity procured  
enuy & distaste, as wel toward her own  
people, as (more especially) to the Phari-  
sees. For factions grew the in great esteem  
among the meaner people, by simulation  
Ccc 3 of sanctity,

Samaria be-  
sieged by  
Hyrcanus and  
his forces.

\* A City of  
Syria, neere  
to Iudea, cal-  
led also Deca-  
polis.

The City of  
Samaria raz-  
ed and des-  
troyed to the  
ground.

Of the Sects  
of the Pharisees  
and their dis-  
turbled holie-  
nesse.



sanctity, and great swarms of deified traditions, concerning some kindes of bodily exercises: so that (whensoever they pleased) they could cause the common people to mutiny against the Princes and the High-Priest. *Hyrcanus* had sometime bene a curious favourer of this Sect; in which regard, the Pharisees did beare him great affection: but at the last, he estranged his kindnesse towards them, finding himselfe offended at the punishment of *Eleazar* the Pharisee, by some outrage offered him. And this was the reason, that hee tooke part with the Sadducees, who sharply reprovod the traditions of the Pharisees, and in hate and spight to the Pharisees Sect, hee abolished (by publike Edicts) many of their traditions, which made him and his Sonnes to be mortally hated, atwell of the Pharisees, as of the people. Whereupon ensued great murinings among the people: which his Sonne *Alexander* very hardly appeased, but not without great effusion of blood.

Now, because mention is here made of these two Sects, both of the Pharisees and Sadducees, whereof more will be spoken in the following Histories, as likewise in sacred Writ: I thinke it not amisse to make some addition, of matters found in authentical writings, concerning the variance and difference betweene them. For in speaking of their originall, we can but follow conjectures onely: except this infallible certainty, that both the one and other Sect were newly forged, by leauing the ancient and pure doctrine of the Prophets. His time rule ought euermore to be held in the Church, that there is one sole true doctrine, of the diuine essence & will, made manifest of God by certaine and vndoubted testimonies, and was giuen to the first Fathers and Prophets: but much more enlightened afterward, by the voyce of the Sonne of God, our Lord Iesus Christ, dead, and rayd vp againe for vs, as also by the voyce of the Apostles. And no opinions ought to be embraced, contrary to that first Prophetical doctrine and voyce of Gods owne Sonne: because many sayings of the Prophets do witness this rule to be true. As *Isay* condemne: In those Doctrines, which propose (as the doctrine of God) opinions forged in their owne braines, and such as neuer were giuen of God. Being armed then, and well

warned by this rule, wee may the better iudge of these Sects.

But in making this recitall, I may not forget that most lamentable complaint, which the so mighty infirmity of mankind ought much to bemoane, because euen then, when the Church consisted of so small a number, to wit, in few Tribes of *Israel*, poorly impayred, and shut vp in that narrow country neighbouring to the *Pharisees*, and that then (with so small pollicy) discipline could scarcely maintaine it selfe peaceably, or doctrine be kept in good concord: such horrible furries being prepared against it, yea, & they embraced by the greater part of the Gouernours, publishing them wholly, without dissembling any thing, although they were plainly repugnant vnto the Law of God. The Sadducees acquired themselves of sacrifices, and neuertheless affirmed publicly, that after this present life, there remained no other, nor any iudgement; and that the soule (being separated from the body) should haue no more life, and that men should not rise againe. But the Pharisees were a little more modest, and yet notwithstanding, they had as well corrupted the doctrine giuen by God, as we shall haue better occasion to speake of hereafter.

Neuertheless, God had a true Church all this while, which still retayned the light of his doctrine: and yet, was it not greatly to be lamented, that in one & the same company, which bare the name of the Church, among a troope that called vpon God in truth; such errors should not onely bee dispersed, but also allowed by the authority of Princes and Doctours? Beside this, the assured and prophaned arrogancy of many (euen in our times) ought greatly to be reprehended, who dreaming of no dispersion of errors in the Church, eyther for satisfaction of their owne ambition, vnder colour of religion seeking after kingdomes, or by heaping superstitions one vpon another, thereby to fit and furnish their owne auarice; doe neuer thinke on (in this case) the ancient and old examples of the Pharisees & Sadducees, who declared sufficiently, that eue like euils crept into the Church, euen as apparently then, as those of other times. Is it therefore very necessary to haue one certaine rule, in listening to the voyce

unspicall.

unspicall, according as Saint Paul said: *If any man preach any other Gospel to you, let him be accurst.*

Furthermore, consideration is to bee had, of the time of that first Doctrine, agreeing with the voyce of the Prophets, the Sonne of GOD, and the Apostles: and next, of such persuasions as haue crept into the Church, some whereof haue bene confirmed by the superstition of men vnlearned, others haue bene voluntarily receiued, as serueng the ambition of the mightie, and for benefite to the kitchen. Acknowledging then, and bewayling the harmes of the Church, let vs seeke after the springs or fountaines of true doctrine, to the end wee may truly call vpon God, who hath alwayes preferred some part of mankind, where his true knowledge might shine, to bee the Temple of God, and afterwards partaker of his glorious company, because mankind was not created in vaine. But before I discourse on the originall of Sects, and Diuisions of the Church, it is needfull first to say somewhat, concerning the first true Church or Schoole, which from the beginning of mankind, hath bene gardian and keeper of the true doctrine: from whence hath issued many, who (as feditious) haue scattered diuers corruptions among the truth of doctrine.

Mankind was not borne by accidentall chance, neither created without cause: but it pleased God, that he should haue a reasonable nature, embellished with a bodily, wherein the knowledge of him might shine, and to whom he might communicate his wisdom and goodnes, & that hee should enioy his company once and for euer. Now, although God expressed his wisdom and goodnesse, by creating the great workmanship of the world: yet notwithstanding, his goodnes made it selfe much more apparent, in that (after the fall of *Adam* and *Eue*) he sent from his secret seate, that infinite mercie for their recovery, by giuing them the promised Seede to come. And to make it the better knowne and vnderstood, hee would haue men to heare the found of that sweete voyce: *The Seede of the woman shall breake the Serpents head.* Such as receiued graciously this consolation, were receiued of God, and made members of the eternall Church of God. Thus first of

all, the Church was created, and the Schoole instituted, wherein our first Parents taught the doctrine of God to their children: concerning the creation of all things; concerning their owne fall; the paines and punishments to ensue; the trecheries of the duell; the causes of death and all humane miseries; the promise of the Seede to come, whereby the great and iust anger of God was to bee appeased. Also, how sinne was to be defaced, eternall life restored, the difference of good and euill works, and that such a difference being imprinted in the soles of men, was truly the Lawe diuine, agreeing with the intelligence and diuine will; so to shine in the spirites of men, that it might bee a testimonie of God to men, that he was one God, and how to bee adored: admonishing likewise, that hee would iudge the actions of men, because conscience would eile exercise a burdensome iudgement in vs.

There they were taught the difference betweene this naturall knowledge, and the other of higher quality: the pronounced promise of the secret bosome of the eternall Father, touching the Seede: the future iudgement of all mankind; and that such as (by faith in that Seede) attained to beleue therein, were acceptable to God, and in that faith had recourse to him, struing to order their manners by the rule of the diuine Lawe, should liue eternally in the most sweete company of God. Others, who arrogantly contemned God, & the promised Seede to come, running furiously on the bridle of their wicked desires, were like vnto diuels, enemies to God, and after death should liue in horrible torments, whereof they discerned some resemblance in this life, by the terrors of such, whose bodies were adduged to terrible punishments.

Those first Fathers declared, how God had clothed them with the skins of beasts, to signify, that (after death) they should bee denefited of their corrupted bodies, and put vpon them (as the garment or robe of the Lambe) that is to say, the promised Seede, which was to be sacrificed, that all mankind might be saved by him. They taught the will of God to bee such, that by this means it should bee sought, knowne and called on, as it was made manifest: and that our mindes leaning

Hyrcanus a  
favourite of  
the Pharisees,  
sincerely  
turned to the  
Sadducees.

Hyrcanus &  
his Sonnes  
hated the  
Pharisees and  
vulgar people.

The difference  
betweene the  
Sects of the  
Pharisees and  
Sadducees.

Testimonies  
of Gods will  
giuen to our  
first Fathers.

Esay 55. 14.

Genes 1. 9.

The time of  
the first do-  
ctrine, and  
the nature  
of the en-  
tales.

The harmes  
and euils of  
the Church  
ought much  
to be mouned

Of the first  
true Church  
or Schoole.

The reason  
why God cre-  
ated mankind.

The great  
grace and  
mercies, wher-  
with God  
blessed  
mankind.

Genes 3. 15.

The difference  
betweene the  
Churches  
of the  
Pharisees  
and the  
Sadducees.

The difference  
betweene the  
natural know-  
ledge, and the  
other of higher  
quality, which  
is the same  
truth.

The desires  
of God and  
the promised  
Seede.

The clothing  
of our first Fa-  
thers in the  
skins of beasts,  
had a further  
relation.

One sole and certaine assembly instituted by God to bee his Church.

The reason why ancient ceremonies were instituted.

What the Sacrifices did represent.

Christ was assisting to his Church long before his incarnation.

The first means of knowing the blessed Trinity according to the instruction of the first Fathers.

ning vpon his promise, gaue vs to vnderstand; that then wee are in the grace of God, when (by fayth) wee relie vpon his promise, and that hee would haue no other gods to be receiued, or Sacrifices offered by them that forgot or reiected this doctrine giuen by God. They also manifested, that God would haue one sole and certaine assemblie, which should be consenting in doctrine, gathered together by inuocation and sacrifices: in which sole assembly, should be the future heires of eternall life with God.

As an Interpreter to their Sacrifices, this predication was often repeated; *This manner of behaviour, and these publique assemblies are instituted, to the end, that this doctrine should be sent to Posteritie.* In them the voyce of the diuine Promise, and the doctrine declared by vs, was to be heard: for god would haue his voyce to be heard of all men. In which respect, it was and is requisite, that there should bee honest assemblies; and although the Church will be alwayes tormented with great calamities: yet shall she be exalted as a Castle on a high mountaine. These our Sacrifices, which you see, are the chaines and linkes of such assemblies, and no other paintings haue we to admonish vs, then the diuine Promise so graciously giuen vnto vs.

Having entrusted their children in these great matters, they added, concerning the Seede to come, That that Lord, who should breake the head of the Serpent; was already (and euen then) assisting to his Church, although he was not (as yet) reuested with humane flesh. That he was the Image of the Eternall and only Father, begotten of him, who prayed to his Father for the Church, and defended it, and (with the Father) comforteth the hearts of Beleueers, euen in their greatest feares, by his Promises, and kindeleth in them the light of the blessed Spirit, for the beginning of eternall life. Which Spirit proceeded from the Father, and from this promised Lord. By this means they taught to know the only true God, wise, good, iust, true, chaste and pure, Creator of heauen and earth, of Angels, and of mankinde; to the end, that all might vnderstand, there was one only eternall Father, who had created all with this promised Lord, who is his I-

mage, and with the blessed Spirit, so that no other Diuinitie was to be imagined.

Moreouer, in this holy Schoole, the first fathers taught the doctrine concerning the nature of things, giuing to vnderstand; that there were certaine lawes of Celestiall motions, to deliuer testimony, that this world was not made by aduenture, but created by the intelligence of a super-excellent workeman. They taught beside, the course of the yeare to be ordained, because God would haue men to know the order of times; thereby also to vnderstand the order of diuine promises, and how they were to be reuealed, as to know what the first giuen doctrine was, thereby to iudge of the newer afterward. And because men might comprehend, that all things were created by the Diuine Councell and Providence: they shewed diuerse vses of Plants, to what end they were created, and for the vse of man. Heereupon they expressed, how God assisted the nature of man by those remedies; thereby also instructing, that oftentimes Innocents are holpen of God by admirable meanes, and yet without the ayde of creatures.

That this was the doctrine of the first or Primitive Church, the narration of *Moses* sufficiently declares, in *Genes*. And it is not to be doubted, that the wisdom of the golden Age, before the Flood, was much greater then that after the Flood, when nature became more weak & feeble. And though that many, both before and after the Flood, might forget or misprize true doctrine; yet notwithstanding, God would not suffer his true Inuocation to be quenched among men: but euermore reserved from company that kept this doctrine, (from one time to another) renewed & dispersed it further off by nouell testimonies. Again, when after the Flood, the multitude of men began once more to encrease, though the light of true doctrine might be extinct in *Babylon*: yet notwithstanding the studie of Astrology remayned, touching the motions and effects of the Starres, with the knowledge of things growing in the earth.

And in this meane while, the promise of God was still preserved and kept, renewed and illumined in the posteritie of *Nash*. Afterward, when this policie became to be so well ordayned among the people

Other doctrines instituted by these things concerning plants.

The wisdom of the golden Age before the Flood.

The wisdom of the golden Age before the Flood.

God euermore comforted the mourning with his name.

The ten tribes (as of the Kings of Iuda) and set the same doctrine in the Colledge.

Causes, how the truth of doctrine grew to contempt and ballarding.

Some remembrance of Gods truth at all times remaining.

Concerning the name of Interpreters.

people of *Israel*: all the Colledge of the *Leuites* was as an Academie and place of exercise. There, some Sacrifices and Prophets taught againe the auncient and vncorrupted doctrine.

But afterward, when the tenne Tribes were cut off by the Kings of *Iuda*: then great confusions (both in Religion and Doctrine) followeth. And yet neuertheless, God raised in the dismembred part of *Iudas* Kingdome, *Elias*, *Eliseus*, and other Prophets, to draw diuers there to the truth of knowledge: which was the reason that the Prophets had great troupes of Auditours, in regarde that *Elias*, *Eliseus*, and the rest had deliuered (from hand to hand) their sacred preachings and interpretations. Some did leaue theirs written, as *Ezay*, and they that followed after. This custome did alwayes continue in this people, and especially in the Temple, where the sacrificing Priests gaue the interpretations, or else where among the Doctours, and such as were interpreters of the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets.

But in the latter times, after the returne from *Babylon*, and after the Prophet *Zacharie*, when the High-Priests beganne to affect familiarity with the kings of *Iuda*, and sought to make themselves great and powerfull, the study of true doctrine became contemned, and after that *Iuda* was spoiled by *Antiochus*; many places were lost, the companies of Students, and their Maisters scattered, and discipline being thus neglected, it is very likely that the studies became to bee wonderfully changed. Howbeit, that alwayes some of the Colledge of the high-Priests, and of the people, kept some sparks of the true doctrine liuing among them: as *Simon*, *Zacharie*, *Anne*, and other, whose youth neighboured to the warres of *Antiochus*. Notwithstanding, many audacious Expositions of the Propheticall Bookes, wandred farre off from the auncient doctrine.

It is very likely, that at the beginning, the name of Interpreters was common to some men of the best iudgement, and likewise to other, that transfused the doctrine of the Church into Philosophie. By succession of times, as this new Philosophie was most pleasing, and many earnestly fauouring it: the

Schooles began to be so much the more frequented, and a kinde of doctrine was then concluded on. In this manner a profession or Sect (which then was in admiration) was ordained; without changing the name of Pharisee, as much to say as an Expounder, as nowadaies the title of Doctour, is the name of a most honest Office and Profession: for many learned men doe conceiue the Pharisee to be named, rather for Interpretation or Exposition, then by separation or diuision.

*Iosephus* reporteth some of their opinions, but they are better to bee vnderstood in the Euangelicall Historie, and what their principall errors were. For, although they carried themselves as interpreters of the Prophets: they auouched the Bookes not onely of *Moses*, but also of the other Prophets, adioyned to the holy Histories by publique authoritie of the Ancients, to remaine in their credit and integritie. Neuertheless, they helde false opinions concerning the vse of the Lawe, and transferred the promises of the *Messias* Kingdome, to politicall vse. They helde exteriour Discipline, for lustice satisfying to the Lawe, and denyed that wicked affections were sinne, or doubting of God, or courage enkindled by hatefull or lustfull desires: provided that they proceeded not to outward offence. These corruptions are expressly reprooued in Saint *Matthew*, where it is said; *who neuer looketh on a woman, to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart*. And although that many vnlearned men in the Church, read these Sentences as Paradoxes of the Stoicks, who painted the Idees of the vertues, to the end that men should strue to come nere to them (which is impossible for any man in this world to do) yet are they propounded to the Church to other ends.

The Sonne of God knew, that in the imbecillitie of this nature, no man can be without bad desires; therefore hee would haue the preaching of repentance to be dayly founded among men, that acknowledging our corruptions in due manner, wee should confesse our owne guiltinesse, and make our recourse to the Sonne of God. The Philosophie of the *Pharisees*, obscured this auncient Propheticall

The name of Pharisee is an Expounder.

The errors of the Scribes, and Pharisees, and in what manner they hold them.

Math. 23.

No man in this life time can be free from corrupte and vnlawfull affections.

The Pharisees celebrated the promises made to Abraham.

The carnal opinions of the Pharisees, concerning the Messiah and his Kingdom.

Sinners to be pardoned by ceremonies and burnt offerings, ordained in the Law.

Questions concerning the acting & performing of deified ceremonies.

ticall doctrine, as it had beene in all times after *Caine* and his Posteritie.

In like manner, the other part of heauenly doctrine, to wit, the promised *Messias* was also obscured. The Pharisees knew and celebrated the magnificent Promises made to *Abraham*, recited by *Isaiah*, and often repeated by the Prophets: but they maintained, that they spake only of a politicall kingdom. They dreamed also, that the *Messias* should come like unto another *Cyrus* or *Alexander* the great, to vie the whole Empire of the world, the people being subiect vnto him: and yet notwithstanding, that this Empire should be more iust, milde and peacefull, then any of them before. They affirmed, that the *Messias* should reigne a thousand yeares; that the Israelites should liue three or foure hundred yeres without feare of wares, seruitude, or famine, or any other great calamities: And that there should bee no other nature in the *Messias*, but humane.

In these idle imaginations, all the doctrine of the Sonne of God, of anger against sinners; of the sacrifice and death of the *Messias* was buried. And yet nevertheless, truth was not wholly quenched in the Church, but (as I haue said) some sparkes remayned with *Simon*, *Zacharie*, and many such like, who read the Prophets without corruption.

After that the Pharisee had corrupted the words of the Lawe, and the promises thereto appertaining: they dreamed that sinners were to be pardoned by ceremonies and slaughter of beasts, ordained in the Lawe. This perisuation brought in great gaine, for the people (being thus perswaded) multiplied the more their sacrifices. These so thicke mists of darkness had some appearance of wisdom and pietie; which neuertheless are oftentimes reprehended of the Prophets.

Ceremonies growing to great augmentation and encrease, many questions (as in the like cases happeneth) were moued, touching the manner of performing them, & other circumstances, which (indeede) required many declarations. And as Monks heaped vp together great summes of money, by the buying and selling of humane traditions, with their annexed circumstances: euen so the Pharisees would locke vp and let loose the ce-

remories of *Moses*, at their pleasure; and adde to them their owne nouell duties, as well for the confirmation of superstition, as their owne gaine. Saint *Matthew* telleth vs, that the lucrative tradition is reprobated: that it was much better to giue somewhat to the Temple, then to nourish and relieue their owne poore parents: euen as now adayes it is maintained, that a number of stouidish idle Monks, should rather enjoy great reuenues, then any thing spared for the reliefe of poore Scholiers.

The tradition of the Sabbath was also in great vie, as *Hierome* allegeth: for *Aziba* and *Hillel*, both *Rabins*, do say, a Sabbath dayes journey is but two halfe miles. Beside, in this Sect remained some studies of doctrine, and some care of gouerning the discipline. They could well conclude, that there was an eternall and intelligent God, true, good, iust, chaste, well-doing, and a reuenger of offences: whereby they confessed all things to bee created, the heauens, the earth, Angels, men and other creatures. They affirmed also (by opinion of philosophy) that there was but one person in the diuinitie, boldly reiecting the Primitiue and Prophetical doctrine concerning the Sonne of God and the blessed Spirit: although they had apparent testimonies of the Son of God in *David*, *Esaie*, *Michas* and *Daniel*; and of the Holie-ghost, in many Sermons of the Prophets.

Moreouer, they confessed, that God the Creator of all things, was manifested by his Promises, and by publishing his Lawe: surpassing all other in goodness, with a most goodly policie, ordayned and warranted by many testimonies of his presence. Wherefore they would not haue any one to call in doubtfull question the prouidence of God, nor to doubt that the posteritie of *Abraham* (to whom God had giuen this ordayned policie) should bee any other then the people of God, or the Church whereof God had a peculiar care. They taught them that God gouerned the principall mutations which happened in this life, as the encreasings and diminishings of Empires, the ruine and building againe of great Cities; because they knew their euents to agree with the prophecies of empires, which are in *Moses*, *Esaie* and *Daniel*: adding

Traditione of a Sabbath dayes journey, a halfe mile, appointed by the Pharisees.

The Pharisees allowed but one Person only in the Godhead.

Of the Lawe of Moses, and what they gathered thereby.

Particular matters taught by the Pharisees.

The Pharisees maintained the freedom of mans will.

They allowed also the resurrection of the dead.

The true vie of the Lawe, vnderly abolished by them.

Institution of many disciplines for ostentation.

Ceremonies vnder the Pharisees.

Matth. 6. 7.

ding with all, that they knew that their *Citizens* had beene diuinely builded.

And yet (for all this) they affirmed, that the affaires and liues of all men, were gouerned by humane counsellies; and they magnified the libertie of mans will, as also the faculty of Free-will: yea, and in such sort, that they held a man might forsake the diuine Lawe, and be iust by his diligence, meriting all goodnesse both present and heauenly. And contrariwise, that such as offended the diuine Lawe by exterior transgressions, should be punished both in this life and the other. For their opinion was (that the soule separated from the bodie) should liue, and that there should bee a resurrection of the dead, wherein God would reward the iust, and send into euertlasting punishments, such as had soiled themselves with execrable vices. And yet they held with all, that he would punish many crimes by present calamities, adding also; that some might be defaced by sacrifices, and the penalties due to them, made more milde or lessened.

Now, although this doctrine was very passable in appearance; yet notwithstanding, they abolished the true vie of the Law, and with the benedicts of the *Messias*, the doctrine of free pardon. Wherefore, eyther they confirmed trust in mens owne iustice, or left their consciences in pitifull doubts: in regarde that mens minds being thus ouerthrowne, fled from God, and trembling against him, neyther durst approach neare him, nor call vpon him truly.

For the more sure maintaining these their disciplines, they had instituted many exercises; the most part whereof seru-ed rather for ostentation, then any restraint to their owne bad desires. The manner or forme of their garments was notable; for they wore great long cloakes, with fringes about them, interwoven with the words of the Lawe. Oftentimes they vsed to wash themselves, hauing at the entering into their houses holy-water, wherewith they sprinkled themselves. They obserued choice of meates in their feasts, muttering long prayers to themselves, which Saint *Matthew* calleth *Bar-tologie*, much babbling.

Their sacrifices and appearance of pietie, attracted greatly the familiarity of wo-

men, which was the cause that adulteries and diuorces grew to be very frequent among them; and to enioy therein the more liberty, they enlarged the law of diuorces. For the ancient custome of diuorces implied, that they were not to be done, but vpon knowledge of the cause, and the instruments to effect them, was, with the knowledge and consent of the magistrate, and seperation might not be granted for light causes and disturbances; but by good reasons induced to the Iudges, who were knowne to bee graue men, and of great integritie.

But the Pharisees (vicerly dissanulling this ancient custome) made diuorces vpon their private authority, either without cause, or for causes of no moment: so that the lawe of diuorce serued onely as a baited hooke, to allure and betray other mens wiues; as among the Pagans, and as at this instant with the Turkes, it is in vie.

By this kind of proceeding, men might reiect their wiues when they thought fittest, without any reasonable cause, and contrary to the nature of marriage, which God himselfe instituted at the beginning, to the end, that it might be the alliance of an inseparable company when hee saide: *They shall be both one flesh*; that is to say, a male and female shal be ioyned together inseparably. In like manner, the Lawe of *Moses* did not permit diuorce without cause; but rendered a reason whereby separation might be allowed, to wit, *If any wilnesse were found in her*. And the ancient *Atticke* custome intended, that no diuorce should be granted, without knowledge of the cause. Since when, by succession of times, the bands of discipline haue been let loose, by the encrease of lewdnes and incontinencie: so that the ancient *Atticke* custome became quite changed.

And so in the latter times of the Iewes, all grauity for the maintenance of alliance in marriage, grew greatly extenuated. For there could not be faide to be a true wife, whom the husband might cast off at all times, and whensoever such giddines intoxicated his braine, and without any worthy cause. This vniust custome of the *Pharisees* was the cause of that question in *S. Mathew*, where mention is made concerning the alliance of marriage, and the first institution thereof repeated: also by a seuer-

Women familiarly allowed to their sacrifices.

The ancient custome granting the bel of diuorces.

The law of diuorce, used by the heathen, as among the Turkes.

Gods first institution of marriage.

Genesis 2. 24.

Moses lawe for diuorces.

Deut. 24. 1.

The Atticke custome concerning diuorces.

The latter times of the Iewes, much negligent in marriage ca: ses.

Matth. 19. 6. 7.

The vniuersal custom of the Pharisees.

Vices frequent and common to superstitious nations in all ages and nations.

Juggling tricks of the Pharisees.

Most of the Pharisees were of one mold. Execrable errors held by the Pharisees.

Their pride in opinion of themselves, and their actions, exceeding all and none good enough to be equal with them.

seuer declaration, light and triuial separations of marriage, vied both among the people of the Iewes, and Pagans likewise, are forbidden and condemned.

It hath beene common to all superstitious nations, in all ages and nations, to peruert the order of precedent actions; yea, & in such sort, that they grow to be very difficult and rigorous exacters, of multitudes of their owne deuised ceremonies: being (in the *interim* time) very carelesse for the necessary seruices of life, whereof the Decalogue giueth commands, and letting loose the bridle to infinit lewd affections. And many of them appeare merely as Jugglers, who as are described in our Satyres, (such as by counterfeited grauitie) disguise great vices, whereof is said; *That they shew themselves to be wise men, and yet live in dissolation.*

And although among the *Pharisees*, some were more modest then others, as *Gamaliel* some also vnderstanding the doctrine more purely, renouncing errors, as *Nichodemus*; yet notwithstanding, the most part of them were of this coyne or stamp. They had execrable errors (concerning the Diuinitie) engrauen in their spirits, and touching the political Empire of the *Messias*. They vnderstood nothing of the promise for remission of sins, nor of the true Inuocation. They had a false opinion of the *Mosaicall* ceremonies, and of their owne. Moreover, they added other enorme vices to these; as to esteeme wel of themselves, for they reputed themselves to be wise, iust, princes and pillars of Gods Church; preferring themselves before al modest and religious people indeed, because they affected to haue their carriage more seene and obserued, themselves to bee more honoured and feared, then any other. Neuerthelesse, they were in continuall debates and variances, as well among themselves, as the Citizens, feasting together for pride, ambition, enuy, contempt, hatred, euill speaking and venomous injuries. So that through their priuate couetousnes, they moued not only many domesticall tumults, but ayimed at the yoke of strangers; for they were skillfull in those artes (well knowne among themselves) in seeking to compass a tyrannicall power.

First of all, they strengthened themselves by the fauours of neighboring kings,

of high Courts, mighty men, and planting factions among the people; forgetting to imitate the ancient saying; *If the Serpent doe not eate a Serpent, hee will neuer become a Dragon*. And either by calumnies, or other like means, they oppressed all such, as (in emulation) were hinderers to their power. About all, they were very spleenatiue against the professors of true doctrine, carefully seeking all occasions whereby to spoile them: as it is said, they slew *Zachary* the Father to *Iohn Baptist*.

Now although (as I haue formerly said) that among the *Pharisees*, some were more modest then other, & some (being there-to admonished) forsooke their errors, and embraced the true doctrine: yet notwithstanding, the following Histories of the Iewish people, and the Euangelicall narrations doe testifie, that the opinions and behauiour of this troupe, and all such as made profession of this Sect, partaking with them in their rites and ceremonies, were none other then as I haue here set downe.

## CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the originall of the other Sect, scuered Sadduces, contrary in nature to the *Pharisees*, and what customs were obserued among them.



Haue beene the larger in discoursing on the *Pharisees*, in regarde that this Sect dazled or deceived mens sight, by an apparance of farre greater iustification, then that of the *Sadduces*, and going beyond them in authoritie. Now I shall (in briefe) say somewhat of the *Sadduces*, in so much, as this Sect receiued no originall from superstition; but rather from contempt of God, fauouring to be Epicurian.

Forasmuch as the *Pharisees* charged men with numberlesse ceremonies, that neither their bodies or consciences could bear any morelike to some other in these later times, whose lawes and impositions haue growne beyand all measure, that many

What maxims and practices were in fashion among the Pharisees.

The following histories will make more apparent proofs of this people.

From whence the Sadduces had their originall.

In what manner the Sadduces began to infuse their chancelous.

The Sadduces name held to be more glorious than that of the Pharisees.

The diuells mightie power in those viced times.

Errors arising from the differing churches, by means of the Sect.

Monstrous opinions brought into Iudea by Iudæes profane Iewes.

lired (with tears) to be disburdened so started vp other profane people, who, without any true iudgement, loosing the bids of all restriction (by an *Epicurian* audaciousnes) instituted another Sect contrary to that of the *Pharisees*, naming themselves *Sadduces*. For to cary some esteem before the people, they tooke this honorable title, deliuered from Iustice: For *Zaddikim* signifies Iustnes, & this name was opposite to that of the *Pharisees*, who were termed Interpreters, and disputed on many things. Now it was a matter more notable and glorious, for men to be filed Iust, and doers of the Law, then Interpreters and Disputers. Others deduce the name from *Sedak*, a Chaldean word, which signifies to part or diuide. Because they vnderstood the *Sadduces* to be termed (according as we speake) Schismatikes, diuided from sentence with the rest of the church; but I guesse that their aduersaries forged that Etymologie.

It is no great matter, whence the appellation came, let vs rather consider the deed it selfe, & be terrified withall, in thinking on so horrible an example. Wherein plainly appeared the power of the diuell, foraging in this company, which bare the name of the church of God; considering, that (euen then) in people very well conditioned, among whom discipline was easily enterrained, because their extendure was so small, & where there were no strangers to intermeddle; many durst (by public authority) propound most execrable errors, and erect, euen in the midst of the Church, a Schoole like that of *Epicurus*. Let vs consider on this also, that after these Churches were spread abroad farre & wide, many mighty errors were sowne in & by them; as namely the confusion of the Empire, and the conuersation of Pagans, among whom they liued. Wherefore, let vs not flatter our selues, by a vain assurance of the name of the Church, as if that all had bin, or were without sinne.

And although it is not possible to report all the mad pranks of the *Sadduces*, without great griefe and anguish, yet notwithstanding, it is necessary the Historie should be written. For, it plainly appeareth, that some profane Iewes brought a monstrous audaciousnes into *Iudea*, and such wicked opinions as they had learned of Pagans, merely Epicurians, by haun-

ting to them familiarly; for they carried no meane resemblance with them. The Sect of the *Sadduces* retained the name of God, for feare lest it should appeare, that they would dissipate the pollicie, which was singularly maintained by the bands of Religion. But they endeouored to efface out of mens vnderstanding, the true inuocation vpon God, and the true feare of him.

They maintained, that mens soules being lundred from their bodies, should neuer rest, and that men should reuiue no more after death: neyther that any other iudgement was to be expected, wherein the iust were to be discerned from the vniust. The names of eternall life, & of hell, were to this Sect as meere fables, and cerours to affright young children. And because they would make their intention knowne, that it was to ease the mindes of men, from the burden of *Pharisaicall* traditions, and to teach liberty: they feigned, to recall men backe to the writings of *Moses*; and therefore alleaged his saying, where it is forbidden to adde to the Law. By this means they frustrated all the writings of the *Pharisees*, with all their interpretations and traditions: the release and discharge whereof was pleasing, and affected by many, because that the number of them was well-neare infinite.

From thence, and there framing their beginning, they went on further vnder the same colour, & reiected all the Bookes of the Prophets (the bookes of *Moses* onely excepted) auouching, that he neuer meant or spake, but of this present life onely. To maintain the forme and order of their Commonwealth, they sayd; That the law ought to be obeyed, & sacrifices to be performed, because God punished great offences in this life. Contrariwise, for good actions and obedience, he gaue peace & abundance of goods: confirming all their fancies by the words of *Moses*, where hee speaks both of blessings and cursings.

The breuitie of this Doctrine, agreed and contented light headed spirits highly, and profane persons were not a litle delighted with these opinions: which were confirmed by the iudgement of sense onely, because euery man thought that an intollerable burthen, and hardly gaue credite to those Articles, which were out of his present sight & comprehension. And

Ddd there-

Furious and most monstrous blasphemies held & maintained by the Sadduces.

All the *Pharisees* writings made voyde and of none account.

All the bookes of all the prophets reiected by the Sadduces, onely the bookes of *Moses* excepted.

The Sadduces doctrine confirmed by the iudgement of sense onely.

A refutation  
of the greiv  
and abhomi  
nable errors  
of the Saddu  
ces Sect.

therefore this Sect (how wicked soever it were) wanted not store of followers.

Now although it be true, that God is the gardian of political societie, and that he punisheth vniust murders in this life, left the companies of men should be consumed, as also to the end, that they may be manifest signes of his diuine Iustice to euery eye: yet notwithstanding, God in meane while (by an admirable counsell best knowne vnto himselfe) suffereth many iust persons to be slaine by the wicked; as *Abell*, the children of *Israel* in *Egypt*, *Ionathas*, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and innumerable other. These examples doe testifie, that there remaineth another Iudgement, wherein God will declare his iustice, by bringing the iust and vniust into iudgement: and the wicked, being sent into torments, shall shew the iust to be victorious, although it continue some time after death. For seeing that God declared, that he had a care of *Abell*, *Ionathas*, *Esay*, and *Jeremy* during their liues: if after death he should haue made no account of them, it had much diffented from his praesence; yea, and from his iustice also. It is then most euident, that the *Sadduces*, who denied any other iudgement to ensue after death.

The sacrificiing Priest of the *Sadduces*, being at the Altare, conceiued, that the *Israelitish* Nation was not chosen of God (who onely had the true knowledge of God on earth;) because they had been so often oppressed by Kings of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans* & *Syrians*; and, euen when their neighbors (being dispersed throughout *Iudea*) spoiled many thousands of iust persons, compelling them that suruiued, to feed on the slaughtered bodies of their fellow-Citizens: in this case, shall there bee no attribution of iustice and prouidence to God, if instantly hee shewe not himselfe to haue a care of his, and that (therefore) there remaineth no immortality? Thus vnder the shadow of ceremonies, were mens soules abused, by outward and apparant Legier-dumaines, the diuine Prouidence being exactly taken away, euen as the *Epicurians* did.

Now, considering there were these debates between the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*,

in such great matters, let such as reade, conceiue, not onely how great and frequent the tumults and perturbations of this people haue beene; but also, how rudely both the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*, and diuers other with them (being manifestly Atheists) vsed the true Church, as *Simeon*, *Zachary* and their poore flocke. But as then (among so many wolves and lions) some faithfull guardians of the true doctrine were referred; so (no doubt) but God will still continue it to all succeeding times; and as hee did to *Simeon* and the rest, so he will euermore stand in the iust defence of his Spouse the Church, supporting her, against all miseries whatsoeuer.

### CHAP. IX.

Of a third Sect, contrary to the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*, who termed themselves by the name of *Essæans*: their originall Religion and manner of life.



Ordinarly happeneth, that when seditions haue once gotten themselves into active motion: many partialities and diuisions will thrust in after them. As *Homer* feigned, that the Storehouse or Armory (wherein *Aeolus* had locked vp the winds) being broken open: the Sea became troubled euery where, the windes flew abroad with such extraordinary violence; euen so in kingdoms & Empires, after that political order cometh to bee once troubled and diuoynted; many diuisions must needs follow after. Many Sects exalted themselves, during these debates between the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*. For some, detesting the profane doctrine, and Ethnick licence of the *Sadduces*, and seeing Religion and piety masked by the *Pharises*, and that, to disguise great and grosse vices, such as were whoredome, ambition, malice, enuy, cruelty, lying, rapine, and the like, they set before mens eyes (as a cloud of dissimulation) dreadfull leueritie, and some seuerer ceremonies; beganne to

Matters late  
by the Author  
to the Reader  
confrontation

to diuide themselves from both one and other.

And these Séperatists & diuided people, formed a name for themselves, called *Essæans*, workers; by which title, they gaue me to vnderstand, that which they reproued in others, & wherein they would seem more excellent then they: namely, that they fled from the profane libertie of the *Sadduces*, & allowed not the hypocrisie of the *Pharises*, disguised in so many kindes: but that they would doe deeds or workes profitable to other, and commaunded by God, hauing alwayes this vsuall sentence in their mouths; *Every word without work, is merely vaine and unprofitable.*

There is no mention made of them in the Ecclesiasticall history, either because they had not inuited any new kind of doctrine, but retained the doctrine of *Moses* & the *Sacrificers*: or in regard they dwelt at the end of *Iudea*, toward the lake *Asphaltuda*, as in a retiremēt, & neuer intermeddled with the government of affairs, thunning the contentions of the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*. Their manner of life was like to that of the Monkes; for, either they were not married, or if they were, they abstained from their wiuies; hauing their goods in cōmon, doing such businesse as were inuolunt thē. They fought not after riches, voluptuous pleasures, or honors; but digged and delued in gardens, as in a life of solitude, seeking carefully for knowledge in the nature of Plants, and their iuyces, stones and animals, learning their remedies, and exercising Physicke faithfully, which serued more then all other Artes for the life of man.

Moreover, they practised many vertues, as beneficence, patience in visiting sicke persons; such as were not able to helpe themselves, they would feed them, carry them, wash and bathe them, neuer shrinking at grosse sauiors, coming either fro wounds, sweats, or other annoyances. Their cunning, faith & diligence was verie commendable, in knowing wel how to prepare medicaments; to know the kindes of diseases; what remedies were apt for them; to know also times & seasons, when physicke ought to be ministred. In briefe, the vertues & welldoing of a learned, industrious and faithful Philisition appeared in the most of them.

And as it is a good thing, that youth

should be instructed in learning, the doctrine of good maners, the Art of physick, and to accustom their tender spiritues to discipline, & the vnderstanding of virtue: euen so in the assembly of the *Essæans*, the very skillfullest were chosen by a certaine number, who instructed many throughout *Iudea*. For all modest men, & such as shunned the managing of affaires in ciuile dissensions, affected rather to haue their children taught by the doctours of this Sect, then any other, which they held in horror, & would haue no acquaintance with them, seeing them so tempestuous in the Common-wealth, by their owne particular couetous desires, and continually mouing vnecessary contentions.

The *Essæans* addicted their life and religion principally to two heads or points, to wit: In calling vpon God in a priuate kind of life, and in honest bodily labours, which were the expulsion of vices, and profitable to other men. And for satisfaction both to the one and other, they had partition of times, so that they might attend on busines till the fifth houre of the day, that is to say, to eleuen houres before midday. Their labor ending at that houre, certain numbers of people (round about) met there together, according to the places distributed to euery one. In this assembly, some passage in *Moses* and the Prophets was read, the Ancients that sate as Presidents, gaue addition of the exposition: which they would not haue to be written, but retained in the minde, and so transferred to the government of manners, admonishing (according to the exigence of time) what they thought profitable for peace and tranquillitie, for they would haue none of their followers to meddle in the Common-wealth.

After this reading & exposition, they inuoked Gods assistance both in publique & particular. They held those times to be most meet for meditation & praier, when the body was not charged with meats & fumes, & that inuention is most sprightly in them, whose mindes were fasting from worldly cogitations. Two or 3. houres being employed in reading and praier, euery one went to supper, or walked in company, or alone by himselfe, according as it stood with his good liking, or as his heart required. The rest of the day, vntill the Euening came, was spent in

The Art of  
Physicke is  
meet and pro  
fitable to be  
learned by  
young people.

The doctrine  
and life of the  
Essæans aimed  
only at two  
special ends

Concerning  
the meetings  
and assemblies.

What times  
they repaied  
most conue  
nient for me  
ditation and  
prayer.

No mention  
made of the  
Essæans in the  
Ecclesiasticall  
history.

The manner  
how they li  
ued far from  
the wisdom of  
other men.

Vertuous and  
charitable  
qualities ex  
ercised by the  
Essæans.

Dispute in  
some betwix  
Pharises and  
Sadduces.

The reason  
why the peo  
ple of Iudea  
were condem  
ned by the  
Sadduces

The exercises  
after receiving  
instruction.

learned discourse and talking of God, of Plants, of medicaments, and their experience in every thing: or else of the historie of their owne nation, and what miseries had beene common to them. Before the darke houres of night, they met together againe, and went to prayer.

Discipline  
of the  
colleges  
was such  
as  
was  
against  
the  
Laws  
of  
their  
colleges.

Now, although the order of their behaviour and actions were wisely governed, and many (in their Colledges) lived modestly, yet notwithstanding it came to passe, that some of them (wonne by their owne courtesous desires) forgot the Lawes diuine, and (in their neighbouring towns) fell to voluptuous pleasures. But the rigour of each Colledge was such, as if any one had defrauded another, if hee had lied, or had infected himselfe with whoredome: immediately (by common sentence) hee was excommunicated out of the company. For (among them) was kept the most ancient custome of the Synagogue, whereof is spoken in Saint Matthew. Because there might no question be urged, for instituting any new forme of Iudicature; but the playne auncient fashion, recited as it was giuen by the Fathers, the traces whereof are remaining in the Church.

Math. 18. 17.

The principal  
part of  
the doctrine  
taught by  
the Effians.

This pollicie of the Effians, comprehended the principall parts of their doctrine, to wit; the study, of learning, the exercises of Inuocation, reuerence to their Governours, bodily labors, temperance, and modest manners according to the Decalogue, the nourishing of youth; who were instructed in learning, and the Art of Physicke; paines and punishments also appointed for delinquents. Iosephus commended the Colledge of the Effians, comparing them to the Schoole of Pythagoras. Pliny also makes mention of them in very honorable manner, terming them Effians, as (since then) diuers other did; for only he speaketh of no other people, but only the Effians. Hee placeth their dwelling towards the Lake Aphrodisia, on the west side, not farre from the City of Iericho, where were the gardens of Balme. It may be, that this place was chosen to study the Art of Physick, as not being the like in all the world, for abounding in all the principall medicines. By this passage of Pliny, and by Iosephus, it appeareth, that the colledge of the Effians continued to the time of Iosephus; besides, Iosephus re-

porteth, that they carried themselves very valiantly in warre.

Now wil we returne to Hyrcanus, who after he had held the gouernement, and the High-priesthood 31 yeares, died, leauing 3. children. Hee was accounted singularly happy in 3. thing; to wit, that he had bin so long a time a peaceable prince of the people, and the foueraigne Sacrificer adding thereto, that he was beleueed to haue the spirit of Prophecie. & knowlege in things to come, by the gift of god.

## CHAP. X.

Having briefly discoursed on the 3. severall Sects, of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Effians: we goe backe againe where we formerly left, to speake of Hyrcanus and his Sonnes.

Iohn Hyrcanus had five sonnes, Aristobolus the first, Antigonus the second; a graue young man, who in his life time, accompanied with his brother Aristobolus: expelled Antiochus Cyzicenus out of Iudea, and tooke Samaria. The father being dead, his brother also was crowned King. But soone after, when hee had exploited the affaires in Galilee, he went vp to Ierusalem, accompanied with braue Souldiers, to be present at the Feast of Tabernacles. His brother growing suspicious of him, and causing him to be entrapped by his warlike troups; he was slaine by them neare to the Temple.

Alexander the third called Iamnes also, had two sons, namely, Hyrcanus the first, Aristobolus the second, Absolon the fourth; being of a most milde and peaceable spirit, liued by himselfe private'y. A daughter of his was married to his cousin Aristobolus. The first sonne of Hyrcanus is not named at all, and yet was slaine by his brother Alexander: because that (after the death of Aristobolus) he affected the kingdom.

Aristobolus, after the death of his father Hyrcanus, being the first that changed the Principall into a dignitie Royall; imposed on himselfe the diademe, and sent also for his brother Antigonus, whom he loued. He put his other three brethren in prison, and that which is much more, he starued his owne mother to death in prison; because she deman-

The Author  
returne to  
the  
Hillo  
the

The valiant  
Antiochus  
Antigonus.

Antigonus  
dine by his  
brother  
means

The first  
sonne of  
Hyrcanus  
dine

Aristobolus  
was  
king  
of Iudea.

ded the succession and gouernement of the principalltie, which Hyrcanus had left vpon her on his death-bed.

Afterward, he caused his brother Antigonus to be slaine, he being a braue man, and a bolde warrior, laying diuerse ambushes for him, as hee returned victoriously from Galilee; only because he suspected that he affected the kingdom.

Immediately, being highly distastd by this murdering of his brethren, he became seized with a grievous paine in his entrails, and hauing cast vp a great quantitie of blood by vomiting, the Page that carried the Balon from him, fell (accidentally) in the same place, where the ground remained as yet infected with the blood of murdered Antigonus; and there he spit the cast blood of Aristobolus: which hee vnderstanding, and falling into acknowledgement of the diuine iust vengeance; in excessive torments both of soule and body, yeelded vp the ghost. After he had reigned one whole yeare onely, and during which time, hee had augmented the kingdom of Iudea, and constrained the Iudaeans to vnderge Circumcision, hauing formerly vanquished them. He was called Philellin, because hee vsed greatly the familiarity of Pagans.

Alexander, called also Iamnes.

His father Hyrcanus neuer saw him, for as he was in great care about the succession of his children: it was fortolede him in his sleepe, that his riches and principalltie, should fall into the power of that new borne babe, whereat hee growing greatly offended, commanded, that hee should be nurfed in Galilee, like to a simple prinate person.

After the death of his father Hyrcanus, he was clapt vp in prison (with his two other brethren) by Aristobolus. But Aristobolus dying at his yeares expiration, hee came to the Crowne by the means of Alexandra, wife to Aristobolus, to whom he had promised marriage.

Soone after he was crowned King, he slew one of his brethren, who practised nouelties; and entertained the other (named Absolon) honorably, because he was of a peacefull spirit. Then taking order for publicke affaires, hee besieged the citie of Ptolemis round about. The citizens seeing all hope of succour voyde from Syria, in regard of the ciuile ware, which made

mighty haucke there; called from Cyprus Ptolemis Lathurus, expelled by his mother Cleopatra. He coming to them with 3000 men, Alexander retired his army into his countrey, and dispatched a messenger secretly into Egypt, desiring ayde of Cleopatra against her son Lathurus. Publickly he capitulated alliance with Lathurus, promising him 24 tuns of gold, if, expelling the tyrant Zolus, who vsurped Doris and Cæsarea, he would render those Seigneuries to the Lewes.

But Ptolemis being aduertised of Alexanders secret machinations, breaking all alliances, invaded Iudea with his Army, where Alexander mette him with his forces well appoynted, and after a rude encounter, Alexander was put to flight, and lost 30000. of his men. Lathurus not a little glorying in this victory, made mightie waite in Iudea, lacking & spoyling all places where he came, killing both women and children in every village; and after he had sliced them in peeces, he caused their limbes to be boyled and eaten by his souldiers, to make them the more terrible to the Lewes. Very soone after, Cleopatra chased this Tyrant out of Iudea, as doubting lest if he should grow any greater, the he would further insult vpon Egypt. Alexander went to visite her at the siege which she maintained before Ptolemis, where he gaue her great gifts: and after he had bin royally welcomed by her, and combined alliance with her, he tooke his way homeward againe.

Much about this time, while Lathurus returned to Cyprus, and Cleopatra into Egypt, Alexander tooke Gadera, Anathunta and Anhedon, and hauing held a long siege before Gaza, with losse of a great number of his men: finally, by the treason of Lysimachus, he entred it, & slaying the Citizens most inhumanely, hee rased it to the ground. Nor would he pardon 500. of the principall persons, who labored to yield the city to him, but drew them from forth the Temple of Apollo (whereunto they had fled for freedom) to put them to death. But these iocund prosperities were overtaken with a domesticall sedition: for, in the Feast of Tabernacles, hee was iniured by the people, as vnworthy of the Priestthoode, because hee was borne of a slave: And hardly it happened, that (in his sacrificing) he was not slayne

An Ill in the  
the Carpathi  
unp, were  
Gadara and  
Syria.

A country of  
Greece, neare  
the gulf Me  
leasus.

The great  
crucities of  
Lathurus a  
giving the  
v, sliced  
Lewes in  
Iud. 2.

Tolomira by  
the red Sea.

Cities of  
Decapolis in  
Syria.

The barbarous  
butcheries  
of Alexander  
the High  
priest.



Alexander hardly ex-  
pected killing, &  
bloody re-  
venge it on  
the people.

The Moabites  
& Galaadites  
conquered.

The Iewes  
entered into  
civill warre  
gainst Alex-  
ander.

Alexander  
findeth belye  
in his heauy  
extremity.

The most part  
of the Iewes  
in Armet still  
again: Alex-  
ander.

Eight hundred  
cheefe Iewes  
crucified by  
Alexander,  
while he ban-  
quered with  
his Concu-  
bines.

by the multitude then about him, who smote him with the boughes and branches, which the Iewes vsed to carry at that Feast. Not a little enraged at this wrong, he called his souldiers together, and entering vpon the vnarmed people, slew about fixe thousand of them: calling diuers strangers from *Perfis* and *Cilicia*, to serue as a Guard about his body. Afterward, marching forth with his Army, he vanquished the *Moabites* and *Galaadites*, compelling them to pay him tribute.

Shortly after, to his great misfortune, hee encountred with *Oboda*, King of the *Arabians*, fell into his ambushes, and his Army being hewen in pieces, hee escaped with much difficulty. Vpon this bad lucke, the Pharisees (enraged with hatred against him) tooke occasion to raise the most part of the Iewish people likewise in mislike of him, with whom he warred (very hardly) fixe whole yeares. For the Iewes that were his aduersaries, drew *Demetrius*, the Sonne of *Gryphus*, to oppose his forces with such troopes as hee had called from *Damas*, where hee reign- ed: against whom *Alexander* fought to his great losse, for all his strange Souldi- ers lay slaine in the field, & he had no means to saue himselfe, but by flight. Yet, not- withstanding his instant calamity, some of the Iewes were hardened to take his part, in turning requitall vpon *Demetrius*: and being assisted with some fixe thou- sand men, he made a final recovery of his former losse.

Now, albeit vpon this victory, *Demetrius* (perceiving the revolt of the Iewes) retired his host home into his king- dome: yet notwithstanding, the most part of the Iewes (who were coniu- red against *Alexander*) continued in Armes still, whose power *Alexander* brake by lit- tle and little, as well through industry, as by vertue. And after he had sped well in some skirmishes, hee shutt vp his very mightiest enemies, in the Fort belonging to the Towne of *Bethom*, which hee enfor- ced with great difficulty, & vsed extreme cruelty vpon his captiues. For hee tooke eight hundred of the principal Iewes, cau- sing them all to be crucified, while hee satte banqueting at a Table with his Concu- bines, and in the presence of al his invited guests, hauing formerly commanded their wives and children to be miserably

murdered. The rest (affrighted by this cru- ell example) fled out of *Ierusalem* in the night time, being about eight thousand of his enemies.

By this meanes, that dreadfull ciuill warre was appeased, which had continu- ed more then fixe yeares; and wherein, a- bout fifty thousand Iewes were slaine. Af- ter these domestick troubles, by contin- uall courtes hee reuenged himselfe on strange aduersaries, who had giuen suc- cour and retreat to the feditious Iewes, winning from them many Townes and Cities. Returning home againe, through his intemperance, hee fell into a Feauer quartane, which held him for the space of three yeares. And yet, hating to absta- ine (all this while) from trauaile and war, dy- ed in besiedging a Castle on the Mount of the *Gergezenians*, in the nine and forti- eth yeare of his age; of his reigne and Priesthood, the seuen and twenty. Before his death, he left his kingdomes govern- ment to his wife *Alexandra*, and gaue her charge to pacifie the Pharisees, whom hee and his Father had offended, vnto their great detriment.

He left two Sons: *Hyrcanus* & *Aristobolus*.

Of whom we shall haue leysure to speak hereafter: because first of all, we are to say some what concerning *Alexandra*, the wife of *Alexander Iannes*.

*Alexandra*, wife to *Alexander Iannes*.

After shee had insituted in the High- Priesthood her eldest sonne *Hyrcanus*, who desired nothing more, then to leade a priuate life: shee succeeded in the king- dome after her husband *Alexander*, being especially aided by the power of the Pha- risees, to whom she gaue authority, to re- uocate and erect their ancient traditions, which *Hyrcanus* (her father in law) had a- bolished, & granted to them many other fauours beside. So that the Pharisees ad- ministrated the whole Regiment of the Kingdom at their owne pleasure; onely the bare name of Queene remained to *Alexandra*. Finally, as they vnderooke the boldnesse, to execute (vnder colour of iustice) the cheefest Councillors to the deceased King *Alexander*, who they suspected to haue incited him against the Pharisees Sect: so they proceeded on in many inhumanities. The friends of *Alex- ander* going to *Rome* with his sonne *Aris- tobolus*, obtained (by fauor of the Court)

Six yeares  
civill war cost  
the Iewes of  
more then  
fifty thousand  
Iewes.

*Alexandra* di-  
ed in war, be-  
sieging a  
Castle.

*Hyrcanus*, di-  
stestion to  
*Alexander*  
created high  
Priest.

A woman  
regent over  
the Iewes.

*Alexanders*  
friends goe  
with *Aris-  
tobolus* to *Rome*.

to goe as Captaines of warlike troopes, to the Castles.

At this time, *Tygranus* King of the *Par- thians*, made seizure on the kingdom of *Syria*; because the *Syrian* Kings had con- sumed all their strength and power by do- mesticke warres. And being entred also into *Iudea*, planted his Campe before the City of *Platomais*: whereof (neuerthe- lesse) Queen *Alexandra* bought the peace by liberrall bounty of gifts. After the ta- king of *Platomais*, *Tygranus* returning with his Army to his Countrey: heard newes concerning the victory of *Lucul- lus*, and the flight of *Mithridates*.

Within a while after, *Alexandra* being fallen into an extreme sicknesse, her Son *Aristobolus*, taking in ill part the domina- tion of the Pharisees: fled to the friends of his Father, who had the guarding of the castles, by whose assistance, he got posses- sion of the principall Cities in *Iudea*. In this feare of the Pharisees, and no great assurance of *Aristobolus*, who (neuerthe- lesse) approached neere with his Army; *Alexandra* was called out of this life, in the ninth yeare of her Reigne, and the Lxxv. of her age, which brought peace to the Land of *Iudea*. But because she had encreased the power of the Pharisees; it was the reason of many troubles which followed.

The sonnes of *Alexander Iannes*, and of *Alexandra*, were (as hath bene said)

*Hyrcanus* the second.

*Aristobolus* the second.

*Hyrcanus* the second, naturally peace- full, and a louer of quietnesse, was enstal- led by his Mother *Alexandra* Soueraigne Sacrificer, in the place of his deceased Father. And moreover, after the death of his Mother, by hereditary right he ob- tained the kingdom. But being vanquished by his Brother *Aristobolus* in battel, he was glad to saue himselfe in the For- tresse of the Temple; commanded there to leade a priuate life, the kingdom and High-Priesthood being quitted to his Brother. For some time he endured these conditions, but being afterward moued by some accusations, which *Antipater* the *Idumean* (father to *Herod*) put into his head, as also the frauds and fetches of his brother *Aristobolus*, hee was induced to fflye thence into *Arabia*, to king *Aretas*, whom *Antipater* had won by liberrall pro-

misses, to attempt the restitution of *Hyrcanus* to the kingdom of *Iudea*.

*Aretas* invading *Iudea* with a potent Army, and hauing *Aristobolus* at the en- counter ouercame him, and taking the City of *Ierusalem*, held him so long be- siedged in the Temple, vntill by the com- mand of *Scannus*, Lieutenant to *Pompey*, he was forced to retire with his Army in- to *Arabia*, and so the enterprize for *Hyrcanus* proved to none effect. After that *Pompey* had vanquished *Tygranus*, & was come into *Syria*, the two brethren, *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobolus*, accused each other before him, touching their right to the Kingdom and High-Priesthood. But *Pompey*, more enclining to the part of *Hyrcanus*, by the providence and seruices of *Antipater*, re- leased *Aristobolus* vnder certain conditions. Neuerthelesse, *Aristobolus* meaning nothing but meere mockery to all com- mands, and trusting to the munitions in the City of *Ierusalem* (*Pompey* in reuenge) entred it violently, and won the Temple so strongly defended, where were slaine of the Iewes, about the number of two and twenty thousand, and the City (with the most part of *Iudea*) rendered tributary to the *Romans*. Which tribute they payed for a certaine time, as *Iosephus* confesseth, amounting to the sum of 10000. Talents, which is 60. Tuns of gold. *Pompey* having walked in the Temple, and entred into the holiest part of all, called *Sancitum Sancto- rum*: at his departing, restored *Hyrcanus* to the Soueraigne Priesthood, but not the kingdom. Also, he led along with him to *Rome*, *Aristobolus* as prisoner, with his two sonnes, *Alexander* (who neuertheles escaped by the way) and *Antigonus*, and his two daughters likewise.

Thus *Hyrcanus*, being possessed of the so- ueraigne Priesthood, about four yeares after the death of his Mother *Alexandra*, succored *Scannus* (left in *Iudea* with two legions) when hee besiedged *Petra*, a City of *Arabia*. Afterward, hee fell into the fauor of other *Romain* Lieutenants, sent into *Iudea* only by the perswasion and friendship of *Antipater*, as with *Gabinus*, *Craffus*, *Cassius* and *Iulius Caesar* himselfe, to who hee sent aid, vnder the conduct of *Antipater*, when he was much hindered in the war of *Egypt*. And because *Antipater* had caried himselfe valiantly, *Cesar* confirmed the high-Priest- hood to *Hyrcanus* & appointed *Antipater* to be

*Aretas* inva-  
deth *Iudea* to  
rescort *Hyrcanus*.

The two bre-  
thren persue  
their cause be-  
fore *Pompey*.

*Iudea* and *Ie-  
rusalem* made  
tributary to  
the Romans.

*Iosephus* Ant.  
Iudea 3. cap. 7

*Aristobolus*  
led prisoner  
to Rome by  
*Pompey*.

*Hyrcanus* in  
good fauor  
with many of  
the Romaine  
Lieutenants.



Antipater  
protector of  
all Iudea.

be Tutor, Curator, or (as we vie now a dayes to speake) Protector of all *Iudea*. At the same time also, *Cæsar* permitted to *Hyrcanus*, to re-establish the fortifications of the City of *Ierusalem*, which had bene beaten downe by *Pompey*.

Antipater  
poisoned by  
Malachias a  
slew.

After that *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine by the conspirators, a powerfull Iew, named *Malachias*, being offended at the encreasing greatnesse of *Antipater* the Idumean, and that the whole administration of affaires should be in his hand; surprized his life by poisons. But thereupon, *Iudea*, being destitute of so wise and valiant a Gouernour, fell to very miserable condition. For *Malachias*, tempesting his thoughts with mounting hopes, to become sole maister and commander; was slaine euen in the entrance to his enterprises, by *Herode* sonne to *Antipater*, to whom (though he was as yet very yong) his father had giuen the charge of *Galilee*. On the other side, the brother of *Malachias*, desirous to reuenge the death of his brother, chequed in the manner of an enemy. Also, *Antigonus* the captiued son to *Aristobolus*, escaping from the prisons of *Rome*: leuying men of arms, made him selfe maister of a great part of *Iudea*.

Antigonus  
escaped the  
Roman pri-  
sons.

After that *Herode* had imbarred his proceedings, *Antigonus* vnder promise of a thousand talents, which value lixe runns of golde, and of five hundred most noble women; procured *Pacorus* and *Barzaphernes*, Satrapes in the Kingdome of *Persia*, to enter with a maine army into *Iudea*, to overthrow *Herode* and his brother *Phaselus*, whom *Antibome* (one of the three Monarches) had before made Tetrarchs of *Iudea*. Which beeing done, they should perforce render the kingdom of the Iewes, to the sonnes of *Aristobolus*.

Herode and  
Phaselus Te-  
trarches in  
Iudea.

*Pacorus* thinking it best, that *Herode* should be surprized rather by subtiltie, then by violence; sent *Antigonus* on before with some bands of men, to get possession of *Ierusalem*; and he (in the meane while) would follow with his Armie by Sea, so farre as to *Ptolomais*, where he had ordered, that *Barzaphernes* should meete him with a passable Army. Many gaue kind welcomes to *Antigonus*, running affectionately to him, and promising their ayde against *Herode*. Neuerthelesse, *Herode* and his brother found themselves the stronger in many encounters, not on-

Determina-  
tion for the ar-  
mies meeting

ly within the City, but also without the walles.

Antigonus  
is aduised by  
Cannus, that  
with hee re-  
turned at.

Finally, *Antigonus* distrustful his forces, called *Pacorus* into the City, vnder pretence, that (as an Arbitrator) hee should compund the difference for the Principalltie, which was betwene him and *Herode*, vnder conditions more tolerable: but his purpose was indeede, to surprize *Herode* vnprovidd. Moreouer, hee laboured with his vnckle *Hyrcanus* and *Phaselus*, worming it to into their heads, to go in embassage to *Barzaphernes* (remaining in *Galilee* with his army) and to perswade to farr with him by rich presents, that he should reitre his power into *Syria*. To which counsell *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, and *Phaselus* (brother to *Herode*) yeelding, without suspect of ill, were taken by the *Parthians*, (euen as the matter was in monopolizing) contrary to the right of Nations, and deliuered as captiues to *Antigonus*.

Hyrcanus and  
Phaselus are  
taken priuately

*Herode* being formerly aduertised of these plots and compacts of *Antigonus* & *Pacorus*; went forth of the City in the night season, with all his family, some friends, and 800. women, rich and excellent in beautie, and left the persons and their goods in custody of *Malchida*, a well defended City of *Idumea*: which being done, he went thorow *Egypt* to *Rome*, euen in the worst time of all the world.

Herode de-  
parts, and go-  
eth secretly  
to Rome.

*Phaselus*, brother to *Herode*, doubting the cruelty of *Antigonus*, because he was without armes, and bound; ranne his head (with great violence) diuers times against the wall, and by that meanes slew himselfe.

Phaselus de-  
operately kills  
himselfe.

*Antigonus*, not contented with the depoyling *Hyrcanus* of the High-priest-hood, caused him beside to become deformed, by cutting off his eares, fearing lest he should afterward attain to the Priesthood againe. For it was not lawfull, that any gelded man, or defective in any limbe or member of body, should administer in sacrificing. Moreouer, distrustful that he had not sufficiently enough provided for his owne security; hee deliuered *Hyrcanus* captiue to the *Parthians*, to carry him out of *Iudea*, as farre as possibly they could.

The cruelty  
of our bro-  
ther to ano-  
ther.

The flight of *Herod* being come to the notice of the barbarous vnciuile people, and they singularly displeased for the wo-

The spoile &  
hauck of the  
barbarous  
multitude, &  
Hyrcanus set  
away captiue.

The spoile &  
hauck of the  
barbarous  
multitude, &  
Hyrcanus set  
away ca-  
ptiue.

men: which *Antigonus* formerly had promised to them; pilld and spoiled the city and the pallace royall. And yet not satisfied with this booty, robbed many places about *Ierusalem*, without leauing any thing behind them. And after they had ordained *Antigonus* King of *Ierusalem*: they withdrew their armed troupes home into their owne countrey, leading *Hyrcanus* (the soueraigne Sacrificer) along with them captiue.

Hyrcanus de-  
livered by K.  
Phraates, and  
sent into Ba-  
bylon.

It was not long after, that *Phraates* king of the *Parthians*, beeing informed of the nobilitie whereof he was defended; did set him at libertie, and sent him into *Babylon*, to be President ouer the Iewes inhabiting there, where, for about five yeares he was in great honor. But hauing heard, that not onely *Verode* obtained the kingdome of *Iudea*, by *Augustus Cæsar*; but also, that he was conioined to him in affinity, because hee had taken in marriage his Niece *Mariam*, the daughter of *Alexander*: he thought on returning him backe againe, promising him mountaines and meruailes, for the goodwill of *Herode*.

Herode wor-  
ked with the  
King of Par-  
sia, this for  
the return of  
Hyrcanus into  
Iudea.

About this time it fortuned, that *Herode*, desirous to beget vnto him the courage of the Iewes, whom hee knew to beare great affection to *Hyrcanus*: repealed him backe by Letters and Ambassadors, and forthwith sent great Presents to the king of the *Parthians*, to pay the ranfome for his captiuitie. Whereupon, *Hyrcanus* thinking there would not be any further question of deferring; contrary to the counsell of al the Iewes which were in *Babylon* (who entreated him earnestly to stay there, as fearing that which followed after) returned into *Iudea*.

Hyrcanus ho-  
nourably en-  
tertained by  
Herode.

*Herode* wellcomed him very magnificently, and (for some time) vied him honourably; euen to the appealing of his father, and often conferring with him on the very principall affaires. Notwithstanding, he would not surrender to him the principallty of the high-Priesthood, for the defect of his eares: but, instead of *Antigonus* (slaine before) substituted a certaine man, named *Annelus*, come from *Babylon*, to enjoy the Priesthood. Soone after, he gaue manifest signes of his deadly hatred, against all the posterity of the *Asmoneans*. As, when (by a close ambush) he slew *Aristobolus*, nephew to *Hyrcanus*, and his most dearly affected wife *Maria*-

na, Niece also to the said *Hyrcanus*.

Finally, after the overthrow of *Mark Antony*, one of the 3 chief rulers, to whom *Herode* had bene companion, and sent him succors diuers times in war, as some sad thoughts ouertooke him, for feare of *Augustus* being Conquerours and of his aduersaries thorow the country of *Iudea*, but especially fearing the people (who loued him not) should mutiny by this occasion, & transfeere the kingdom of their Ancestors to *Hyrcanus* (who only remained of the roiall family of the *Asmoneans*), began to lay snares and close contriuings against the life of the miserable old man. For, he imposed a false crime vpon him; that hee would haue vnrped the Kingdome: and to make it probable, he composed counterfeited Letters, whereupon he being condemned by sentence of the great Consistory, was executed, albeit he was about 80. yeares olde. All his lifetime was troublesome vnto him, being agitated with infinit accidents of fortune, yet he (naturally) affecting quietnes, and a meane estate. Only herein reprehensible, that he was too facile, in listening to such as prouoked him on to the attempting of fond nouelties.

Hyrcanus on-  
ly left of the  
noble Asmo-  
neans family.

Herod caused  
Hyrcanus to  
be most wroth  
with; put to  
death.

#### *Aristobolus the second.*

**B**rother to the aboue named *Hyrcanus* the second, and sonne of *Alexander*: As young a man as he was, and of hote and liuely spirit, yet notwithstanding, for nine yeares space, he left to his Mother the administration of the Kingdome, which *Alexander* (dying) gaue to her, contenting himselfe with a priuate life. But at the length, his mother being detayned by a long sicknesse, and very dangerous, and he (not a little offended) that all matters were guided according to the fancie of the Pharisees; by stealth made his recourse into the city, and conferred with the friends to his deceased father, who had the keeping of the Castles. Being ayded by them in bountifull manner, he gathered an army, by whose assistance, hee possessed himselfe of diuers neighboring places about *Ierusalem*.

Aristobolus  
had a gallant,  
youthfull and  
hote disposed  
nature.

His mother *Alexandra* dying, vpon this his preparative for warre; *Hyrcanus*, who all the life time of his mother as Queene, had held the High-priest-hood:

His strength-  
ning himselfe  
by his fathers  
friends.

being

Hyrcanus is overcome by Aristobolus in battell.

The hope of Hyrcanus to recover the Kingdome againe from his brother Aristobolus.

Scourus raifeth the Siege which was laid to Ierusalem.

The coming of Pompey to Damas.

Pompey entered into Iudea with his Armye.

being the eldest son, made himselfe King by right of inheritance. And to defend his right by Armes, hee went to affront his brother neare to *Iericho*, with an army or dred in good equipage. But being left of his people, who revolted to *Aristobolus*, vnder hope and perswasion of better recompence; he had no other helpe, but to shield himselfe in the munition of the Temple, where he was for some time besieged by his brother, and finally delivered, vpon condition, that he should leave the Kingdome and High-priest hooe to his brother, and leade a priuate life by himselfe.

Some while after, hee conueyed himselfe covertly into *Arabia*, by the perswasion of *Antipater*; as hoping to regaine the Kingdome from his brother, by the meanes of king *Aretas*. *Aristobolus* knowing the comming of *Aretas*, King of the *Arabians*, with *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, went forth to meete them: and being vanquished in a day of warre triall, hardly fled backe againe to *Ierusalem*, where hee was (for a time) besieged by the enemies, that closely followed his footing, vntill such time, as hauing promised 300. talents to *Scourus*, Lieutenant to *Pompey*, he perswaded thereby so well, that *Scourus* sending in the name of the *Roman* people to *Aretas*, commanded him to auoyd out of *Iudea*, except hee would be enemy to the *Romans*. By this meanes the siege was raised; and *Aristobolus*, desirous to be reuenged, assembled men, and made warre vpon the *Arabes*, of whom he slew sixe thousand in one fight.

While these things were thus in working, *Pompey*, hauing pacified the East parts, came to *Damas*, where *Aristobolus* sent him a magnificent Present, accusing his brother *Hyrcanus* very strongly to be a perturber of the common peace. *Pompey* heereupon appointed, that at the Spring time, both the brethren should be personally present, before him at *Damas*. Where *Pompey* vnderstanding the difference betweene them, was more inclined to the caſe of *Hyrcanus*; as well for the equitie of his caſe, as for his loue vnto *Antipater*. Neuertheleſſe, he suffered *Aristobolus* to depart vnder conditions, which he cared not to keep, but (by machinations) made a mockerie at the matters commanded him; and (indeed) did

nothing at all. Heereat *Pompey* being highly offended, entred into *Iudea*, with the Army, which he had brought againſt the *Arabian* *Nabathians*. And because *Aristobolus* had againe mocked *Gabinus*, one of the Lieutenants to *Pompey*, not furnishing him (according to promise) concerning the deliuering of certaine ſummes of money: *Pompey* being much incensed by the diſloyalty of *Aristobolus*, brought his Army and Engins before *Ierusalem*, and because the Iewes would not yeeld themselves, he tooke the Cittie by force, ayded by the counsell of *Hyrcanus*, on the fasting day of the third month before *Pentecost*; and in the yeare when *Marcus Tullius Cicero* confounded the Conſpiracie of *Cataline* in *Rome*.

In the surprizall of the Cittie two and twenty thousand Iewes were ſlaine by the Souldiers, and *Pompey* (with his friends) entred into the place called *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and intruded to ſee ſuch things as were not lawfull, but onely for the Soueraign Sacrificer. And vnderſtanding that there were great ſummes of Golde and gold money in the Treasurie, and twelue tunſ of ſiluer coyne; without taking anie thing, he departed thence, and commanded the place to be purified againe. Hee reſtored *Hyrcanus* to the high-prieſthood, and cauſed the authors of the warre to be beheaded, who had bene motives to the rebellion of *Aristobolus*. Afterward, he demoliſhed the wallſ of *Ierusalem*, and made all *Iudea* tributarie to the *Romaine* people. Also he adiudged to the Empire of *Rome*, the Citties and Townes of the *Asmoneans*, which were takē before from the Kings of *Syria*: reſtoring alſo ſuch libertie, as in times paſt had liued in freedom. By this meanes hee locked vp the nation of the Iewes within narrow limits, that before had extended their dominion very farre.

At his departure, hee left two legions in *Iudea*, vnder the conduction of *Scourus*, taking *Aristobolus* captiue, with *Alexander* and *Antigonus* his two ſonnes, to leade them home in triumph: but *Alexander* (hauing deceived his keepers) eſcaped by the way. Here was the beginning of the fruſtration of the Iewiſh nation, who were thus enthrallē to the power of the *Romains*. The diſcord of two brethren gaue the firſt occaſion of this calamitie: three-

\* People of Atalus Reſt betweene the Perſian Sea and the Red Sea.

Ierusalem ſurrounded by Pompey and his power.

The Sanctuaries ſealed, and proſcribed by the Romans.

The Citties and Townes of the Asmoneans adiudged to the Empire of the Romaine people.

Iudea brought into ſlavery by the diſcord of a brethren.

The influence of heaven inflicted vpon Pompey

A towne on the edge of Egypt.

The death of Pompey.

The fort of Alexander newly strengthened.

Macheron the place where Simeon Iohnes Baptiſt was put to death.

three ſcore yeares before the natiuitie of Chriſt; foure yeares before that *Aristobolus* (his Mother dead, and his Brother *Hyrcanus* deſcended from the ſeate Royall) had taken the Kingdome of *Iudea*. Saint *Ierome* writeth, that *Iskin*, father to the euer-blessed Virgin *Marie*, was borne the ſame yeare that *Ierusalem* was ſurprized.

I thought it fit alſo, to infer heere the ſad iſſue and ſucceſſe of *Pompey*, conſidering, that it ſeemed to be done diuinely, that hee ſhould be murdered ſo ſoone as hee had profaned ſo ſoone the place which hee had profaned, alſo by effuſion of blood, as by fooliſh audaciouſneſſe. For, foureteen yeares after the taking of *Ierusalem*, being vanquiſhed by *Caſar* in the battaile of *Pharſalia*, and thinking to ſaue himſelfe by flying to the Sonne of *Ptolomie* the Fleutiſter, whom he had recommended to the *Romaine* Senate, when he was chaſed and baniſhed out of his Kingdome neare to \* *Pelusiſum*, coming forth of a ſmall Barke, and aged about three ſcore yeares; he was ſlaine by the command of King *Ptolomy*, in the preſence of his wiſe *Cornelia*. And, as it is thought, *Virgil* wrote theſe verſes on his death:

A great Trunk lying vpon the Sea ſhore,  
A bovie without head; a head lying  
Farre from the ſhoulders.

*Pelusiſum* is diſtant from *Ierusalem*, a little more then thirtie *Germanie* miles, but juſt confronting it, according to the calculation of *Ptolomie*. Scauen yeares after the ſurprizing of *Ierusalem*, *Aristobolus*, being eſcaped from imprifonment at *Rome*; came into *Iudea* with his other Sonne *Antigonus*, where againe he fortified the Fort of *Alexandria*, which *Gabinus* had deſtroyed. Many Iewes (affecting nouelties) ranne to him, ſo that being accompanied with eight thouſand choſen men; hee dared to encounter with the *Romans*, which *Gabinus* (then Proconſull for *Syria*) conduced, who, but a little before, conſtrained *Alexander*, the other ſonne of *Aristobolus* (thinking to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the kingdome) to deliuer him vp thoſe Fortreſſes, and to craue peace. But *Aristobolus*, ſuſtaining the worſt in a ſharpe fight, ret red with two bands of men, into the moſt ſtrong towne of *Macheron*, ſituated on the Lake *Asphalitis*, ſomewhat a little lower then the place where *Irdaine* entrench into it. In

which towne Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, being a long while imprifoned, was finally beheaded. In two dayes the *Romans* conquered the towne perforce, and *Aristobolus* taken, was led to *Gabinus*, wounded as he was; and ſo the ſecond time ſent bound to *Rome*, with his two children.

Matters thus pacified in *Iudea*, *Gabinus*, attended by his Gendarmery, reſcated *Ptolomie* the Fleutiſter in his Kingdome, he being expulſed thence by them of *Alexandria*; in which exchequer he was aſſiſted by *Hyrcanus* the ſoueraigne Sacrificer, and *Antipater* the *Idumean*. At his returne, he found all in *Iudea* and *Syria* full of troubles and tempeſts, for *Alexander* rauaged againe throughout *Iudea*: but *Gabinus* overcame him in a day of battell (where he had worke enough to doe) and chaſed him quite out of *Iudea*; hauing maſſacred ten thouſand Iewes.

Afterwards hee continued two yeares in the Province, gouerning all matters quietly, according to the teſtimony of *Joſephus*. And hauing repayed many Townes, which had bene much ſpoyled in the precedent warre; he left the Army in the power of *Marcus Craſſus*, a verie greedy and couetous man, who attempting warre againſt the *Parthians*, arrived there in *Syria*, in the yeare after his ſecond Conſulſhip, one and fiftie yeares before the birth of Chriſt.

This man hauing intelligence, that there was a great maſſe of money locked vp in the Temple of the Iewes, went to *Ierusalem*, and was admitted to the moſt ſecret place of the Temple; from whence (contrary to his former faithfull promiſe) hee carried away more then ten thouſand talents, that is to ſay, three ſcore unnes of golde; beſide a beame of gold, which weighed three hundred Minaes, or (as *Joſephus* expoundeth it) ſeuē hundred and fifty *Romaine* pounds weight, amounting to ſue Quintalles and more then an halfe of our weight. *Elaſar*, Guardian of the Temple, deliuered that beame to *Craſſus* very willingly, becauſe he had promiſed and proteſted by oathe, that hee would not touch any treaſure of the Temple, no more then *Pompey* had done tennye yeares before.

Now, concerning this auaricious Proconſull, ſoone after, hee dearly payed for his wilfull periury and ſacrilege; being miſerably

Ptolomie the Fleutiſter reſcated to his Kingdome by *Gabinus*.

To ſin Ant. Iud. l. 9. c. 15

Marc. Craſſus receiued charge of the Arme.

Craſſus beareth his faith plighte to *Elaſar* guardian of the Temple.

The iuſtice of heaven on Craſſus for his periury & ſacrilege.

miserably slaine by the *Parthians*, with his son *Publius*, an excellent towardly young man, and wel-neare thirty thousand *Romaines*, that rather would bee slaine, then taken; *Crassus* was then threecore yeares of age.

*Pitholus* a Jew raised tumults on the behalfe of *Aristobolus*.

In the meane while, one *Pitholus*, a very powerfull Jew, and friend to *Aristobolus* the captiue; after his second surprisall, beganne to raise tumults in *Judea*, and weakened the side of *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*. But after the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* by the *Parthians*, when *Cassius*, Questor to *Crassus*, re-assembled the rest of the *Romaine* Armie, who had fled away, and brought them backe into *Syria*, and as he ransacked the Cities of *Judea* for want of money: he was perswaded by *Antipater* and *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, to make triall of his forces against *Pitholus*, whom he vanquished in the field of battell, and brought him captiue with the *Romaine* army into *Syria*, so that thereon ensued peace in *Judea* for some time.

*Cassius* takes *Pitholus* prisoner.

Five yeares after, the warre was kindled betweene *Cesar* and *Pompey*, and *Cesar* comming to *Rome* (forlaken of *Pompey*) tooke *Aristobolus* out of prison, and sent him into the East with two Legions, to subdue *Syria* & *Judea*. But being poisoned by the way, by them that tooke part with *Pompey*: hee remayned long time in the Ile of *Malta* vnburi'd, vntill *Marke Anthony*, one of the three Monarchs, sent his body into *Judea*, and commanded that he should be interred in the Sepulchre of Kings.

*Aristobolus* poisoned and buried in the Sepulchre of Kings.

Such was the end of *Aristobolus*, after many mutations of fortune, hauing beene twice taken and sent to *Rome*, where hee was almost foureteeen yeares prisoner. He was of a factious and feditious spirit, for, being moued with ambition, he quarrelled for the kingdome of *Judea* with his brother *Hyrcanus*: vntill such time as hee caused his death, and brought his Countrey into miserable seruitude, which proued the ruine of all his nation.

The feditious spirit of *Aristobolus*.

He had two sons, and as many daughters; *Hyrcanus* the second his first sonne, soueraigne Sacrificer, who had a daughter named *Alexandra*, married to his cousin *Alexander*: a woman wife, but very vehement, whom *Herode* afterward put to death. *Aristobolus* the second had *Alexander*, *Antigonus* the second, *Alex-*

The Sonne murdered by his owne Father, to enioy his wife.

*andra*. First married to *Philippion*, sonne to *Ptolomy*, king of *Chalcis*, which is a Region on the coast of *Libanus*. Afterward, *Ptolomy* (inflamed with the loue of his daughter in lawe) slew his sonne *Philippion*, and tooke her in marriage. And after succoured and defended his brother *Antigonus*, against *Herode* and the *Romaines*.

*Alexander the second.*

Surprized with his father *Aristobolus* by *Pompey*; before he arrived at *Rome*, deceived his guardes, and escaped. Five yeares after, assisted by an Armie, hee invaded *Judea*, expelled his vncle *Hyrcanus* from *Jerusalem*, repayed the destroyed munitions, and planted there a Garrison. But *Gabinus*, Proconsull of *Syria*, being called thereto by *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, having fought with him in battell; held him a long time besieged in the City of *Alexandria*, vntill such time as he was constrained to yeeld himselfe, and put downe the chiefest fortifications. Being pacified by the entreaties of *Alexander's* mother (who alwayes condemned the foolish enterprises of her sonne against the *Romaines*) hee obtayned pardon for *Alexander*. Neuerthelesse, *Gabinus* sent him to *Rome* with his father *Aristobolus*, and *Antigonus* his brother captiues: yet writing to the Senate, that it might stand with their good liking, to send backe the children of *Aristobolus* to their mother, because he had made such a promise in name of the Senate; in regarde that that valiant woman, had euermore take good part with the *Romaines*.

*Alexander* escaped from his keepers before he came to *Rome*.

The exploits of *Gabinus* in *Syria*.

The Senate was willing heerein to gratifie *Gabinus*, but *Alexander*, being returned into *Judea*; returned bad recompence to *Gabinus*, and the Senate; for the great grace which they had granted him. For, seeing *Gabinus* to be hindered in *Egypt*, by much trouble (as hath already bene said) being fauored with thirty thousand men: againe he strove to subgiuge *Judea*, and cruelly murdered all the *Romaine* Souldiers, that he could finde in the garrisons of the surprized Cities. For which cruelty, hee payed the iust punishment about five yeares after.

The rebellious will of *Alexander* to *Gabinus* and the *Romaine* Senate.

*Gabinus* being returned into *Judea*, laboured first to appease these matters with *Antipater*: but no way preuayling, hee vnted the forces of the *Romaine* Armie; giuing

uing a violent and dangerous encounter to *Alexander*, wherein ten thousand *Jewes* lost their liues, and the rest driuen all in rout. *Alexander* striving to saue himselfe, and seeing his attempts so often times frustrated, and his forces broken; lay close hidden for a while, vntill he vnderstoode, that ciuile warre was kindled betweene *Pompey* and *Cesar*, and his father *Aristobolus* (deliuered out of prison) came thither with two legions. Then he bestirred himselfe to leuy Souldiers also; but was taken in *Syria*, euen vpon the very beginning of his enterprise, and led to *Antioche* to *Scipio*. Before him the *Romaines* accused him of cruelty, which he had vsed against the *Romaine* Souldiers in the Garrisons: wherevpon, by Commaund receiued from *Pompey*, hee was beheaded before *Scipio*, who then helde *Syria*, some few moneths after the death of his father *Aristobolus*; forty sixe yeares before the Natiuity of Christ; and the selfe same yeare as *Pompey* was slaine in *Egypt*, as hath bin sayd.

Treacherie and disloyalty lies in wait for his opportunity.

*Alexander* accused of cruelty before *Scipio*, & beheaded.

*Alexander's* children.

*Antigonus* was twice taken prisoner to *Rome*.

*Antigonus* complayned to *Julius Caesar* against the gouernement of *Antipater*.

This *Alexander* had these children by *Alexandra*, daughter to *Hyrcanus* the second.

*Aristobolus* the third,  
And  
*Mariana*, whom *Herod* after espoused

But we shall speake hereafter of *Alexander's* children, because I am desirous first to relate somewhat, concerning the actions & fortunes of his brother *Antigonus*.

*Antigonus*, the last sonne to *Aristobolus* the 2. was twice taken with his father, and sent to *Rome*: once by *Pompey*, and another time by *Gabinus*. But then (by the fauour of the Senate) he was returned into *Judea* with his brother *Alexander*; & spent some time with his Mother in the City of *Ascalon*. Then hee went to *Ptolomy*, (Lord of *Chalcis*) his kinsleman, who refused to assist the fool-hardy and vnhappy attempts of his brother *Alexander*, for feare of the *Romaines*. But after the death of his father and brother, when as *Julius Caesar* had finished the war of *Alexandria*, & was come into *Spain*: he presented himselfe before him in al humility, and made a great complaint, aswell of the pittifull ouerthrow of his father *Aristobolus*, as also of his brother *Alexander*, both being cruelly slaine by the partakers with *Pompey*.

He further proceeded, and taxed *Antipater* with vniust gouerning, who being but of a meane descent, and a stranger: had (neuerthelesse) vsurped the kingdome of the *Jewes*, and had left nothing to *Hyrcanus*, but the silly name of Soueraigne Sacrificer, doing all at his owne pleasure, to establish the power of his children, and pretending to take away the principallitie from the *Jewish*: the people (of the royall family of the *Asmoneans*) thereby to transferre it to his Sonnes. He said, that himselfe was the only man left, to whom the lawfull succession of the kingdome appertained; who notwithstanding, being spoiled of his hereditarie dignity, was forced to wander as a vagabond, a banished man and left to all distresse. Concluding finally with humble intercessions, hee requested, that the administration of the *Jewish* principality might be restored to him, and *Antipater* dismissed.

The allegations interred against *Antipater* by *Antigonus*.

Whereunto *Antipater* answering, began to accuse *Aristobolus* and his sonnes before *Cesar*, because (contrary to all right and equity) he had violently rent the kingdome from *Hyrcanus* his eldest brother, and alwayes bene disloyall and an enemy to the *Romaines*: wherein, his sons had well followed his example, filling *Judea* and *Syria* with tumults and blood: that being the maine reason, why *Aristobolus* was so long detained prisoner, and *Alexander* had his head smitten from his shoulders, for the cruelties he vsed to the *Romaines*. Afterward, hee procured faithfull witnesses, how modestly he had carried himselfe in gouerning, and what fauors he had euer extended to the *Romaine* Captiues. *Cesar* being thereto moued by these iust causes, licenced *Antigonus* to depart, and confirmed the High-priest-hood to *Hyrcanus*; and ennobling *Antipater* with new titles of Dignity, he constituted him Tutor of all *Judea*.

*Antipater* accused *Aristobolus*, *Julius*, and his sons before *Cesar*.

*Antigonus* dismissed from *Cesar* without any successe.

*Antigonus* much displeased with this refusal, returned to his kinsman the king of *Chalcis*, where he contayned himselfe almost foure yeares space, vntill *Julius Caesar* was murdered by the Conspirators. For then, when all the world was vp in mutinie, and that *Cassius* (who was foraging in *Syria*, impeaching the warre against *Marke Anthony*) had retired the *Romaine* Armies out of *Syria*: *Antigonus*, assisted by his kinsman *Ptolomy*, and other

Ecc neigh-

Antigonus invaded Iudea againe with fresh forces.

An office for governing the fourth part of the Realme.

New deuises and machinations of Antigonus to compass his intent.

What cannot gold and women procure?

Authoritie gotten by violence means must needs inioy the felicitie continuance.

Antigonus bribes the Roman Captaines.

neighbouring kings, invaded Iudea with his Army againe; where *Herode* (his father *Antipater* being dead) being very powerful and strong, repelled and gaue him sharpe repulse, after the fighting of a battell with him.

Some years after, when *Anthony* one of the three Monarchs, had encreased the power of *Herode*, hauing ordained him (with his brother *Phaselus*) Tetrarches of all Iudea: *Antigonus* enraged with anger, thought it not tollerable, that the kingdome of Iudea should bee deuolued vnto strangers in this manner. Wherefore, to leuy a new Armie, hee had found out a yong man of a fiery temper, named *Lysanias*, his kinsman and hoste; into whose hand the kingdome of *Chalcis* was fallen, by the death of his father *Ptolomy*, vnto whom (as hath afore bene sayd) *Alexandra*, the Sister of *Antigonus*, was giuen in marriage. As they were working vpon these conclusions, another occasion (very apt and opportune) offered it selfe, because (as then) the *Parthians* insulted ouer the Province of *Syria*, vnder the conduct of *Pacorus* and *Birsaphernes*. *Lysanias* hauing sent great presents to them, and a thousand Talents promised by *Antigonus*, as also fure hundred women, excellen in nobility and beauty; they were hereby incited, to reseat *Antigonus* in possession of his fathers kingdome.

Before, in the life of *Hyrcanus*, we haue expressed the stratagem of the barbarous people, to surprize *Hyrcanus* and *Phaselus* (being Ambassadors) captiues, and how wickedly *Antigonus* did cut off his vnckles eares, sending him also captiue into *Parthia*, to the end, that hee might the more safely enioy the High-priesthood and the Kingdome. But this authoritie, gotten by such wicked cunning and practises, could not keepe firme, or last any long while. For soone after, *Herode* going to *Rome*, declared there to *Marke Anthony*, his flight and calamitie, complaining on the outrages and disloyaltie of *Antigonus*. In briefe, hee pced so well in his purpose, that instead of Tetrarch, he was proclaimed King of all Iudea, by consent of *Augustus*, *Anthony* and the Senate, and *Antigonus* adiudged enemy to the people of *Rome*. And although some *Romane* Captaines, being sent with Legions into *Syria*, had charge to expulse *Antigonus*, and

put *Herod* in possession of the Iewish kingdome: yet notwithstanding, by bribes and gifts, *Antigonus* kept them off from coming into Iudea.

At length, *Anthony* vnder taking warre against the *Parthians*, *Sossius* was sent into Iudea with a potent Army, to replant *Herode*; wherefore he and *Herode*, their forces being ioyned together, besieged some few moneths the Citie of *Ierusalem*. Finally, they tooke it by force, the seventh yeare after the death of *Cesar*, or of the Empire of *Octavius Augustus*, and the selfe same day that *Pompey* (seauen yeares before) had taken it.

At that time, as the Souldiers (indifferently on either side) slew and murdered one another, without sparing either age or sexe: *Antigonus*, not able to endure the sight of such a slaughter among the Citizens, came willingly forth of the munitions of the Temple, and fell before the feete of *Sossius* the *Romane* Capitaine, crauing pardon for his offences, and desiring (about all else) that hee would remitt the common people, who were no warriours, and to spare the Temple. But the proud Conquerour, making a mockerie of the suppliant King, called him oftentimes (in derision) *Antigonus*, and after sent him captiue into *Syria* to *Anthony*, who was returned from the warre of the *Parthians*.

*Herode* being possessed of the whole Kingdome, was aduertised, that *Anthony* purposed to leade *Antigonus* with him in triumph to *Rome*. And fearing withall, that in due consideration of his nobilitie, or in compassion of his miserie, *Augustus* and the Senate would free him from imprisonment, and send him backe agayne into Iudea: with much ado, he obtained of *Anthony*, by many reasons alleadged, and great gifts bestowed, that *Antigonus* was staine.

The principal argument that made *Anthony* yeelde thereto, beyond all other, was, that Iudea would neuer be peaceable, so long as *Antigonus* liued. Considering, that many Iewes were so displeased by being subiects to him; as it was not possible, by horrible and extreamest torments, to force them acknowledge him the name of King. And therefore hee conceiued, that there would neuer want companions in seditions and mutinies, where such a Commaunder as *Antigonus* should beare rule,

*Sossius* sent with an armie to restore *Herode* as King of Iudea.

*Antigonus* yeeldeth himselfe to *Sossius* who sent him captiue into *Syria*.

*Herode* supplicious of the reuolvement of *Antigonus* went keith himselfe.

The reason that procured the death of *Antigonus*.

rule, against the liking of the people.

And thus *Antigonus* the last King of the *Asmonians*, was slaine by the *Romains* in *Antioche*, after that *Herode* had expelled him, and led away his vnckle *Hyrcanus* hauing obtained about fure yeares the kingdome of Iudea, by helpe of the *Parthians*: twelve yeares after the death of his father *Aristobolus*, and of his brother *Alexander*; thirty foure yeares also before the Natiuitie of Iesus Christ our Sauior.

Afterward, the Principalltie of the Iew with people, taken from the Sacerdotal Familie of the *Asmonians*, and especially, from the nation of the *Iewes*: fell into the hand of *Herode* the sonne of *Antipater* the *Idumean*, and of his sonnes, and sonnes sonnes. So that from the first yeare of *Iudas Maccabeus*, whom his Father *Mattathias* (dying) appoynted Duke of the warlike troups, vntill this yeare that *Herode* beganne to reigne, after the taking in of *Ierusalem*, and death of *Antigonus*, was an hundred and thirty yeares. *Antigonus* left not any heire male; but only one daughter, who afterward was wife to *Antipater*, the sonne of *Herode*. But his brother *Alexander*, by *Alexandra*, the daughter to *Hyrcanus*, had these children.

*Aristobolus* the third  
*Marina*.

This *Aristobolus*, was but foure yeares olde, when his father *Alexander* was beheaded at *Antioche* by the *Romaines*. Afterward, coming to the age of 17. yeares: hee obtained at the beginning of *Neroes* reigne, the hie-priesthood by this occasiō.

*Herode* being fully confirmed in the kingdome, would not establish in the hie-priesthood, his brother in law *Hyrcanus*, reuoked from his banishment in *Babylon*: as fearing to contrary the Lawe of God, that denied imperfect or dismembered people, to minister in the holy Temple, and such a one was the carelesse *Hyrcanus*; but exalted to the dignitie of Soueraigne Sacrificer, another Iew of meane condition, named *Ananelus*, who was lately come from *Babylon*. *Alexandra* daughter to *Hyrcanus*, taking it to heart, that *Herode* made none account of her father, nor of her sonne *Aristobolus*, but had conferred the high-priesthood vpon a strange man; laboured by letters and gifts, to in-

cite *Cleopatra*, that by the means of *Marke Anthony*, the High-priesthood might be conferred vpon her sonne *Aristobolus*.

*Herode* hauing intelligence hereof, & receiuing letters from *Anthony*, whereby he was charged to send him *Aristobolus*; fearing lest *Anthony* (although a wicked minded man) would be inueiged with the beautie of the youth, and iudge him, not onely worthy of the Priesthood, but likewise of some portion in the kingdome; made a modest denyall to *Anthony*, vnder colour, that if *Aristobolus* should be sent out of Iudea, it would be the occasion of many mutinies to arise in the kingdome, as in hope to enioy a new King: Nevertheless, to pacifie *Alexandra* and *Marina*, who hee sawe travelled so earnestly on the behalfe of *Aristobolus*, and to the end, they should compassse no more contriuing, with working new cases to *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*: of his owne goodwill, hee deposed *Ananelus* from the High-priesthood, and inuelted therein *Aristobolus*: Notwithstanding, being highly offended against his mother *Alexandra*, for working such close and vnder-hand practises: he gaue order, that shee should be arrested, and more warily attended within the Pallace, because (hereafter) she should not attempt any thing in the like maner.

Shee being a Lady of great resolution, scorned this suspition and distrust in the King, holding it most dishonourable in him, to be so watchfully kept and obserued: by a faythfull and secret Messenger, signified all her misfortunes to *Cleopatra*; who againe commaunded, that *Alexandra*, accompanied with her sonne *Aristobolus*, should be sent to her in *Egypt*.

To compassse her intent the more cunningly, *Alexandra* had caused two Coffins and Beeres to bee prepared, such as the dead are vsed to bee carried vpon into buriall: wherein shee and her sonne should bee carried to the Sea side; and there a Shippe attended ready for them, for transporting them thence to *Cleopatra*.

*Alexandra* imparted this deuise of her owne wit, to a certayne Courtier, named *Sabbion*, whome shee knew to bee farre out of fauour with *Herode*: because hee stood suspected as one consenting to the death of *Antipater*, father to *Herode*, who formerly had bene poysoned; and therefore shee made no doubt, but

*Herode* enuieing greatly to *Marke Anthony*, was contriuing to send *Aristobolus* to him.

*Alexandra* kept with watch and ward.

The subtiltie deuise of *Alexandra*, to escape from the custodie of *Herode*.

*Sabbion* would bee the more sure and fecret, in furthering of her escape from thence.

But hee considering, that now hee had an apt occasion thrust euen into his hand, whereby to treade downe the conceiued suspicion of poysoning, and make good proofe of his loyaltie to the King; declared the whole intent and purpose vnto him; and how it was to be perfourmed.

Especiall Spies and Guardes were appointed, to take knowledge of anie appearing accident, but most of all, when the Coffins and Beeres, should be transported away, and in such artificiall order every thing was carried: that *Alexandra* and her Sonne were both surprized, euen in the very bearing thence in the Beeres. Sharpe and feuerer threatnings were vttered by the King, to the no small affliction of *Alexandra* and *Arifobulus*, to be so treacherously preuented in the verie height of all their hopes: yet pretending pittie and commiseration, hee promised his free and gracious pardon for this offence, provided, that (afterward) they should not practise any such attempt againe.

This clemencie hee then vsed, fearing lest if he should haue inflicted any other execution on them: hee might thereby runne into the displeasure of *Cleopaura*, who was consenting to the manner of their escape. And yet hee would gladly haue punished this feminine boldnesse in her, but (about all) faine he would haue *Arifobulus* dispatched out of the way: because hee was the High-priest, and highly affected of the people, in regard of his Royall descent, and many singuler graces in him.

In the proiccting of these his wicked deuices, it chaunced to be the Feast of Tabernacles, when *Arifobulus*, being richly adorned in his Priestly garments, performed the office of Ioueraigne Sacrificer, with such extraordinary grauitie and decencie: that both in respect of his age, stature, and beautie of body, he appeared wonderfully pleasing in euery eie, so that the people standing about him, showed out aloude with ioy, applauding euery gesture, and any thing that hee did or said, with clapping their hands, expressing the fauour and inclination of all the

people to *Arifobulus*, and what desire they had, to enioy a King of their owne Nation, in regard that their hatred to the present estate of the Kingdome, therein plainly appeared.

*Herode* ill digelling this loue to his enemy, which he imagined would increase daily more and more; began to seeke into all contriuings, whereby he might (forthwith) compass the death of *Arifobulus*. And it came to passe, that the Feast being ended, *Alexandra* feasted him in the citie of *Jericho*, as hoping to qualifie all displeasure in the King. *Herod* there shewed him selfe so chearefull and gracious to the women, as possibly might be, and (about all) to the youthfull Lord, so that the whole day was spent in sports and delights of diuers kindes. At euening, *Arifobulus* walked with his company in the Kings Garden, where (after he had somewhat extraordinarily heated himselfe with running and leaping) the Guard of *Herode*, there-to appointed by the King, prouoked *Arifobulus*, to coole his sweating by swimming in a fith-pond neare adioyning.

Such was his gentle & flexible nature, and no way suspicious of anie intended treacherie, as hee was thereto soone perswaded. And as he came swimming neere to the bankes side: they threw water on him in ieausting manner, holding his head diuers times vnder water, vntill at last he was quite stifled thereby, while *Herode* (walking by himselfe alone) seemed not to thinke on any such matter. But when one of the guard came, and informed him thereof, and in what maner it happened, without any mallice intended towards him: one while he grieved, another while raged, threatening the guard with death, for being so ouerbold with him. Before the Mother and Sister of *Arifobulus*, he presented himselfe in most wooll manner, wringing his hands, and tearing the haire from his head, as if he had truly mourned for the Princes death; preparing a most magnificent funeral for him, and whereat there wanted no cost and pompe. By this hellish fraude in *Herode*, was *Arifobulus* the third innocently murdered, aged 18. yeares; and after hee had one yeare enioyed the High-priesthood, which *Herod* restored *Ananias* againe vnto, *Hyrcanus* the second, yet liuing, who remayned the onely masse of the *Asmonean* race, and

*Herode* contriued the death of *Arifobulus*.

Outward shewes are not, still times be hid, but the heart is true.

*Herodes* cunningly in the garden, the vnspies death of *Arifobulus*.

Pompe and cost do many times cost more, than the cost of the body.

The last masse child of the *Asmonean* race.

WAS

was not fit to administer the Priesthood, as hath already beene declared.

*Marian.*

Sister to this *Arifobulus*, daughter to the second *Alexander*, the youngest sonne of the second *Hyrcanus*, was most excellent both for beauty and chastity. *Herode* espoused her, after he was declared King by the *Romans*, a little before the surprizing of *Jerusalem*, and the death of *Antigonus*: hee hauing repudiated his wife *Doris of Idumea*, by whome hee had a sonne named *Antipater*. This diuorce was the cause, that *Mariana* was continually in the dislike of *Cipri*, mother to the King, of his sister *Salome*, and of some other women beside. Her selfe also (afterward) increased this hatred, because she, standing vpon the Nobilitie of her race, being illused and descended from Kings: despised the Mother and Sister to the King, they being strangers, and deriued but from meane condition.

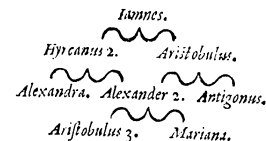
It may be, that shee grew the lesse familiar with the King, acquainting herselfe but seldome in his company; because hee had taken the Kingdome of *Iudea* from her father *Alexander*, and put to death her vnckle *Antigonus*, and had also (by treason) murdered her brother *Arifobulus* the third, a worthy innocent young Prince: Adding withall, that he had executed her grandfather *Hyrcanus*, a good olde man, imposing vpon him, that hee affected the Kingdome. It was no great matter of maruell then, if this noble and high spirited woman, disdained amiable conuersation with him, who had given her so many occasions of extreame affliction; considering also, that the eares of this young Lady were daily pestered, with shamefull iniuries and complaints, which her Mother *Alexandra* continually made against the house of *Antipater*.

Finally, she grew to be suspected by the King, for matter of adultery (as I shall hereafter more at large relate in the life of *Herod*.) And *Salome* the Kings sister, confederated with other Ladies of the Court (abounding in hatred more and more against her) maintayned strongly the suspicion; adding moreover, an intent of impoysoning him. Wherein she

taking no care to cleare herselfe, relying vpon *Herodes* intimate loue vnto her, and her owne innocencie: shee was accused by *Herode* before his friends, and slayne by the sentence of them. Shee left five children liuing, which shee had by *Herode*, three sonnes, and two daughters, of whom afterward came the two *Asipetes*, to whom the Royall power in *Iudea* remayned, vntill the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

All the other race of *Herode*, which hee had by nine other wives, and in great number, slayed, as shall be declared in their due places.

Almost all the whole family of the *Asmoneans*, beeing thus expressed, there remaineth now for me, that I should write of the posteritie of *Antipater*: but *Alexandra* yet resteth of the *Asmoneans*, who was daughter to the second *Hyrcanus*, and wife to the second *Alexander*. And although we haue already sayd somewhat of her, and are yet to speake of the actions of *Herode*: yet notwithstanding, I haue thought good to decipher here summarily, the wooll misaduentures of this Lady: for, amongst all other miserable women that we reade of, the seemeth to me the most vnfortunate, as well by accident, as thorow her owne defects. And that they may be the better vnderstood, I haue in order here inserted her parentage.



First of all, this *Alexandra* beeing but a young maid, saw, after the death of *Alexandra* her grandmother (who reigned but nine yeares after the decesse of her husband) the hereditarie Kingdome and High-priesthood, taken perforce from her father *Hyrcanus*, by his brother *Arifobulus*, who had long time besieged him in the munition of the Temple.

Afterward, being very young, she was married to his cosin *Alexander*; and the Citie of *Jerusalem* beeing surprized by *Pompey*: she saw the pittifull fortune of her father, most vnhappyly performed, to the

Ecc 3

The death of Mariana.

*Herodes* illused by nine wives vnto the death.

*Alexandra* remained of the race of the *Asmoneans*, and most vnfortunate.

The kingdom and High-priesthood taken from her father.

*Sabbion* proved false, and betrayed *Alexandra* to *Herode*.

No miserie more, then to finde treason where trust is faithfully reposed.

*Arifobulus* highly pleased the people in the feast of Tabernacles by everything that hee did or said.

*Mariana* wife to King *Herode*, and his other wife *Doris* put away.

Resentful: I judged why *Mariana* did not affect King *Herode*, for this number and sister.

*Mariana* troubled with many complaints.

*Mariana* suspected by *Herode*, and accused of a adultery.

The diuers  
adventures &  
calamities  
happening to  
Alexandra.

A second sub-  
jection of A-  
lexandra to  
the flaunt of  
the Romanes

His expul-  
sion out of Iudea  
by a poore  
exile, and  
shamefull ex-  
ecution.

Hard and wo-  
full extremi-  
ties for a La-  
die to suffer  
and endure.

Her imprison-  
ment with o-  
ther Ladies  
in Iudama.

great harme of the countrie and her selfe,  
being accomplished with horrible maffia-  
ces, foule prophanation of the Temple,  
slaughter of infinite Citizens, beside rob-  
beries of their goods. Moreover, the de-  
struction of the Cittie walles, inappor-  
table exactions, with a perpetuall yoke  
of most feuerie dominion of the *Romaines*:  
beside the captiuitie and transport of her  
vnckle *Antiochus*, her husband *Alexan-  
der*, and her cousin *Antigonus*, to be led  
villainously (in derision) through the Ci-  
tie of *Rome*, to grace *Pompeys* triumph. No  
doubt but these mighty misfortunes, were  
causes of no meane griefe to *Alexandra*.

Shee likewise beheld the escape of her  
husband *Alexander* by the way, who came  
to make new tumults in *Iudea*: but being  
ouerthrowne in many encounters, and  
beside depoyled of alienabling forces:  
the saw him againe sent captiue to *Rome*  
by *Gabinus*, with his father *Antiochus*,  
and his brother *Antigonus*.

Againe, shee saw him sent into *Iudea*,  
where growing as tempestuous and trou-  
blesome as before: he was agayne chased  
out of the Countie limits, wandering  
from thence as a poore vagabond and ba-  
nished man. At length, she heard that (by  
the command of *Pompey*) he was shame-  
fully executed at *Antioche*, and that (but a  
little before) his father *Antiochus*, after a  
long detention of his person, being (with  
great difficulty) deliuered from imprison-  
ment, was poisoned.

Next, shee saw the Cittie of *Ierusalem*  
taken by the *Parthians* treacherie, and her  
father *Hircanus* (by fraude and deceite in  
*Antiochus*) apprehended, his ears cut off,  
and led away into the enemies land. She,  
in this perillous surprisall of *Ierusalem*, got  
forth by night with her Mother, the wife,  
the sister of *Herode*, and many other La-  
dies, hauing her son with her, aged a do-  
zen yeares, and her daughter little more  
then he: but both exposed to infinite in-  
juries, as well of Souldiers violence, as of  
great wrongs to their tender yeares, the  
barbarous people spoyleing and rauishing  
all wherefoeuer they came.

From thence she was sent (with the o-  
ther Ladies) to a strong fortresse in the  
City of *Lusida* in *Iudama*, in great feare  
and danger of *Antigonus*, then reigning:  
where they remained about two yeares,  
vntill such time as *Herode* (hauing obtai-

ned the title of King by the *Romaines*) re-  
turned into *Iudea*; and finding there his  
power to be strongest, deliuered her and  
the rest from imprisonment.

A third time also the saw the City of  
*Ierusalem* taken, ransacked, and filled with  
murders, by the Souldiers of *Herode* and  
*Sosius*: her cousin *Antigonus* led prisoner  
to *Marke Anthony*, and afterward put to  
execution.

*Alexandra* sawe and felt all these extre-  
mities, before the Kingdome of *Herode*  
could be confirmed: which being once  
effected, she likewise beganne to breathe,  
seeming fully acquitted from all calami-  
ties. Nay, which is more, she might haue  
feled her estate in the height of happines,  
if shee could haue made vse of Fortunes  
faouours, as they shewred themselves in  
plentiful manner vpon her.

For *Herode* being King, had diuorced  
his first wife *Doris*, and delected his sonne  
*Antipater*, from all hope of succeeding af-  
ter him; hauing married *Marians*, the  
daughter of *Alexandra*, whom hee most  
singularly affected, as well for her beautie,  
as many other graces of spirit wherewith  
she was plentifully endowd. Hereupon  
ensued, that her Mother *Alexandra*, being  
called to the Court, was worthily repe-  
cted, and had great credite with the King  
and all other. Her Father *Hircanus* also  
(already returned from exile) was reuoc-  
ed home into his countrey: to him *He-  
rode*, and the rest (by the Kings example)  
yeelded great honour, as vnto their Fa-  
ther.

But *Alexandra* ouerthrew all this hap-  
pines, by her vehement ambition, fierce-  
nesse and impatience; so that (at length)  
she became to be enuoyled with mighty  
calamities, and was the cause of her  
owne death. For, taking in high displea-  
sure, that *Antipater* was authorized with  
the High-priethood, without any regard  
of her sonne *Antiochus*, to whom it ap-  
pertained by hereditary right: the grew  
to machinate many dangerous matters,  
to exalt her sonne to that dignitie of the  
Priethood, procuring (by the means of  
*Cleopatra*) to incende *Marke Anthony* a-  
gainst *Herode*. Which being discovered,  
she yet attained the felicitie, that her son  
was made soueraigne Sacrificer: but her  
selfe was not in so noble estate as before,  
because shee was heedefully guarded, as

Ierusalem be-  
sieged a third  
time.

The gifts of  
fortune should  
haue bene vnto  
made of it.

The great fa-  
uours and hon-  
ours done to  
*Alexandra* in  
the Court.

*Alexandra* ou-  
erthrew all  
her faire hap-  
pines, & de-  
uoyled her owne  
very meane  
death.

Antiochus ad-  
uanced to the  
high-prieth-  
hood.

one dangerously enclined, and much su-  
spect by the King.

She, not able to endure this intolla-  
rable rigor of the King, being shut vp from  
the vse of her libertie; practised secretly  
to escape to *Cleopatra*, as hath already bin  
said, and being taken with her sonne in  
the very act, wel vnderstood, that she was  
then runne into the vnrecoverable hatred  
of *Herode*. Shortly after, the extreame  
sorrow she suffered, to see her sonne *Antiochus*  
so treacherously murdered, might well haue admonished her: that it  
much better auayled, to conquer Iniurie  
by Patience, then roughly to wrastle with  
a Kings courage, naturally addicted to  
wickednesse.

Then againe, bringing *Herode* into  
danger, by accusing him before *Anthony*,  
for the murdering of her sonne: she won  
nothing thereby, but much more con-  
tempt and hatred in the King. Insomuch,  
that her daughter (otherwise choicely  
cherished by the King) found his affecti-  
on to waxe coole; but not without cause  
and suspition, in regarde of her Mothers  
cunning contriuings. Adding withall,  
that her father *Hircanus* was not so much  
honoured, neither respected by the kings,  
as he was wont to be. Whereby *Alexan-  
dra* tooke occasion, to incite her father a-  
gainst *Herode*, aduising him to flee to *Ma-  
chabius*, King of the *Arabians*, euen then,  
when (after the battaile of *Actium*) the  
King was in great danger, standing then  
in no meane feare, because *Augustus* was  
Conquerour. For the wily woman did  
thinke, that if she could procure displea-  
sure in *Augustus* against *Herode*, for his  
friendship to *Marke Anthony*, the Scep-  
ter would be taken from the *Iudama*, and  
restored to the true heires of the house of  
the *Asmoneans*.

This vnhappy counsell being discou-  
ered, by the means of intercepted letters;  
was the cause of putting to death the  
good olde *Hircanus*, aged foure score  
yeares, and bringing *Alexandra* into the  
very depth of forrowes. Neuerthelesse,  
her stomack froken with so many wounds;  
and, euen hardened (as it were) against all  
grievances whatsoever, was scarcely sen-  
sible of any of these oppressions; after the  
losse of so many neare kinned, dispatched  
by diuers kindes of strange and vnworthy  
deaths. Among whom, her husband *A-*

*alexander*, and *Antigonus* his brother were  
beheaded. Her vnckle *Antiochus*, who  
was likewise her father in law, was poison-  
ed: her only sonne *Antiochus* trayte-  
rously drowned, by the procurement of  
*Herode*. Her father *Hircanus* (so neare to  
his graue) dispatched by an ignominious  
infection.

Her onely daughter *Marians* remay-  
ned, who being married to the King,  
might somewhat comfort her in these ex-  
tremities. But this violent woman, swel-  
ling in hatred against the King, declared  
her selfe most strangely troublesome vnto  
her husband, by continuall reproaching  
the *Iudama* house, and compaying of  
the Kings horrible cruelties: So that, af-  
ter the became to be suspected of adul-  
terie, and a false crime imposed on her, that  
shee practised to poison her husband: *He-  
rode* was the easier wonne to her death,  
albeit hee loued her intirely, and shee had  
borne him five children.

Now, notwithstanding so great cala-  
mitie, in the miserable & vnworthy death  
of her daughter; *Alexandra* could not yet  
be conquered, neyther vnderstand, how  
many incumbrances her attempts turned  
by misfortunes to her and hers; yet, to  
many other that truly putted her indig-  
nition. Nor could she be admonished,  
moderately to beare precedent and pre-  
sent mishaps (whereof continually shee  
gaue the occasion) but rather prouoked  
nouell extremities, by her impatience  
and peeuish folly: for, after the execu-  
tion of *Marians*, *Doris*, mother to *Antipa-  
ter*, and formerly diuorced: six yeares af-  
ter was recalled to the Court, and her  
wonted lodging in the Kings Chamber,  
and it appeared, that her sonne *Antipa-  
ter* was now become accepted, and enterta-  
ined by the King, in hope of succeeding  
after him, and the sonnes of *Marians* ex-  
cluded quite.

*Alexandra* perceiuing, that the onely  
remained of the *Asmonean* royall family,  
and that she was to take care of hir daugh-  
ters children: affected rather to tunne in-  
to extremity, then after such frequent  
causes of griefe, to liue in the despit and  
contempt of *Doris*, *Salome* and *Antipa-  
ter*, who was to reigne after his father, and to  
see the same *Antipater*, borne of *Doris* the  
*Iudama*, and not noble (euen when *He-  
rode* liued but in priuate coudition) to be  
preferred

The kindnes  
of *Alexandra* per-  
to death in  
diuers man-  
ners.

*Marians* most  
inimous a-  
gainst the  
king her hus-  
band.

A woman of  
a vnderstand-  
ing and vncon-  
querable cou-  
rage.

*Herode* recal-  
led home to  
Court his for-  
merly diuorced  
wife *Doris*.

Such yefesom  
and offensiue  
fights as *Alex-  
andra* and a was not  
able to endure



preferred the sons of *Mariana*, who was a Queene, and they borne in the time of *Herodes* reigning. Hereupon, she began to confider on some apt opportunitie, to exploit a certaine desseigne, which shee imagined to be diuinely instructed to hir soule; in regard that the King (being very greatly perplexed in mind, grieved extraordinarily for his wifes execution) was sicke, euen to death, in the city of *Samarit*: which made her (by faire promises) sollicite the Kings Garrisons to revolt from him, whereof there were two, one in the Cittie, the other in the Temple, and these being reduced to partake with her, it would be a very ealie way for her to enjoy the Kingdome.

*Alexandra* exhorted those warrelke bands by faithful messengers (considering the incertitude of the Kings life, or rather the assurance of his death :) to possesse themselves of the Pallace, before that *Antipater*, or any other should inuade the kingdome, and to preferre the succession thereof, for the sonnes of *Herode* by his Queene *Mariana*, till they came to lawfull age, because they were the legitimate heires, and the Kingdome (by right) belonged to them. But the Souldiers, hauing duly considered on the matter among themselves: concluded, not to follow the perillous and ill-advised counsell of this audacious woman, whom they knew to be most maliciously inclined to the King. For (indeede) they greatly feared the Kings dangerous nature, most couetous of reigning and commanding, and accustomed to reuenge (very feuerely) any attempts, in such as hee held the least suspicion of, as hee was affected to the kingdome: as hee witnessed most euidently, in the punishments inflicted vpon his owne children.

One of the Souldiers thinking, that by revealing the aduice of this woman, hee should winne great grace and fauour of the King: poaited to *Samarit*, and there disclosed to the sicke King, all the machination of his mother in law: which grew the more tedious to *Herode*, in regarde of very impatiently enduring the anguish of his disease: and therefore (wholly overcome with rage and choller) hee sent instant command to *Jerusalem*, forthwith to put his mother in law *Alexandra* to death, as a trayterous conspirator against

his life; and it was accordingly performed.

Thus after infinite calamities, *Alexandra* ended her dayes in this tragick manner; for, being neuer contented with any present fortune, the daily begate nouell miseries, one still in the necke of another, only through distasting any instant condition. Otherwise, she was a woman graue, discreet and ingenious, but ouer violently giuen vp to ambition, hatred and anger (very vile and bad counsellors) more then needed. She had out-gone the compasse of three score yeares, when she was thus put to death; and so became the family of the *Asmoneans* quite extinct: but only what remained in the heires of *Mariana*, deriued from an *Idumean* father.

Let this Discourse suffice, concerning the noble house of the *Asmoneans*, which from a small beginning (in the defence of a most honest and good cause) became exalted to soueraigne glory and dignity, by their owne industry, but (more especially) the helpe of heauen. Afterward, hauing left the principall cause, they began to seeke after power and riches, according to the fashion of Pagan Kings, and to stirre in many vnecessary matters: partly trusting to their owne might, and partly relying on the assistance of strangers. Whereon ensued, that, being first distracted by domestick discordes, and next, admitting entrance to strange enemies: they beganne (by little and little) to diminish; and finally, to leaue the whole possession of the *Iewish* kingdome, to the dominion of strangers. Euen after they had held the principality of the people, from *Judas Macchabeus*, vnto the beginning of *Herodes* kingdome, for an hundred and thirty yeares, and had kept the High-priesthoode an hundred and seuenteen yeares.

## CHAP. XI.

*A brieue entrance into the description of the posteritie of Antipater, holding the principalltie of Iudea, but not the High-priesthoode.*



ow wee should come to describe the third Family, that retained the posteritie of *Antipater* the *Idumean*, who (in different

The High-priesthoode was not to be admitted by strangers.

The High-priesthoode graunted by fauour or rewards.

A xaxian had vpon Iosephus the history, for not iustly nozing the soueraign Sacrificers.

The first family of Iosephus the history, for not iustly nozing the soueraign Sacrificers.

The reason for such a multitude of High-priests.

differently held the principalltie of *Iudea*, but not the soueraigne Sacrificers Office (for it was not lawfull, that so sacred a charge should bee administered by strangers) vntill the destruction of the Cittie, and the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

For the High-priesthoode was in the hands of others, who indeede were *Iewes*; but yet of diuers and obscure Families, entailed by *Herode* and the *Romaines*, cyther by fauour or rewards.

It is no ealie matter to describe their succession, neither doe I hold it any way necessary for this discourse: considering that afterward, the soueraigne Sacrificers were neuer potent or powerfull; and beside, the soueraigne gouernement remained in the hands of *Romaine* Captaynes and Princes.

*Iosephus* also was not very carefull, curiously to number the soueraigne Sacrificers; but rather satisfieth himselfe, with declaring, that in the kingdom of *Herode*, accounting from his reigne, vntill the destruction of the *Iewish* nation; there had beene nine and twentie High-priests, which space of time continued little more then an hundred yeares. For, from the beginning of *Herodes* reigne, vnto the second yeare of the Empire of *Vespasian*, I finde by computation, an hundred and sixe yeares.

But in the first Familie of *Iesus*, which held the High-priesthoode, after their returne from *Babylon*, vntill the time of *Antiochus* the Noble; there are accounted fiftene soueraigne Sacrificers onely, although the time was thrice as long as the latter. For, as we haue already elsewhere related, that from the first yeare of *Cyrus*, vntill that of *Alcimus*, are found three hundred eightie and sixe yeares, or thereabout. The cause of this multiplicitie of High-priests, grew by so often and frequent changes, one still defeating and ouerthrowing another: one while by the power of money, fauour, or both; another while by might, and assistance of enemies.

## The third Family.

### CHAP. XII.

*Concerning the Posteritie of Antipater the Idumean of Ascalon, transferring the High-priesthoode (as their pleasure) to strangers: hauing violently got it from the Asmoneans, and held the principalltie of the Iewish people, vntill the destruction of Ierusalem, vnder the reigne of Vespasian.*



Idumea is the vtmost part of the Land of *Canaan*, confining *Egypt* and *Arabia*, and closing vp the coast of *Iudea* towards the South, holding on that part, which the Tribe of *Iuda* had by lot in their inheritance. In elder times, it was inhabited by the posteritie of *Esau*, (brother to *Isaac*) who was also named *Edom*, that is to say, *Red-hayred*. Of him they came to be called *Idumeans*, and hauing lost the true doctrine, and holy seruices commanded them by God: they fell to the worshipping of Idolles, with their neighbouring nations.

King *Dauid* first of all brought them into subiection, and made them tributarie to the Kings of *Iuda*.

About an hundred and fiftie yeares after, they revolted agayne vnder *Ioram* King of *Iuda*, sonne to *Iehosaphat*, and rebelled against the *Iewes*, diuided into two kingdomes. And although the succeeding Kings compelled them diuers times, to vnder-goe againe their former seruilitie: yet notwithstanding, they defended their libertie by armes, vntill such time as *Iudas* was led captiue into *Babylon*. And then, they tooke many Citties from the *Iewes*, which afterward (by the Edict of King *Darius*) they were enforced to restore vnto them agayne, when they were returned from *Babylon*.

Not long after, *Iohn Hyrcanus*, sonne to *Simon the Asmonean*, hauing overcome them in a very difficult warre: constrained them, to make profession of the same doctrine and religion with him, causing them

A description of the situation of the Idumea.

The Idumea made the Idumeans tributary.

Dauid first made the Idumeans tributary.

Diuers reuolts and rebellions of the Idumeans.

The Idumea was vanquished by Iohn Hyrcanus.

She laboured the kings garrisons to revolt from him

Her endeours for aduancing her daughters children to the kingdome.

Herode verie zealous of any that affected his kingdome

The enterprise of Alexandra was disclosed to the King, and she put to death.



them to undergoe Circumcision. Heere-  
hence it ensued, that they trafficked the  
more freely with the *Jewes*; so that they  
were called to their warres, and to the  
Courts of the *Jewish* kings.

*Antipater* came of this *Idumean* nation,  
whose sonne named *Herode* having after-  
ward obtained the *Jewish* kingdome, and  
fearing to use himselfe with them as a  
stranger: would be esteemed a *Jew*, be-  
cause (as hath bene said) the *Idumeans* had  
received Circumcision vnder *Iohn Hyrcanus*.  
*Iosephus* thus recordeth this family.

#### Antipas the Father

The issue of  
Antipater the  
father.

Cephelion slaine  
in warre by A-  
ristobulus.

Antipater the fa-  
miliar of Hyr-  
canus Turour  
orall Iudaea.

Cyris an *Idu-  
mean* wo-  
man.

#### These children came of Antipater.

Antipaters  
issue.

Phaelus  
gouernour King of  
Iudaea.

Herode  
gouernour King of  
Iudaea.

Sodopus  
gouernour of Iudaea.

Phiroras  
Tetrarch daughter  
of Iudaea.

Salome  
Tetrarch daughter  
of Iudaea.

Antipater go-  
uernour of  
Iudaea.

*Antipas* the *Ascalonite*, father to *Anti-  
pater*, was appointed *Gouernour* of his  
Countrey of *Iudaea*, by *Alexander Lam-  
nes*, and beside afterward enjoying it still  
(sometime) vnder the Queene *Alexandra*,  
he gathered great store of wealth, and ob-  
tained the principall authority in that Re-  
gion.

#### Antipater.

Succeeded in the government of *Idu-  
mea*, after his deceased father, during  
which time, he not only wonne the hearts  
of his owne nation, augmenting and con-  
firming his wealth, by alliance with neigh-  
boring Kings, and Cities; but also strong-  
ly insinuated himselfe into good grace  
with *Hyrcanus* the second, by many ac-  
ceptable seruices. For he being instituted  
Souveraigne Sacrificer by his mother, who  
then ruled the kingdome. *Antipater* had  
great hope, that the fauour of *Hyrcanus*  
would (in time) aduance him to higher  
degree. Now, he perswaded himselfe, that  
the mother being dead, hee should come  
to inioy the kingdome by hereditary right.  
Wherefore, *Antipater* was very diligent  
towards him in all kindes of courties,  
making no account at all of the younger  
brother: which made him wonderfully

Thereofon  
why Antipa-  
ter laboured  
to keepe him-  
selfe in fauour  
with Hyrcanus

hated by *Aristobulus*, as it fell out after  
in open apparance. For, their mother be-  
ing dead, *Aristobulus* hauing fought with  
his brother *Hyrcanus* in a field of battell,  
& afterward held besieged in the temple:  
he was at length constrained, to dismis-  
himselfe, both of the kingdome and high-  
Priesthood. And then (by slowe and po-  
litique degrees) he deposed *Antipater* from  
the gouernement of *Idumea*, for his so  
many good seruices to *Hyrcanus* in war.

This iniurie more and more enflamed  
the hatred of *Antipater* against *Aristobu-  
lus*, and because hee could not reuenge  
himselfe by power: hee incited the great-  
est Lords of the *Jewes* against King *Ari-  
stobulus* by secret accusations. About all,  
he handled *Hyrcanus* in diuers kindes (hee  
being of his owne nature, modest and  
temperate) one while terrifying him  
with strange feares, another while cheer-  
ing his hopes, with vndoubted comming  
to his Crowne againe. He told him that  
his brother *Aristobulus*, (a man neuerly  
vile by complexion) sought all occasions,  
either by close contriuings, or open vio-  
lence, to persuaile against his life: for his  
more secure enioying of the kingdome,  
whereto hee had aspired by such wicked-  
nesse. Hee auouched, to haue certayne  
knowledge, of diuers enterprises in *Ari-  
stobulus* by euident signes: either because  
they were truly so indeede, or for the  
more prouoking *Hyrcanus* against his bro-  
ther. Moreover, he shewed the meanes  
and wayes, whereby *Hyrcanus* might re-  
gaine the Kingdome belonging to him,  
to wit, if they both fled thence to *Aretas*,  
king of *Arabia*, with whom he had ancient  
amitie and alliance, and who (he doubted  
not) could satisfie their desires.

*Hyrcanus* was at last wonne by these  
speeches, being formerly wounded with  
the wrongs which his brother had offered  
him; so that accompanied with *Antipater*,  
and some other, who not a little despised  
the dominion of *Aristobulus*, he secretly  
went to *Aretas* in the city of *Petra*. There  
humbly himselfe before the King, hee  
desired assistance of him against his wicked  
and cruell brother, who not only had  
deprived him of the High-priesthood,  
(contrary to all right and equitie) which  
hee had peaceably enioyed nine yeares in  
his mothers life time; and not onely with-  
berest him of the kingdome, which by the  
lawe

Antipater de-  
posed from  
the gouern-  
ment of Iudaea

The cunning  
dealing of An-  
tipater with  
dejected Hyr-  
canus.

Incitation for  
flight to Aretas  
king of Arabia.

Hyrcanus go-  
ing with An-  
tipater in se-  
cret manner  
to Aretas, and  
making his  
complainte  
him.

law of Nations belonged to him, as being  
the eldest sonne: but (beside) layed daily  
trappes and traines for his life. Where-  
upon he promised, that it hee should be  
restored to his Kingdome; he would sur-  
render to him ten Cities, which his fa-  
ther *Alexander Lamnes* had taken from the  
Realme of *Arabia*, and other honourable  
recompences beside.

*Aretas*, more moued by the perswasions  
of *Antipater*, then all the prayers and  
promises of *Hyrcanus*, invaded *Iudaea* with  
fiftie thousand men. *Aristobulus* encount-  
ring with him, was vanquished, chiefly  
by the valiance of *Antipater*: and being  
abandoned of his souldiers, the most part  
yeelded themselves to *Hyrcanus*. *Aristobu-  
lus* got closely into the Citie, and there  
(with some of the Sacrificers and Citti-  
zens) kept within the forresse of the tem-  
ple, being provided of all things necessa-  
rie to endure besieging. But yet before  
this extremite, he had sent an ambassage  
(in great haste) to *Scaurus*, Lieutenant, a-  
biding then in *Syria*, intreating succour  
him against the *Arabes*: promising him  
four hundred Talents, that is, two hun-  
dred and fortie thousand crownes of the  
Sunne.

*Aretas* pursuing *Aristobulus* with his  
Armie, entred into the Citie, to lay his  
siege before the Temple; the Cittizens  
yeelding themselves to *Hyrcanus*, and the  
Cittie also. But some *Jewes* forekeing,  
that this debate betweene the brethren, a-  
bout possession of the kingdome, would  
cause the ruine of the whole country; left  
there their goods, and fledde into *Egypt*.  
Other of the Cittizens joyned with the  
*Arabes*, besieging the munition, and pres-  
sed the inclosed Sacrificers very narrow-  
ly; yea, much more nearly then the ene-  
mie, using deceipts and subtilities with their  
crueltie. For they drew out of the secret  
Sanctuarie (where this ciuile warre was  
most vnciuilly maintained) a holy man,  
named *Onias*, who in an extreme drought  
and dread of sterility, made his prayers  
to God, desiring raine in that needefull  
season: and would haue compelled him,  
to curse and damne the besieged to the  
duell, because they would not yeelde  
themselves. But hee (on the contrary)  
made his prayers aloud to God, that he  
would neyther heare the Sacrificers, or  
Priests besieged against the people, nor

the people besieging against the Priests,  
for which cause the *Jewes* stoned him.

And when the feast of Easter was come,  
when there was neede of many bealls for  
Sacrifices; the Priests required, that such  
store might be deliuered them, as was ne-  
cessarily to be vsed in such solemne Sa-  
crifices, agreeing to pay a thousand drach-  
mes for each beast; that is to say, an hun-  
dred crownes of the Sunne. But after that  
the *Jewes* had receiued so great a summe  
from the Priests: they descended from  
the walles, and would not performe a iore  
of that which they had promised, but  
mocked the sacrificing Priests, who were  
ouer credulous in beleueing them.

But the Lord God being offended with  
this wickednes, and taking vengeance for  
their foule transgressions; sent a sharpe  
winde on the Corne then almost ripe,  
which being vterly spoyled, the famine  
was so great, that a bushell of wheate was  
solde eleuen times more deare, then vni-  
ally it was wont to be; to wit, at cleauen  
drachmaes, whereas before (in euery  
yeare) it was sold for a drachma, and lesse.

The besieged beginning to feeble the  
want of foode, and that nothing hindred  
them from yeelding, but onely to heare  
an answer from *Scaurus* (vnder the hope  
whereof, *Aristobulus* encouraged the  
Priests, to endure all difficulties of the  
siege;) it fortunely (very successfully for  
them) that *Scaurus* sent Ambassadors  
to King *Aretas*, that he should withdraw  
his Army out of *Iudaea*, except hee meant  
to prouoke the displeasure of the *Romaine*  
people. *Aretas* obeyed this command,  
and so much the rather, because his army  
was in great distresse for foode. By which  
meanes, (without doing anything else)  
*Hyrcanus* and *Antipater* returned backe to  
*Arabia* with the King.

Soone after, *Pompey* came out of *Arme-  
nia* into *Syria*, wherupon, *Antipater* pro-  
cured many of the most potent *Jewes*, to  
accuse *Aristobulus* before him. Himselfe  
likewise, as an Ambassador sent from *Hyrcanus*,  
went to *Pompey*, and pleaded the  
cause of *Hyrcanus* against *Aristobulus*, and  
entred into such respect with *Pompey*, that  
after the surprizing of the Citie, *Hyrcanus*  
was restored to the High-priesthood,  
but not to the Kingdome. And from  
thence forward, *Antipater* beganne to  
grow great, gouerning (well neare) all  
occasi-

Falle and  
trauall dea-  
ling in the  
Jewes with the  
sacrificing  
Priests.

The iniurie of  
heauen on the  
Jewes for their  
wickednes.

Ambassadors  
sent to King A-  
retas.

Antipater  
procured Ari-  
stobulus to be  
accused be-  
fore Pompey

The cunning  
infinuations  
of Antipater  
with the Ro-  
man captaines.

Antipater  
procure  
peace betwix  
Scenus and  
Aretas, King  
of the Arabi-  
ans.

Rich Crassus,  
and his gene-  
rall Cassius.

The actions  
of Antipater  
in Egypt, and  
his faithfull  
service to Ju-  
lius Caesar.

Antipater  
made a Ro-  
maine Bour-  
geisse by Julius  
Caesar.

occasions whatsoever, because *Hyrcanus*, (being a lover of quietnesse) left all to his rule. And so gracious was he with the *Romaine* Captaines, in all such services as possibly he could do for them: that he in-  
linuated farre into their friendship, cau-  
sing *Hyrcanus* daily to bestow magnificēt  
gifts, and himselfe receiued all the thanks  
and profite for them.

First, he was very diligent, to furnish  
*Scenus* with all kinde of munition, when  
he was left in *Iudea* with two legions, and  
made warre vpon the *Arabes*. Next, be-  
ing sent in embassage by the same *Scenus*  
to the King *Aretas*: hee procured peace,  
in regarde of his auncient amitie with the  
King, and perswaded *Scenus* to bring his  
Army out of *Arabia*, after he had receiued  
of the King three hundred Talents, as  
much to say, as an hundred and foure-  
score thousand crowns of the Sunne. Af-  
terward, he assisted *Gabinus* against *Alex-  
ander*, sonne to *Aristobolus*, but especial-  
ly in the restitution of King *Ptolomey* the  
Fleustler: where he made passage for *Ga-  
binus*, to goe from *Iudea* into *Egypt* by  
*Idumea*.

By the like subtile and cunning means,  
he qualified rich *Crassus*, and his General  
*Cassius*, being removed from the *Parthian*  
warre; fearing lest any thing should be  
attempted, that might be hurtfull to *Hyrcanus*, who (from time to time) was ac-  
cused to the *Romaine* Captaines, as well by  
the sonnes of *Aristobolus*, as by diuerse  
powerfull Jewes, that were of the same  
faction.

But, for the more sure establishing of  
his power, hee ayded *Julius Caesar* more  
then all the rest, to whom he performed  
faithfull service in the *Alexandrian* warre,  
in bringing him three thousand Jewes, &  
procuring the *Arabes*, *Idumeans*, and *Jews*  
dwelling in *Egypt*, to be his companions in  
that warre. And when *Mithridates* of  
*Perseus* (who went with a great Armie  
of *Cilicia* and *Syria* against *Caesar*) was re-  
pulsed in *Egypt*: *Antipater* (*Dameta* being  
subdued) brought helpe to *Caesar*, and sa-  
ued him by the way; when he was com-  
pelled (in an encounter) to giue place to  
the enemy, his men being ready prepared  
for fight.

For these deserts (the *Alexandrian* war  
being ended) *Julius Caesar* confirmed the  
High priesthood vnto *Hyrcanus*, permit-

ting him to builde vp the Citie walles a-  
gayne: Moreouer, he appointed *Antipa-  
ter* to be Tutor of all *Iudea*, and sent him  
into *Iudea*, honoured with the title of a  
*Romaine* Bourgeisse, and perpetuall immu-  
nities beside.

*Antipater* seeing himselfe exalted to  
such dignitie, deuised also how to aduance  
his sonnes. Whereupon, *Phasaelus* (being  
the eldest) he appointed him to be gouer-  
nour of *Ierusalem*, and the neighbouring  
places about it: in regarde of the negli-  
gence and carelesnesse of *Hyrcanus* in the  
gouernement. Next to him was *Herode*,  
and he as yet but yong: yet he gaue the  
charge of *Galilee* to him. Both of them ve-  
ry commendably performed their seuerall  
offices, which caused their father to bee  
much more esteemed generally, and won  
the fauour of many powerfull persons, by  
both his owne, and his sonnes liberalltie.

Hereupon it hapned, that some Jewes  
grew iugalous and suspicious of *Antipater*,  
seeing him (purposely) to maintaine the re-  
missenesse of *Hyrcanus*, onely for the ex-  
altation of his owne sonnes: abusing also  
his riches and reuenues, to bestow great  
fauors and gifts vpon the *Romains*. In this  
respect, some of the best aduised Jewes,  
and of the better sort, feared not to repre-  
hend *Hyrcanus* publicly, for his neglect  
and slouthfulness, in referring the totall  
administration of all things, onely to *Antipa-  
ter* and his sonnes, who were scarcely  
started out of childhood. Having already  
gathered huge heaps of wealth and cheui-  
fance, onely to curry fauour with the *Ra-  
maines*, that they were become dreadfull  
to the whole nation. They bad him to be  
well aduised, whereto tended this power  
in the *Idumeans*, shewing him withall, that  
he dealt vniuallly and indifferently, haui-  
ng so many Jewes, excelling in valour and  
expertnesse of armes: to reiect them from  
managing publike affaires, repozing his  
whole trust in the defence of a stranger,  
who intended no profit to the Jewish na-  
tion, but only how to leaue the kingdome  
of *Iudea* to his owne sonnes.

Now, albeit these speeches did a little  
moue *Hyrcanus*, himselfe also fearing the  
power of *Antipater*: yet notwithstanding,  
he could not forget, what benefites he had  
receiued by him, and what loyalty he had  
declared towards him, hauiug always  
kept him in extreame dangers. Beside, he  
feared

Antipater ex-  
alted his son-  
ne seuerall  
dignities.

Diuers Jewes  
began to be  
suspicious of  
Antipater.

*Hyrcanus* re-  
proued by  
some of the  
best Jewes for  
his great  
negligence.

*Hyrcanus*  
carefull of  
*Aristobolus*  
and his sons.

Conspiracie  
how to com-  
passe the  
death of An-  
tipater, by  
*Malchus* a  
rich Jew.

The horrible  
rapines of  
*Cassius* in  
*Iudea*, to po-  
tente his milite-  
riauency.

Thereadies  
of Antipater  
to please the  
*Romains*.

feared *Aristobolus*, and his sonnes, against  
whom he thought he stood in need of a  
powerfull defender, which made him an-  
swere; that he could not dismishe *Antipa-  
ter* from gouerning the generall affaires,  
in regard he had receiued his authoritie  
from the *Romains*; who he might by no  
meanes offend, without both hazarding  
himselfe, and the whole Country to vna-  
voidable dangers.

When the accusers of *Antipater* per-  
ceiued, they could worke nothing on the  
slow and neglect nature of *Hyrcanus*, they  
began to consider on some subtile means,  
whereby they might put *Antipater* to  
death. And one of them being named  
*Malchus*, excelling all the rest in wealth,  
wisdom, and corage, sought how to in-  
trap *Antipater*, by secret plots and ambu-  
shes prepared. But *Antipater* getting in-  
telligence thereof, withdrew himselfe be-  
yond *Jordane*, where he leuiued an Army,  
by aide from King *Aretas*, his deare friend,  
with full deliberation to reuenge this in-  
iury. Neuertheless, he was appeased by  
*Hyrcanus*, because *Malchus* purged him-  
selfe by oath, that he neuer intended any  
treason against him.

This hapned immediately after that the  
Conspirators had slayne *Julius Caesar* in  
the Senate house, when *Cassius* (Author  
and chiefe in the coniuration) was come  
into *Syria*, and from thence into *Iudea*:  
where he villainously ransacked the Cit-  
ies and Townes, onely to get money, so  
that he sold the Magistrates of some pla-  
ces, with their whole families, and pillar-  
ged foure great cities in *Iudea*, selling all  
the Citizens for slaues: because they had  
made refusall, to giue such a large summe  
as this insatiable beast demanded. As he  
asked of the Jewes seven hundred talents,  
(which summe amounted to foure tonnes  
of gold of our coyne, and twenty thou-  
sand Crownes of the Sunne): *Antipater*  
gaue charge to leuy this money, partly of  
his Sons, and partly of the most power-  
full Jewes: so that the whole summe being  
suddenly paid in: *Antipaters* sonnes were  
the better welcomed among the *Romans*.  
And so farre it proceeded, that *Cassius* (ea-  
uen then) made promise of the kingdome  
of *Iudea* to *Herode*, who ouer & about the  
summe whereto the taxation mounted,  
carried store of gold to the campe in *Sy-  
ria*) when he had ended the war against

*Marke Anthony* and *Octavius*. But for the  
present he commanded the Province of  
*Syria* to *Herode*, and the Army by Sea.

*Malchus* well obseruing, that the po-  
wer of *Antipater* so mightily encreasing,  
was not (by any patient means) to be in-  
dured; practised & dealt with the Taster  
or Cup-bearer to *Hyrcanus* the High-  
priest, by great gifts and summes of mo-  
ny: so that one night, as *Antipater* was at  
Supper with *Hyrcanus*, the Taster poyso-  
ned him; albeit the sayd Taster had twise  
bin deliuered from death by *Antipater*, &  
held his life of him. Thus was *Antipater*  
murdered, in the yere following the death  
of *Julius Caesar*, he being (vndoubtedly) a  
man very excellent, wile, and prouident.  
Some imagined, that *Hyrcanus* was not  
ignorant of the deed doing, or (at least)  
it was not doone in any despite of him:  
although *Antipater* by the means of *Pom-  
pey*, got him restored to the Soueraigne  
Priesthood, and afterward (for the space  
of 22. yeares) alwayes kept and defended  
him against the violence of his enemies.

Perhaps one way he had offended *Hyrcanus*,  
that (to satisfie the couetous desires  
of *Cassius*, and to forestall perills incident  
to himselfe) he was somewhat ouer-rude  
in vrging money from him, he being an  
old man, sparing by nature, and the more  
griple in holding, in regarde of his age.  
For which fault, *Hyrcanus* declared no  
great distaste in the murdering of his Be-  
nefactor. Because many times it comes  
to passe, that some men, hauiug receiued  
good benefites for a large length of time,  
and yet growing (at length) to be displea-  
sed: they forget all good desertings past,  
and resting not so contented, proceed to  
diuers dangerous practises against them.  
Of such ingratefull men, *Philip Melancton*,  
my worthy master, & good father, wrote  
certaine Verses to this effect:

Some men there are, if thou transport their states  
With pompe to Rome, and plant'st them in the gates;  
Such fauour they require not with due grace,  
But (like ingratefull wretches) all deface.

Not long after, *Hyrcanus* payd dearly  
for this his foolish ingratitude, because  
(the yere following) *Antigonus* compas-  
sioned the means to bring the *Parthians* in-  
to *Iudea*; when *Hyrcanus* being taken, &  
led into a strange land by the enemyes well  
found (but ouer-late) what defence he had  
lost by the death of *Antipater*, and then in

ff faine

Antipater be-  
ing a supper  
with *Hyrcanus*, the High-  
priest, was  
poysoned by  
his Taster.

Some reasons  
wherby *Hyrcanus*  
might be  
offended with *Antipa-  
ter*.

*Philip Me-  
lancton*  
verities on in-  
gratitude.

*Hyrcanus*  
payd dearly  
for his ingra-  
titude to *Antipa-  
ter*.

vaine lamented his owne folly, in listning to *Malichus*, and other *Boute-feux*, against so deare a friend as *Antipater* had alwayes bin to him.

## CHAP. XIII.

A further entrance into discourse, concerning the race and Posteritie of Antipater, for the better clearing of some obscure doubts in diuers Authors, and full satisfaction of the Reader.

Of the Sonnes of Antipater.

*Phaselus* the eldest.

The worthie performance of *Phaselus* in his charge.

He being constituted by his Father, to be Gouvernor of *Ierusalem*, and the round neighbouring places, to assist *Hyrcanus* (carelesse, and very vnapt for administration) in regard of his age; discharged his Commission

most commendably for fixe yeares space, during the life time of his father. He being dead, hee appeared (by his vertue) a great trouble arising in *Ierusalem*, in regard that a certayne man, named *Felix*, driuen by *Cassius* into *Ierusalem* with Souldiours, being corrupted with money from diuerse *Jewes*; laboured to ouerthrow it. But this *Felix* was vanquished by *Phaselus*, and for a while kept in prison; but afterward releas'd vpon certayne conditions.

Next, it was no little ioy to him, to see *Malichus* (the murderer of his father *Antipater*) punished for his wickednesse: who labouring to inuade the Principality of *Iudea*, was slayne by the Souldiours of *Cassius*, and by the industrious meanes of *Herode*.

*Cassius* being conquer'd, *Marke Anthony* came into *Syria*, and made *Phaselus* & *Herode* Tetrarches of *Iudea*: notwithstanding all the criminall accusations, alledg'd by the *Jewes* against them. But *Phaselus* enioyed not that dignity any long while; for the yeare following the death of his father, the City being surprised by the *Parthians* and *Antigonus*: he was (by subtilty) taken with *Hyrcanus*, and slew himselfe remaying prisoner, as I haue already related in the life of the second *Hyrcanus*.

*Felix* laboured to confound *Ierusalem*.

The death of seditious *Malichus*.

*Phaselus* and *Herode* made Tetrarches of *Iudea* by *Marke Anthony*.

*Phaselus* left a sonne named

*Herode* King.

*Mariana* the *Asmonean*.

*Phaselus*, to whom *Salome*, daughter to *Herode* and *Mariana* was married, by whom he had these children.

*Antipater*, of whom *Herode* and *Alexander*, both dying young children.

*Alexandra*, married to a *Jew* of *Cyprus*, beeing barren.

*Iosippus* the third Sonne of *Antipater*.

Concerning the brethren of *Phaselus*.

*Herode* commeth next after *Phaselus*, in respect of his age. But I holde it more conuenient to speak first of his brethren, whose actions were of lesse fame and efficacy.

*Iosippus* (called by some *Gisippus*) the third sonne of *Antipater*, was appoynted Gouvernour of *Iudæa* by his father, who

had obtained the Principalltie of *Iudea*. After his fathers death, he valiantly defended the family and affaires of his brother *Herode*, they being driuen into exile by *Antigonus* and the *Parthians*: withdrawing them into the City of *Messada*, against the sayd King *Antigonus*, enduring there a very difficult siege, vntill that his brother

*Iosippus* defended his brethren cause, and all his friends.

brother *Herode* (being returned out of *Italy*) deliuered him and them, and was afterward proclaymed King by *Octavius Augustus*, and by *Marke Anthony*.

Within a while after, when his brother *Herode* went to *Marke Anthony*, who besieged the City of *Samosata*, neare vnto *Euphrates*; the charge of the Army was giuen to him. But going inconsiderately foraging for Corne, with fixe silly bands of Souldiers: he was taken in the Straits of the mountains neare to *Iericho*, and there slain with all his men by *Antigonus*, about foure yeares after the death of his father.

His head being smitten off, was carried vp and downe in a mockery, and finally bought of *Antigonus*, by his brother *Pheroras*, for fifty Talents, that is, 30000 Crownes of the Sunne. He had a sonne named *Iosippus* also, to whom his vncle *Herode* gave in marriage, *Olimpia*, the Sister of *Archelaus*, of whom he begat *Marians*, afterwards marry'd to *Herode* the lesse, King of *Chalcis*.

*Antipater*

*Iosippus* Pre-*Herode* King *Martihaca* a sident of *I. of Iudea*. *Samaritanæ* his wife.

*Iosippus*, his wife *Olympia*.

Of them was borne *Mariana*, wife to *Herode*, son to *Aristobulus*, King of *Chalcis*.

*Pheroras*, the yongest sonne to *Antipater*, when his brother *Iosippus* was slain; being as yet but young, he continued alone, yet ayded his brother *Herode* valiantly, managing dangerous warres (on his behalfe) against *Antigonus*. At the request of *Herode*, *Augustus* *Cæsar* made him Tetrarche, and vied him very honorably; yet returning but bad recompence therefore to his brother. For, hauing procured him, to put his wife *Mariana* to death, and his two sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*: he at the length compacted with *Antipater*, to compasse the death of his brother also. But being preuented by sudden death, hee escaped punishment. He dyed some few yeares before his brother *Herode*, and left two sonnes, to whom *Augustus* marry'd two daughters of de-

ceased *Herode*, *Roxana* and *Salome*, endowing each with fife and twentie thousand Crownes of the Sunne. Hee had a daughter also, marry'd to the sonne of *Antipater*, yongest sonne of King *Herode*.

*Salome*, daughter of *Antipater*, Sister to *Herode* King of *Iudea*.

In her first marriage, shee was giuen to one named *Iosippus*, who being constituted guardian of *Mariana*, wife to *Herode*, was slaine by the Kings commaund, because hee would not reueale some matters of secrecie. Afterward shee was married to *Cosibarus*, Gouvernor of *Iudæa*, from whom shee separated her selfe by diuorce, contrary to the Lawe of *Moses*: which permitted Husbands to leave their Wiues for some cause of importance; but not Wiues to leave their Husbands. Neuerthelesse, *Salome* vied this licence, confiding in the power of her brother: and afterward was the cause, that the sayd *Cosibarus* dyed miserably. Finally, in despite of her selfe-will, *Herode* made her marry one *Alexis*: although she was almost made in loue with a potent *Arabe*, named *Syleus*, an vtter enemy to *Herode*, and one that would not be circumcised.

This *Salome* was a meere Fury in the Court of her brother, and a flaming fire-brand of domestick discordes, whereon many murders ensued. For, being wholly ouercome with hatred against *Marians* the *Asmonean* (who despised her, because she was not nobly borne) shee ceased not to enflame the spleene of her brother: contriuing false crimes of adultery and poisoning against her, vntill *Herode* had put his dearly affected wife to death. Which being done, and *Salome* fearing some reuenge to be inflicted on her: being caused to prouoke the father against *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, the sonne of *Mariana*, seruing her turne heerein with *Antipater*, the sonne of *Herode*, who stood in feare, that these two yong men should be aduanced and preferred before him to the kingdome.

Shee praye'd so well by her cunning plots and practises, that they both standing accused, for affecting the Kingdome, and preparing of poisonys, they were condemned; and, notwithstanding all their excellent partes and perfections, they

Fff 2

were

Her first husband slaine by *Herodes* commaund.

*Salome* separated herselfe from her husband.

*Salome* was married in her third marriage

*Salome* a fire brand of confusion in the Court of king *Herode* her brother.

*Alexander* & *Aristobulus* both executed.

were strangled by their fathers command.

Moreouer, by her secret and subtle reports, she wrung *Antipater* into his fathers ill opinion and disgrace, although hee had beene her companion in all her wickednesse; plotting and preparing all the treasons against his father, whereof hee had fallily accused his most innocent brethren, the sonnes of *Marians*, vntill himselfe was caught in the same snare, and (by his fathers command) dispatched also.

Shee, the minister of so many monstrous cruelties, did suruiue her brother *Herode*; who left her (by his last will and testament) three most opulent Cities, to wit, *Iamnia*, *Azot* and *Phaselis*; beside two millions and an halfe of silver coine,

which amounts to fifty thousand crowns of the Sunne.

Moreouer, she being familiar (by Letters) with *Livia*, wife to *Augustus* (whom *Iosephus* continually calleth *Iulia*) she said *Augustus* gaue her the Castle royall in the City of *Afcalon*. And shee receiued annually out of the fore-named Cities, three score Talents, which arise to thirtie fixe thousand crownes of the Sunne.

Hauiug liued twelue yeares after the death of her brother *Herode*; shee dyed a yeare before the departure of *Augustus* out of this life, and left (by her testament) to *Livia*, wife to *Augustus*, those Cities which she formerly held. She left a sonne named *Antipater*, and a daughter singularly beautifull, called *Berenice*, of whom came these children following.

The royall castle of Afcalon gaue to Salome.

The death of Salome, and what she did the last.

*Caftabarus* President of Idumea.

*Salome* sister to King *Herode*.

*Cypris* daughter of *Antipater* espoused her, albeit shee was his cousinne.

*Berenice* married to her cousinne *Aristobolus*.

*Aristobolus* Son to King *Herode* by the *Idumean*.

*Cypris*. *Alexas* son in law to *Salome*, King of *Idumea*. *Herode* *Aristobolus* *Herodias* *Marians*. *Alexas* son in law to *Salome*, King of *Idumea*. *Herode* *Aristobolus* *Herodias* *Marians*. *Alexas* son in law to *Salome*, King of *Idumea*. *Herode* *Aristobolus* *Herodias* *Marians*. *Alexas* son in law to *Salome*, King of *Idumea*. *Herode* *Aristobolus* *Herodias* *Marians*.

*Cypris*. *Azrippa* The second, succeeded in the Kingdom of *Chalcis*, after his Vnckle *Herode*.

*Herode*, the second sonne of *Antipater*, whom some doe call the Great, was the first King of *Iudea*, being of a contrary Nation.

*Herode* being as yet but young, was ordaind President of *Galilee*, by his father *Antipater*, soone after *Iulius Caesar* had finished the warres in *Egypt*. He gaue immediate probation of his industry and valour, hauing destroyed and slaine *Ezechias* the *Iew*, and a troop of theues that wasted *Syria*: for the which being highly commended by the *Syrians*, hee found great grace and fauor with *Sextus Caesar*, who then gouerned the Prouince of *Syria*. It fortuned, that by the instigation of them that enuyed *Antipater*, *Hyrcanus* the

Soueraigne Sacrificer (contrary to his will) gaue personall summonns to *Herode*, in regard of the *Iewes* by him taken and slaine in *Syria*: without listening to the sentence of soueraign Iudgement, which then was tearmed *Sanhedrin*, of the Greek word *Synedrion*, as I conceiue, and consisted of seauenty and two Iudges, who were called the seuentie Ancients. *Philo* writeth, that before the kingdom of *Herode*, the Iudges of that Councell were chosen out of the posteritie of *Dauid* only. *Herode* hauing aduertisement (by Letters)

*Herode* summoned to appear (onall) appearance by *Hyrcanus*.

*Antipater* disgraced by her meane, and brought to his death.

The hountie of *Herode*: to his sister *Antipater*.

*Fazehias* the Iew and his complices slain by *Herode* in his yong age.

ters from his father, appeared at *Ierusalem* on the day of Assignation, accompanied with a reasonable guard, and recommended by *Sextus Caesar*.

*Hyrcanus* perceiuing, that the Iudges were heauily incensed by the aduerfaries of *Antipater*, and that they would not faile to giue sentence in sharpe manner: desiring to gratifie his friend *Antipater*, he secretly admonished *Herode*, to withdraw himselfe out of the city, before he were condemned by the *Iewes* sentence, and thereupon conuaued to punishment.

The yong man returned backe into *Syria*, very impatiently bearing the iniurie, which he conceiued to be doone him by the Iudges, declaring to *Sextus Caesar* the treacherie of the Cittizens, and hauing received from him part of the *Romaine* Army, and the regiment of the lower *Syria*: hee resolved to reuenge the wrong which the Councell had offered him: So, going vp to *Ierusalem* with a maine Army, hee could hardly be withheld by his father, and his brother *Phaselus*, who met him by the way, and made him to retreat his army into *Syria*. But yet he could not remoue his mallice, which still he continued against the Conffitorie: and which he vterly quailed and ouerthrew, after his coming to the Crowne.

Not long after the death of *Iulius Caesar*, by a close ambush, and ayde of *Cassius* his Souldiours; he procured *Malichus* to befall, being the murdurer of his father *Antipater*. Which being done, once more hee expelled out of *Iudea* *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Aristobolus*, whom hee ouercame in warre, albeit he had recovered part of *Iudea*.

After that *Cassius* and *Brutus* were vanquished neare to *Philippi*, when *Marke Anthony* was come into *Syria*; Ambassadors went from the *Iewes* to meete him at *Bithynia*, accusing there *Phaselus* and *Herode* to him, because the lawfull heires of the kingdom were expelled, and they (by force) holde the whole gouernement of *Iudea*. *Herode* also met them there, well furnished with rich and sumptuous gifts, to bestow on *Marke Anthony*: of whom he was entertained most benignely, for the loue he had borne to his father *Antipater*, when being Lieutenant to *Gabinius*, hee was still in warre, during the peace of *Syria* and *Iudea*. Wherefore,

howsoever he listened to the *Iewes* accusations, yet he ordained *Phaselus* and his brother *Herode* Tetrachs of *Iudea*. And because the *Iewes* ceased not to lend Embassie vpon Embassie, and continually in great number, amounting to a thousand men in the end. *Marke Anthony* punished them with imprisonment. And because they neuer would giue ouer, but daily increased, that (by no meanes) they might be subiect to *Herode*; hee caused some of them to be put to death.

*Hyrcanus* descended to *Anthony* in *Syria* (already conioyned with *Herode* in affinity, to whom hee had given his younger sister *Marians*, daughter of *Alexander* and *Alexandra*: who was honourably entertained by *Anthony*, and confirmed in the possession of the High-priesthood; and obtained those cities and persons (reduced by *Cassius* into seruitude) to be deliuered and enfranchised; and that the rapined goodes should be restored to their first owners.

The yeare following, *Pacorus* hauing subdued *Syria* (attracted by great promises) brought *Antigonus* backe againe to *Ierusalem*, as hath formerly bene sayde. Where *Herode* (hearing that his brother *Phaselus* and *Hyrcanus* the foueraigne Sacrificer were detained prisoners, contrary to the lawes of Nations, knowing also, that the *Iewes* were affected to *Antigonus*, fearing both his enemies and the Cittizens) he departed forth secretly in the dead time of the night, with his Mother *Cypris*, his wife *Doris*, his sister *Salome*, his affianced *Marians*, his mother in lawe *Alexandra*, and eight hundred other women, beside a great company of friends, and (with much adoe) got not safelie into *Idumea*. For his mother was forewounded by the way, by reason of the Waggon's ouerthrow vpon her: so that *Herode* (as halfe desperate) thought to haue slaine himselfe, because he was ouer-closely pursued by the barbarous people, whom (neuertheless) hee valiantly droue backe, and quite ouercame.

There he left all his company, and such goodes as they carried with them, in a strong Citie named *Masada*, vnder the charge and protection of his brother *Isidippus*: and went very secretly (attended but with a few Souldiours) to king *Aretas*, relying vpon the loue and friendship

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*Anthony* imprisoned and put to death the *Iew* *Antipater*.

*Hyrcanus* goeth to *Anthony* in *Syria*, and is kindly welcomed of him.

*Herode* saue himselfe by flight, and a great company with him.

*Herode* leaues his company in *Masada*, and goeth secretly to King *Aretas* in Arabia.

The arrival  
of Herode at  
Rome with  
Marke An-  
thonie.

The grace &  
favour that  
Herode found  
with the Ro-  
mane Senate

Antigonus de-  
clared enemy  
to Rome, and  
Herod pro-  
claimed King  
of Iudea.

The Romane  
captains cor-  
rupted by  
gold sent from  
Antigonus,  
still hindered  
Herode.

which was betwene him and his father *Antipater*. But being hindered from entering into *Arabia*, hee passed (with great difficultie) into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, who furnishing him with needfull things: hee tooke shipping in the worst season of all the year, and shaped his course directly for *Rome*; where being arrived, hee acquainted *Mark Anthony* with the fraud of *Antigonus*, his owne flight, and perill of the people hee had in charge; humbly entreating him, that hee would not suffer him to be thus trampled on by his enemies, to whom hee had expressed kinde- nesse, and oftentimes exalted them.

*Anthony* reported the complaint and request of *Herode*, to his companion *Augustus* in the Empire, and both they together commended their suppliant friend to the Senate: remembering the perpetual deuotion & loyalty of his father *Antipater*, towards the Captaines and Souldiours of *Rome*, and especially to *Julius Caesar*. In brieft, they prevailed so farre, that (by common voice) *Antigonus* was iudged enemy to the people of *Rome*: and the kingdome of *Iudea* conferred on *Herode*, the seauenth day after his coming to *Rome*. He was conducted to the Senate house going in the middle betwene *Augustus* and *Anthony*; *Domitius Calpurnius*, and *Asinius Pollio*, Consules, going before him, accompanied with other Magistrates and Senatours, euen all the way thence to the Capitole, where the Sacrifices were performed. And this beeing the first day of his reigne, hee was magnificently feasted by *Marke Anthony*: fourre yeares after the death of *Julius Caesar*; two yeares after them of *Cicero*, and thirty seuen before the birth of our Sauour Christ.

*Herode* being returned into *Iudea*, had a very difficult warre against King *Antigonus*, which continued the space of fourre yeares: because that the *Romane* Captaines (as *Ventidius*, *Silo* and some other, who had the charge of placing *Herode* in full possession of the kingdome) were corrupted by gold sent from *Antigonus*, desiring nothing more then deserting, and neuer earnestly assisted *Herode*. Besides, many *Jewes* (ill affected to the house of *Antipater*) moued many troubles against him.

The beginning then of *Herodes* reigne

was wonderfully difficulte, and yet (notwithstanding) by his industrie, diligence and vertue, and softly steppe by steppe hee ouercame all hinderances, and possessed himselfe of *Galilee*, *Samaris*, and the very greatest part of *Iudea*.

Afterward, *Ventidius* sent some bands to succour him, conducted by one named *Macherus*; but *Herode* perceiving him to be dull and slowe, and that hee went but coldly about the businesse, as expecting, that *Antigonus* should still furnish him with fresh handfulls; without expecting any further ayde from such Captaines, hee vndertook great iournies, to encounter with *Antigonus*, who besieged *Samosata*. And (by the way) sped very successfully, against diuers theues that hindered his passages.

As thus he drew nearer to his enemy, *Marke Anthony* came to meete him, and did him such honour as became a King, with the greater part of his Armie. After hee had heard his complaints, concerning the disloyaltie of some Captaines, who (corrupted by the gifts of *Antigonus*) had executed no part of the command from *Augustus* and the Senate: hee sent two legions of olde Souldiours into *Iudea*, and commanded *Sofius* (one of his faithfull Captaines) to follow them with an other Armie, so soone as the City of *Samosata* was surrendered.

In the absence of *Herode*, his brother *Iosippus*, fighting to his owne disadvantage; was slaine with his Armie, by the Souldiers of *Antigonus*, neare to *Iericho*. Also, the *Galileans* revolted, and many rebelled in *Iudea*: wherefore *Herode* returned with those olde bands, and hardly appeased them of *Galilee*. Afterwards, by many encounters, wherein hee had one while the best, and another while the worst, hee so weakened the forces of *Antigonus*: as (at length) hee withdrew into the fortresse of *Ierusalem*.

*Herode* brought his Armie against the Cittie, and after hee had raised his munitions, and builded diuerse engines needfull for batterie: hee left the Armie vnder certaine Captaines and iournied into *Samaris*, to espouse *Marianne* the *Assyrian*, who (as I haue formerly tolde you) was daughter to *Alexander*, the youngest sonne of *Hyrcanus* the second, who (fourre yeares before) was affianced to *Herode*, that

Herod over-  
came all his  
hinderances  
whatsoever.

Herod be-  
sieged Anti-  
gonus be-  
sieging Sam-  
osata.

Marke An-  
thonie meets  
with Herode,  
and vied him  
very honour-  
ably.

Herodes bro-  
ther Iosippus  
slaine, and  
Galilee reuol-  
ted from him.

Herode goes  
to Samaria  
to marry with  
Marianne.

## CHAP. XIII.

How Herode, after all these tumultuous troubles and molestations, attained to the sole Government of the Kingdome of Iudea.



After that the Cittie was taken in this manner, and *Antigonus* (the last King of the *Aymoneans*) slaine: *Herode* enjoyed the Kingdome of *Iudea*, three and thirtie yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ. Having taken order for the Realmes affaires, hee cruelly murdered all those great Lords, that had ioy- ned themselves with *Antigonus* against him. And seeing that hee had consumed and wasted all his goods, as also those of his kinned friends, in gifts and charges of the warre, by an especial Edict, he compelled the Citizens, to bring all their Jewells of gold and silver to the kings castle, and all such money as they had be- lieved. He appointed likewise Guardes at the gates, to search all such as passed in or out: yea, such as carried the dead to bur- iall, fearing lest (in any manner) they should conuey thence coine, or any pre- cious thing whatsoever.

At this time happened a famine, in re- garde of the seuenth yeare of rest, where- in it was not lawfull to sowe the grounds. And in the former yeares past, the fields remayned (in many places) vntilled, by reason of the continuall ciuile warres. So that the estate of the Cittie was very mi- serable, being fallen into wofull stermitude, whereof the better sort of people, as *Si- meon*, *Zachary*, *Ioseph* and some such other tooke part: who neuertheless, in these sad spectacles and miserable calamities, cheared vp their drouping spirites, by hope of the *Messias* his coming, who should saue them. And they perceived it to draw neare, because they obserued, that the Scepter was now wholly taken from the house of *Iuda*.

*Herode* standing in feare of the displea- sed people, by his horrible rapines and cruelties: to appease and quiet them, re- pealed

that is to say, before that the *Parthians* had innaded the Countrey.

In the meane while, *Sofius* being sent from *Anthony* with his Souldiers, marched on diligently, and ioyned his armie with the other belonging to *Herode*, whose nuptials being ended, and he returned to *Ierusalem*: the two Captaines beganne to assaile the Cittie manfully in diuers places. The besieged *Jewes* had great want of principall munitions, and yet notwithstanding, they thought, that they should be diuinely deliuered. For they continu- ally vied to say, that they fought for free- dome of the people for their lawfull king against strangers, for the Temple and Re- ligion against Pagans; sustaining (for some length of time) a very sharpe be- sieging, and much molesting the enemy by their sallies. But finally, the City was sur- prized in the moneth of Maie, the very same day as (seuen and twenty yeares be- fore) *Pompey* had conquered it, as hath bene said, *M. Agrippa* and *Candius Gal- lus* being then Confulls.

The *Romane* Souldiers being much displeased at so long a siege, and losse of many of their people; made pittifull slaughter, not onely of the armed *Jewes*, but also of such as had no defence at all. King *Antigonus*, throwing himselfe at the feete of *Sofius*, humbly desired pardon: but hee was iniunctiously reiected, and being strongly bound, sent to *Marke Anthony* at *Antioche*, where, at the request of *Herod*, he was slaine.

In this Militarie furie and combustion, *Herod* had worke enough to do, to hinder the *Romans*, from entering into the most secret place of the Temple, to robbe and carry thence the sacred treasures. More- over, hee was glad to promise an infinite summe of mony, to obtaine such fauour, that the goods of the Citizens might not bee imbezelled, and borne away by the Souldiours. And in this troublesome tempest, we will giue conclusion to this Chapter; because we enter now into the reigne of *Herode*, and are to speake of matters concerning those times.

A foolish hope and per-  
suasion in the  
Jewes for their  
deliuerance.

Ierusalem  
conquered by  
Herode and  
Sofius.

Antigonus  
sento Anti-  
oche, & there  
slaine by He-  
rodes instiga-  
tion.

The furie of  
Souldiers is  
very easily  
induced to  
robberie and  
licentious.

At what time  
the reigne of  
King Herode  
beganne.

Herodes cruel-  
ly exacted  
money vpon  
the people.

A great fa-  
mine among  
the people.

Hope of the  
coming of  
the Messias, a  
great com-  
fort to the  
faithfull.

Hyrcanus to  
called from  
banishment  
by Herode, &  
highly hono-  
red.

repealed (by his letters) from banishment *Hyrcanus* the second, who lived then in *Babylon*, because he had married the daughter of his daughter, and sent presents to the king of *Parthia*, for the ransom of his captivity. When he was come to *Jerusalem*, he did not make him foueraigne Sacrificer, because hee was mutilate or imperfect: but in recompence thereof, bestowed great honours vpon him, so that in publique assemblies, he caused him to sit in the highest roome. At the same time he substituted (in stead of *Antigenus* in the High-priest-hood) another *Sen* come from *Babylon*, named *Ananelus*, a matter greatly offensive to him and the people. Which *Herode* perceiuing, hee depouled *Ananelus*, and placed in his stead *Aristobolus*, brother to his wife *Mariana*: whom hee caused to die by detestable fraude a year after, rendering the High-priest-hood to the layd *Ananelus* againe. Whereupon, *Alexandra* accused him of this crime to *Cleopatra*, and he being appealed by *Anthony* to *Laodicea*, to render an account for this imputation; rather pacified him by golden giftes, then any vaine and vnaudible excuses.

\* Towne and Promontorie of Epire, where Augustus, after hee had conquered Anthony and Cleopatra built the citie Nicopolis.

Fortune both fauourable and aduersie to Herode.

An earthquake, which killed many people in Iudea.

home into their countrey: which otherwife had conuerted to the *Iewes* heauier calamitie, because they (encouraged by their wofull miseries) put all to fire and sword throughout *Iudea*. And this earthquake, as also the inrodes of the enemy were followed by a dreadfull pestilence: which made lamentable spoyle and haucke, both in the fields and cities, and likewise in the Kings campe.

After these apparent and publique calamities, meeting together in such grievous manner, *Herode* fell into a great personal danger. For, after the day at *Asiinum*, wherein *Anthony* (the chiefest friend to *Herode*) was foyled, and dying thereupon: *Herode* was in no meane dismay, for feare of *Augustus* the Conquerour; and the people well perceiued his feare, because hee knew not how to determine of himselfe. Whereupon, some of the people (vnable to endure this dominion of a stranger) beganne to exalt their spirits, vnder hope of some sudden noueltie, and ioyed at the danger wherein *Herode* was. About all the rest, his mother in law *Alexandra* (imagining the time to be now come, wherein shee might reuenge the death of her sonne, and retreatre the kingdom againe to her own family) solicited very strong and firmly her father *Hyrcanus* (now very aged and decrepitate, and one that alwayes affected quietnesse) in regarde of his many iniuries; to flee into *Arabia*, to the end, that if *Herode* were ill entreated by *Augustus*; he might the easier inuade the kingdom, being assisted by the *Arabes*.

*Dositheus*, a most disloyall seruant, deliuered the Letters (intended for this purpose, and sent by him to the King of *Arabia*) to King *Herode*: who desiring to be more fully informed in the fact, sent *Dositheus* into *Arabia* with the Letters, and after hee had receyued answer from the King, concerning the Letters sent vnto him: he caused *Hyrcanus* to be condemned, by the sentence of Iustice as a traitour, and so put to death. Some others write, that *Herode*, fearing the perill wherein hee sawe himselfe to be fallen, and the multitude of the *Iewes* (of whom he was deeply hated) might easily be moued by such an occasion, to transference the Kingdom to *Hyrcanus*, who onely remayned of the *Asimoneans* race: imposed a false crime

One misse following the death of another.

Herode lost Mark Anthony by his best friend.

Herode in great feare of Augustus.

The proceeding of Alexandra against her sonne in law Herode.

All her hope frustrated by Dositheus an vnfaithfull seruant.

Hyrcanus condemned and executed as a traitour, by the duty and obedience of Herode.

crime vpon him, and prayeayd so well by counterfeited letters, that the good olde man was condemned to death.

This being done, hee sent his mother, his sister, their other kined, and all their attendants, as also his brother *Pheroras*, to a strong munitied Cittie in *Iulmea*, called *Masada*. But withdrew his mother in lawe *Alexandra*, and his wife *Mariana* (who hee thought could not well agree with the other women) to another Fort, named *Alexandria*; giuing the charge of them to *Isippus*, Generall for the finances of the kingdom, and to *Soemus* his most certaine and singular friends. And this trust also he imposed on them; that if *Augustus* offered any ill to him: they should kill the two women instantly, and conferre (so much as in them possibly lay) the kingdom for his sonnes, vntill they were come to age, by the assistance of his brother *Pheroras*.

These matters being thus ordered and appoynted, hee travelled on to *Augustus*, who then heard all Ambassadors in the Isle of *Rhodes*, where, leaving off his diadem and kingly robes, keeping all the rest of royall liberty, as trusting in his cause and the Emperours clemencie; he confessed, that hee had bene a friend to *Marke Anthony*, and would haue sent him succour, if he had required it; but that he was diuinely withdrawne from his company (in how miserable condition soeuer) by the warre which hee then made vpon the *Arabes*. Wherein he had sustained so many losses and misfortunes, that he was sufficiently punished for his friendship to *Anthony*, and for the seruices he had done vnto him. But if now it pleased *Augustus* to experiment his faithfulness; hee would make it apparent vnto him, by as true seruices.

*Augustus* tooke such delight in the magnanimous confession of *Herode*, that hee embraced him amiably, restoring him to his Crowne, and assuring him, to expect as many kinde beneuolences from him, as euer hee had receiued by *Marke Anthony*.

*Herode* finding *Augustus* so gracious, tooke courage from the former despayre wherein hee was, assuring now the possession of his Kingdom the more firmly to him. Wherefore hee exceeded his abilitie in gifts to *Augustus*, as also to his

friends and the Army. Hee bare the Emperour company beside, at his sailing into *Egypt*; and when he came into *Syria*: hee receyued him with entertainment more then royall, hauing borrowed all necessarie prouision, throughout all the parts of *Iudea*.

*Augustus* finding so many great respects, meerey flowing from *Herode*, restored that part of *Iudea* to him, which *Anthony* had giuen to *Cleopatra*: adding thereto likewise *Samaria*, and other Citties on the Sea-coastes, whereby the wealth of his kingdom was greatly augmented.

*Herode* hauing mette with all this happiness and felicitie abroad, at his returne home into *Iudea*, found all things there very bitter and troublesome, by priuate and domestick hatreds. For, his wife *Mariana* had already gotten intelligence (two feuerall times) by the Guardes, that they had charge to kill her and her mother; if eyther *Anthony* before hand, or *Augustus* now in this doubtful time, disclosed otherwise then well of him. Whereupon, at their meeting, *Mariana* by no means would come neare him, notwithstanding all the flatteries or signes of ardent loue hee shewed to her: reprooching him for such cruell commands, and plainly telling him, that they were no testimonies of a true husband. *Herode* entred into suspition, that it was not possible for him to be disclosed, or his secrets knowne to the Guardes: but eyther it must be by *Isippus*, or lastly, by *Soemus*, therefore he grew very chollericke, and studied how to taxe and punish her for adultery. And yet such was the power of his loue, that hee could not credite all that hee suspected, neyther exercise any cruelty against so faire a woman, of great Nobility, endowed with all graces belonging to a body of such singularity.

At length, his sister *Salome* remooued all these hinderances in him, and prouoked him on to an execrable execution; for, finding apt occasion to reuenge her owne contempt, she kindled a fierce fire in him of suspition, namely, in the matter of adultery, adding withall, an intent of poyson prepared for him, which shee approoued to the King, by testimonie of his owne Taster or Cup bearer, whome shee had wonne thereto by liberrall gifts of money.

Herods bounty to Augustus, little beyond his power & ability.

Augustus enlarged the power and authority of Herode.

Mariana informed of Herodes intention by the Guardes.

Herodes suspicion of his secrets disclosed and practising, sent his wife.

Really is the malice of one woman to another.

In what gracious and honorable manner Augustus vnto Herode.



Marians the wife of King Herod wrongfully executed, for which he repented heavily afterward.

A grievous pestilence in Judea, King Herode himself lying dead in Samaria.

The death of Alexandria.

Herode cruel to his familiar friends.

Theaters erected in Jerusalem for Jew and Gentile sports.

money. Hereupon, the King grew outrageously incensed against her; and having caused her to be condemned by the sentence of his friends, commanded her to be immediately executed, although she had been the mother to him of five children. But soon after he repented his unadvised rashness, and so extremely desired his wife company again; that he fell into an extraordinary languishing, shutting all society whatsoever. And, under colour of riding on hunting, he would secretly steal into Caves and Dennes in the forest, as hoping there to finde some allwaging of his sorrow; and being unable to withstand the extremitie of melancholie, hee fell into a deadly disease.

At the same time, there was a great plague or pestilence in Judea, whereby multitudes of people were consumed: so that many men were periwaded verily, that God had sent this punishment for the Kings cruelties. And as the King himself lay extremely sick in Samaria, where every one was in nightie despaire of his life: *Alexandra* (his mother in law) strove by large promises, to winne the Guardes of the Temple and Citie to partake with her. But the conspiracie being revealed, *Herode* gave order for her sudden execution. The King then seemed outwardly to be somewhat recovered, but yet carried himself most cruelly against those friends, that were of greatest familiaritie with him; because his sicknesse (however shadowed) increased daily impatience, which made him the more inclined to all violence and tyrannie.

When he perceived, that there remained not any one of the *Asmoneans* Family, or of any other side, to interrupt him in his power, only the multitude excepted; hee grew to such assurance of himselfe, that he did many things repugnant to the lawes of God, and the customes received by the *Jewes*. For, in the Citie of *Jerusalem* it selfe, hee builded a Theater and an Amphitheater, wherein were performed foule and dissolute plays, huntings, and combats of Fencers, according to the maner of the Pagans. He instituted also (at every five yeares end) a Ioust and Tournament, in the honour of *Augustus*, proposing there publicly the *Cæsars* Images, and the Victories ob-

tayned by them. But vnderstanding, that the people were greatly offended with these vn-viual things, prohibited by the Lawes of God, and prouoking many to practise his killing, as also conspiring meanes whereby to effect it: he fortified diuers places very respectiue, against all ambushes and seditions; as *Alexandria*, *Herodion*, *Hycanion*, and others, and planted strong garrisons in the most commodious places.

He builded also newly (or else magnificently repayed) diuers Cities and Townes, which hee filled by the names of Emperours, or of his friends: the principall whereof was the Tower of *Straton* on the Sea side, which hee called *Cæsarea*; and *Samaria*, distant a dayes iorney from *Jerusalem*, which hee called *Sebasta*, that is to say, *Augustus*, according to the Emperours name. Also, he repayed *Athelion*, which hee called *Arrippion*, of *Arrippa*, the kinteman to *Cæsar*. Hee builded *Antipatrida*, by the name of his father, in the field of *Capharsalama*. Also *Phaselida*, by the name of his brother, neare to *Jericho*; and *Herodion*, by his owne name, on the Marches of *Arabia*.

In the thirteenth yeare of his reigne, there happened a great dearth throughout the Land, by reason of an extraordinary drought; which was the cause, that a great famine did accompany the preceeding mortality of men and beasts: during which time, *Herod* caused diligent search for corne, & brought great quantities out of *Egypt*, and other neighbouring Regions beside, which hee distributed (by the poule) to the people. But, because money grew short for such a distribution, in regarde that the royall treasure had bene wasted, about those sumptuous and excessive buildings; hee employed all his vessels of golde and silver, and all his Jewells besides, in the buying of corne. By which bounteous liberality, hee not onely redeemed the losse of his credite, but by the offences done to his people, but also drew great fauour and affection from them.

In the seventeenth yeare of his reigne, *Augustus* coming into *Syria*, gaue the Kingdome of *Chaldea* to *Herode*; adding also thereto *Drachonitis*, and *Basana*. Moreover, he gaue him power, in this his long sicknesse, to appoyne and leave which

Fortifications of Herode, standing in remembrance of his time.

Cities and towns newly builded or repayed by Herode.

A wonderful famine, together with the pestilence of men & beasts.

Herode spent all his Plate and Jewells for buying corne to feed the people.

\* A region of Syria betwixt *Tyarus* and the Lake *Tibstus*. \* A place neare to *Euphrates*.

A Temple dedicated to Augustus.

Spies and intelligencers appointed to sitte the people what spee they were vnder of him.

The oath of violence & fidelitie exacted by Herode of his Subjects.

The Pharise excepted from the Oath.

The Pharisees also excepted from the Oath.

of which his sonnes he pleased, to be his heire and successeur. In recompence of which large bountie, *Herode* dedicated a goodly Temple to *Augustus*, which hee builded in *Pnezada*, neare to the fountes that feede the river *Jordane*. Which Pagan flattery of his, estranged agayne the multitude of the *Jewes* from him; and therefore to please them, hee quitted the third part of their taxations. Notwithstanding, as he could not containe some of them, crying out incessantly, that it was intolerable, to erect temples to mortal men in *Judea*, and there to reuerence them as Gods: so hee sought to restraîne other by violent torments, sending *Spies* and *Picke-thanks* into publique and priuate Assemblies, who reported vnto the King whatsoever was spoken of him. It is further reported of him, that himselfe (sickly as hee was) in a common habite or disguise, would often walke abroad in the night time, listening in such companies as conferred together, to know what they said, concerning the present estate of the kingdome.

At length, finding neither loue nor fidelitie in the people, hee strove to binde them fast to him by oath; wherein hee preuayled, attracting some by large and goodly promises, to giue him their oath of Allegiance and Loyaltie: others hee constrained by feare of torments, putting some to death in diuers kindes, that peremptorily refused to sweare. Onely the *Pharisees* stood excepted, whom hee pardoned, in loue to a few aged men, that hee reuerenced for their sanctitie of life, and which made them deare to the people. Neuerthelesse, hee condemned them in great fines and ameracements, which were payed by the wife of *Phariseus*, to binde that Sect in loue to her. He quitted also the *Essenes* from taking the Oath, holding them in no meane admiration: as following a manner of living most holily, and farre exceeding humane nature; being singular in fore-telling things to come.

In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, being desirous to vnite his Subjects to him by farre greater benefites, and to abolish the remembrance of his preceeding excesses: hee vnderooke to builde the Temple of *Jerusalem* most magnificently, the former building (if herein wee

may beleeue *Iosephus*) being vtterly beaten downe, which building had continued five hundred yeares, after the returne from *Babylon*. This worke, admirable in greatnesse, sumptuousnesse and cunning, was finished in eight yeares, and dedicated with great solemnitie: wherein hee gaue three hundred Oxen for the Sacrifices, seauen yeares before the Natinitie of Christ.

Afterward, the Disciples declared the magnificence of the building. And, as Christ fore-tolde, after that the Temple had continued about foure-score yeares; it was vtterly ruined by the *Romans*, from the top to the bottom.

The building of the Temple being ended, he would needs be carried to *Rome*, to salute the Emperour *Augustus*: From thence hee brought with him his sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, whom hee had by his murdered *Marians*, and had sent them tenne yeares before to *Rome*, to be brought vp in the house of *Asinius Pollio*. And the reason of his bringing them thence into *Judea*, was, to quicken and cheare their hopes; that they were to succede him in the kingdome. And first of all, he bestowed wies on them; giuing to *Alexander*, *Glaphira*, daughter to *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*; and to *Aristobulus*, *Berenice*, daughter to his sister *Salome*.

These young Lords and Ladies, were very gracefull both in minde and bodie, which made them the more choicely affected of the people. But *Salome*, and some other (who had induced *Herode* to murder his wife, fearing if they should come to the Crowne, they would reuenge the death of their mother) laboured, by little and little, to kinde hatred in *Herode* against them, deliuering aspersions abroad; that they disdayned their fathers company, because hee had put their mother to death.

*Herode* growing into health, by weak degrees, and these wicked deuices proceeding on; newes came, that *Agrippa* (neare kinsman to *Augustus*) was arrived in *Asia*, and *Herode* journeying to meete him, quickly perswaded him to visite *Judea*. Having giuen him there most honourable entertainment, and shewne him the munitions and other buildings; he returned to his Campe, making

The Temple of Jerusalem newly builded by King Herode.

Math. 24. 1. Marke 13. 1. Luke 21. 5.

Herode is carried to Rome to see the Emperour.

Asinius Pollio a noble Romaine.

The marriages of Herodes two sonnes.

They that haue once dealt in blood, are alwayes suspicious of themselves.

Agrippa kinsman to Augustus came into Asia.



king great haste in going thither. The winter being ouer-past, *Herode* followed him, when he crossed to *Pontus* his armie by sea, and kept him company during the time of that expedition. Returning soon after to his owne home, hee found all in disorder, by domestick hatreds purposefully prepared. For his sister *Salome*, and his brother *Pheroras*, immediately accused *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* (being the sonnes of *Marians*) affirming, that they had openly complayned on the vnjust death of their mother, and threatened to be reuenged for it. Heereto they added, that winning the Vulgars fauour without any dissimulation; they had prepared a traine for their aunckle father: trusting to the power of *Archelaus*, father in lawe to one of them, and to the friendship of the *Romaines* on the other side, which they had long both wrought to this intent, with the very mightiest in the Court of *Augustus*.

*Herode* enduring continually any thing, much rather then the least suspicion of vndermining his kingdome; became amazed mightily at these allegations, appointed some of his intimate friends, to be present at banquets, and other familiar conferences with his sonnes, to be the better assured of their words & attempts: When (perchance) the young Lords (neither proiecting or suspecting any ill) might vter some one word more liberally then other (being thereto prouoked by crosse language in the vrgers) purposefully deliuered forth, to draw somewhat from them, in extolling the nobilitie and vertue of their Mother, which is the bounden duty of any childe to doe. But this serued the turne sufficiently, for *Herode* to credite, that whatsoeuer his sister had reported, was true. First of all therefore, he reprehended them very seuerely; next, to induce their better modesty and reuerence to their father, by feare and ialousie; he beganne to countenance, and carefully respect his sonne *Antipater*, (who was borne of *Doris*, when she liued a person of priuate condition) that they might thereby gather his intention, for making him to bee his successour in the kingdome.

This did more vehemently distaste the young Lords, and made them now to complaine more bitterly of their father,

as also of their owne unhappinesse and ill vsage; all which behauiour in them, was imparted to their father by the aforesayd intelligencing spies. Beside, *Salome* compelled her daughter *Berenice* (by frequent iniuries incited betwene her and her husband) to disclofe what secrets passed betwene the two brothers, and what priuate conferences they had together. All which she made in much greater manner to the King, then they were indeed, onely by hir vile additions, and falsifications, incensing him still so extremely against them, that he tooke them both with him to *Rome*, and accused them of treason before *Augustus*.

There, after the infortunate Gentlemen had made satisfaction to *Augustus* and some other Iudges, by euident purgations, teares and intreaties, they were reconciled again into their fathers grace, and returned home with him to *Iudea*: where the Multitude being met together, he declared before them the cause of his iourney, and to what happie successe it had sorted. Adding withall, that (by the liking of *Augustus*) *Antipater* was next to succcede after his death, as being his eldest sonne; and then afterward, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* should enioy their right, in reigning each after other; all which hee reported to the people in a long discourse, which we haue formerly related in our Militarie Orations.

From this time forward, *Antipater* insisted the more audaciously, in whetting the fathers spleene against his brethren, by false, forged and crafty calumniation; beside diuers other reports of nouelties, meereley deuised for the purpose. He being highly displeased, that they should haue any title or claime at all to the kingdome: as fretting extremely, that their credite held more specially with the people then theirs did, for the mothers sake of whom they came. In briefe, he neuer ceased, till (by the helpe of *Pheroras* and *Salome*) till he had perswaded his father, that his two sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, were growne proude vpon their reconciliation, and practised (instantly) to possesse themselues of the Kingdome. *Herode* being further informed of those accusations, by such as were employed for the purpose; by racking, torturing and other cruelties, put to death many of his

A mother witheth a daughter against the life of her owne husband.

Augustus resorted the sons to their father.

Antipater still worketh maliciously against his brethren, that they should liue.

Herode putteth to death many friends of his owne and of his sonnes vpon false reports.

his owne friends, and of his Sonnes. And yet no other harme could bee approved against them, but onely youthfull and vnadvised complaints, of excessive cruelty in their father; and his ouercastie facilitie, in lending eare to false reports, only through the detestable impietie of their brother *Antipater*, and them of his linage.

*Herode* impatient at so many suspicions, and fiered hourly with the diuells of his house, *Salome*, *Antipater* and their complices: once more, by his letters sent to *Augustus*, he flatly accused *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* of treason. Now, because *Augustus* had giuen him permission, to punish his sonnes according to the exigence of their crimes: hee accused them before *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, Governours of *Syria*, and other *Romaine* Citizens his friends there present, whom he had caused to come from *Iudea* to *Beritha*, a Citie of *Syria*. After that they were condemned by pluralitie of voyces, he sent them to be strangled in *Sebasta*: where likewise were executed three hundred persons more, who were said to giue consent, to an imaginarie flight imposed vpon the two innocent Princes. *Aristobulus* at his death left three sonnes and two daughters, which hee had by his wife *Berenice*; and *Alexander* two sonnes by *Glaphyra*, besides some daughters, whereof we will speake in their due place and time.

From this time forward, *Herode* beganne to be very vnfortunate, because all his Court was troubled with bitter hatreds, dissidences, suspicions and treasons: so that *Antipater* (compacting with *Pheroras* and some other Courtiers) determined to kill the King his father. And as hee was plotting priuily, how he might be called to *Rome* by *Augustus*, for better strengthening himselfe with the Emperours power, and winning friends in his Court by gifts: it came to passe that *Pheroras* dyed, whose wife was accused before *Herode* by some of her owne friends, to haue poysoned her husband. *Herode* making inquisition after this offence by tortures, chaunced (by little and little) to come to the knowledge of farre greater crimes, and the treasons of his sonne *Antipater* plainly appeared.

Heerupon, the King being extremely

enraged, spared not any of his Court from torturing cruelly; no not so much as the women and their daughters, very neare in loue and kintred to him, if hee could suspect them in the very least manner. And as hee stroue to informe himselfe, by all his best and diligent means, so much the more hee grew to be hated of all his followers, so that (consequently) he became worse then miserable.

Onely his Sister *Salome*, was faithfull to him, who compassed the meanes by craftie spies, to finde out the plots of all the Conspiratours, which shee still recualling to her brother, enflamed his fury extraordinarily: making him to distrust them that were most familiar with him, by forged tales and faithlesse suspicions. So that *Herode* accused *Antipater* (who was taken with the poyson readily prepared for his father) before *Quintilius Varus* (who was slayne by *Arminius Cheruschus* in *Germanie*, twelue yeres after with Legions) and being convicted of the sinne of parricide, and condemned; hee commaunded him to bee kept prisoner, vntill by Letters and Ambassadors, hee vnderstoode the will and pleasure of *Augustus*, concerning his punishment.

In the meane while, hee executed many, both men and women, as being consenting to *Antipaters* attempts: amongst whom were diuerse innocents, wrongfully accused by malicious enemies, and meereley swallowed vp in *Herodes* furie, as in the roaring billowes of the Sea.

Soone after, being about the age of seauentie yeares, quaint and confounded with domestick calamities: his former sickenesse grew now to farre greater violence vpon him, which made him ten times more cruell towards his subiects. For now hee was verily perswaded, that the Lewes reioyed as much at his homebred miseries, as they did at the extremitie of his disease. Wherefore hee deuised very cruell punishments, for matters of silly or small offence: for hee burned aliue fortie young Schollers, of the very chiefeest houses in *Iudea*, with two Maisters that were excellent men: because (being moued with iust griefe, to see the Temple of God prophaned) they had ouerthrowne (somewhat violently) an Eagle of golde, placed in the Portall of

Herod tortures his courtiers cruelly.

Salome only constant to her brother Herode.

Antipater taken with poyson prepared for his father.

Mallice will hardly want matter to worke on.

Herods sicknesse increased vpon him.

The cruel tyranny of Herod in his last sicknesse.

Forty scholars and their masters buried alive.

Sanhedrin the ancient Judges of Iudea.

The husband of Salome flaine.

The murdering of the young infants in Bethleem and other places.

A witty saying of Augustus.

A most horrible intention in King Herode.

the Temple, and in the honor of *Cesar*, a thing very costly and magnificent, but contrary to the customes of the Jewish nation. The monstrous crueltie inflicted vpon these young men, was the cause of great troubles in the Cittie, after *Herodes* death.

Hee exercised also other great cruelties, amongst which, *Philo* the Jew recordeth, that in the thirtieth yeare of his tyrannicall reigne, he slew the *Sanhedrin*: to wit, the ordinary Judges of the house of *David*, and substituted other (newly conuerted to Iudaisme, or skillfull in the Lawe) in their stead. Moreover, he slew the husband of his sister *Salome*, who was of the Tribe or Linage of *Juda*, and a Sonne, which hee himselfe begate of a woman of the same Tribe; because hee had sayd, that Christ our Saviour was already borne, who was promised in the Lawe, and by the Prophets, to be of the house of *David*.

Also Saint *Matthew* the Euangelist, in the second chapter and sixteenth verse, maketh mention of an other notable example of his crueltie, where he writeth, that being aduertised by the wife men of *Persia*, that the *Messias* was borne; hee gaue strict commaund, that all the masse Children should be murdered, in the Towne of *Bethleem*, and all the villages round about.

*Macrobius* is a witnesse of this most inhumane act, who recounteth (among the witty conceits of *Augustus*) that hearing report of the Infants slaughter, from two yeares olde and vnder, caused by *Herode* to be done in *Syria*, and his owne sonne, being also slayne among them, hee sayd: *That he had much rather be Herodes Hogge, then his Sonne.*

Moreover, feeling his entrailes to rot and putrifie, his blood and flesh boyling, and vermine creeping all ouer his bodie, despayring of liuing any longer: by Edict hee assembled the chiefeest of the *Jews*, such as excelled the rest in wisdom, wealth and authoritie; causing them to come from all parts of the Kingdome to *Iericho*.

Being there arriued vpon his commaund, they were thut vppe in the place appointed for Triumphs, as if hee purposed to confere with them before his death, of some important matter con-

cerning the State of the Kingdome. But hee gaue charge to his sister *Salome*, and to her husband *Alexas*, that so soone as hee had giuen vp the Ghost: they should dispatch the liues of the mightiest Iewes by the Archers of his Guard, coueting by this meanes, to make a wofull lamentation amongst the Iewes, who else would reioyce at theyr Kings miserable end.

Besides, that they should thus keepe (without any manner of impeachment) the possession of the Kingdome for his sonnes, when they of greatest power were dead and gone.

Now, albeit *Salome*, and her husband made promise to the King, for the execution of his bloody will: yet after his death, and before they made any declaration thereof, they let loose all the Iewes, without offering them the least iniury, accounting it to be neyther safe for them, nor the children of *Herode*, to obey such a barbarous and inhumane injunction.

A little before his death, the Ambassadors which returned from *Italy*, did bring him Letters from *Augustus*, whereby hee gaue him power ouer his Sonne *Antipater*, eyther for life or death. But the rage of the Father was now somewhat cooler, wherefore hee commaunded, that his Sonne should be brought to *Iericho*; but yet to keepe him still in bands.

It fortuned, that *Herod* (liuing in such horrible and extreame torments, with stinking putrification of his body:) sodainely caught a knife, and fought for the fittest place to ridde himselfe out of those paines.

But *Archelaus*, one of his kinsmen, and other seruants (beeing by) hindered his violent intent of murdering himselfe: wherevpon, a great tumult and out-cry ranne throughout the whole Pallace; euen as if the King had bene dead. *Antipater* being prisoner, and vnderstanding, why these cries came thus from euery place: beganne to be very iocund and mirthfull, euen as if his father were dead indeede, and would haue induced the Guardes to let him haue liberty, vpon very liberall promises hee made to them.

But he that had the especiall charge of him, fearing the crueltie of the King, went

A commaund more then barbarous, yet still becoming the house of death.

The Iewes re-leased with- out any harm done to them.

Herode recei- ued letters from Augu- stus before his death.

Herod intend- ed to kill him- selfe.

Antipater seeth to corrupt his keepers.

to

to see whether he was dead or no: reporting to him his sonnes merry disposition, and the matter which he had so earnestly moued him vnto.

*Herode* mightily offended at these tydings, commaunded, that (without any delay) his son *Antipater* should be slayne in prison. Which beeing done, himselfe liued but sine dayes after his sonne. So that, what with the violence of his sickness, encreasing the torments of his soule, he died: hauing reigned foure and thirtie yeares after the surprisall of *Ierusalem*; and seauen and thirtie yeares after the *Romanes* had proclaimed him King. A man equally cuell to all men from base and lowe degree, exalted to eminent place of honour, by industrie, bountie and friendship: very happy abroade, vnfortunate amongst his owne, and hated (both of his subiects and domesticks) for his crueltie.

All the time of his gouernement, hee had contention and quarrell principally with three aduersaries. First of all, against the Family of the *Asmonaeus*, which hee stroue vtterly to extirpate by all his pollicies. Secondly, against the Jewish people, who could not endure the dominion of a stranger: and although they kicked continually against him, yet finally they were charged with a hard yoke of seruitude. The third aduersarie, more troublesome and difficult then both the rest, was his owne householde people. For, as hee slew one part of them (beeing no way guilty or offense towards him) by listening to false reportes of the enuious, and according to his owne suspicions, still to support his greedy desire of rule: so did he punish others taken in the fact, who indeede conspired against him, vntill such time, as beeing more broken and battered by his domestick encumbrances, then by extremitie of age; hee payed the tribute due to Nature. *Philo* the Jew writeth, that hee reigned fixe yeares lawfully, and one and thirtie yeares tyrannically.

In the three and thirtie yeares of his reigne (as it is aouched by *Epiphanius*) vnder the first description of the *VV* ord: *Iesus Christ*, our blessed Saviour and Redeemer, was borne in *Bethleem* of the Virgine *Mary*. At the age of two yeares, by the Angells admonition, hee was

with-drawne from the crueltie of this wretch, by his father and mother, who fled with him into *Egypt*. Afterwards, hee was brought backe againe into *Iudea*, at the beginning of the Primacie of *Archelaus*.

*Herode* altered his Will three severall times: The first change was, after hee had put to death his two sonnes by *Marianna* the *Asmonaeus*, and then hee sent it by the hands of *Antipater* (hee going to *Rome*) to *Augustus*. That Will confirmed as his heire in the Kingdome, *Antipater*, his eldest sonne by *Doris*: but yet with this condition, that if he dyed before the time, his sonne *Herode*, whom hee had by the daughter of *Simon* the high-priest, should succcede him. To whom (vpon this occasion) according to the opinion of *Iosephus*, hee had giuen in marriage *Herodias*, the daughter to *Archelaus*, sonne of *Marianna* the *Asmonaeus*.

After the death of *Pheroras*, brother to *Herode*, the treasons began to be discovered, and the King beeing informed, that the Mother of *Herode*, his destined Heire (and daughter to the Soueraigne Sacrificer) had consented in wicked council with *Antipater*: hee razed the names both of *Antipater* and *Herode* out of his Will, frustrating them from all hope of euer coming to the Crowne.

Beside, hee expelled the two mothers, *Doris* and *Marianna*, out of the Pallace, despoyling also his father in lawe *Simon*, of the High-priesthoode.

In his second Testament, hee left the Kingdome to his last sonne, named *Herode Antipas*, and hee to succcede after his death, beeing borne of *Martha* a *Samaritan*. Therein hee made no mention at all of *Archelaus*, nor of *Philip*, who were elder in yeares then hee: because, by the suggestion of *Antipater*, some of his friends had falsely accused them by Letters, in the time of their studying at *Rome*.

By the same Testament, hee left a thousand Talents to *Augustus*, which amounted to three score tunnes of Golde. To *Livia* the wife of *Augustus*, and to the children and enfranchised friends of *Augustus*, hee gaue five hundred Talents, that is to say, thirtie tunnes of golde.

Last of all, after that (a little before

The first and second Will of Herode.

Joseph in Ant. lib. 1. c. 10.

Antipater & Herod razed out of their fathers Testaments, & their mothers excluded the Courts.

The second alteration of his Will.

A thousand talents giuen by Herode to Augustus.

The third  
and last alter-  
ation of his  
testament.

his death) hee had caused *Antipater* to be slayne, for diuerse conspiracies against his father and brethren: he grew into good liking of his two elder sonnes, which was the reason of altering his will the third time, leauing the Kingdome of *Iudea* to *Archelaus*; prouided also, that it might bee as pleasing to *Augustus*.

In stead of King, hee made *Antipater* Tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Perea*, that is to say, of the Region situate beyond *Jordane*.

Herode Anti-  
pas and Phil-  
lip made both  
Tetrarches.

In like manner, hee appoynted *Philip* Tetrarch of *Gallanitida*, *Traconitis*, *Batanea* and *Panæda*. To his Sister *Salome* (who amongst all his kinned) he had onely found faithfull to him, and helpfull in all his aduersities, hee left three wealthy Citties, *Tumia*, *Azot* and *Phaselida*, with fiftie thousand Crownes besides.

Hee assigned great reuenues to his other sonnes, and to their children, whom hee left in priuate condition, and augmented the Legacies which he had sent to *Augustus* and other at *Rome*. But *Augustus* (afterwards) distributed all the money to him appoynted to *Herodes* kinned; retayning nothing to himselfe, but onely certayne costly vessells, as a token of remembrance for the dead.

Herodes boun-  
tie in his le-  
gacies to Au-  
gustus and o-  
ther.

## CHAP. XV.

*A briefe Collection, concerning the children of Herode the Great, which hee had by his tenne wiues; as also the order of their severall successions.*

Iosephus va-  
rieth from  
the Euan-  
gelicall historie.



Thought it verie necessarie, heere to set downe the order and succession of *Herodes* children; because it doth giue great light to the Euan-  
gelicall

Histoire, in regarde that the Description made by *Iosephus*, is somewhat dissenting. Especially in *Herodias*, whom *Iosephus* sayth, to be sometime married,

not to *Phillip* the Tetrarch, as the Euan-  
gelist *Saint Mark*, in the sixteenth chap-  
ter and seauenteenth verse of his Gospell  
auoucheth, but to *Herod*, sonne to the  
daughter of *Simon* the High-priest, who  
foone after was aduanced, and ioyned  
with *Herode Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galilee*,  
that slew *Saint Iohn Baptist*.

He sayth besides, that the dauncing  
daughter of *Herodias*, was married to  
*Phillip*: But the authoritie of the Euan-  
gelists ought to be of greater weight with  
vs, then to that of *Iosephus*, who in this  
Genealogie of *Herode*, speaketh things  
very contrary, which is not much to bee  
maruelled at, in a Familie of so great ex-  
tendure. For King *Herode*, according to  
the ancient manner of the Kings of *Iu-  
dea*, had many wiues together, in all be-  
ing tenne, two whereof were barren.

*Doris* his first wife.

Her he married in priuate condition,  
taking her from a place of slender repute,  
her father beeing as then liuing. Of her  
hee begate *Antipater*, whom hee dis-  
inherited, his mother *Doris* beeing diuor-  
ced, after he was married to *Mariana* the  
*Assmeane*: nor would hee permit her to  
be present in *Ierusalem*, but onely at three  
famous solemnitie.

But after that *Mariana* was put to  
death, hee receiued *Doris* againe into  
his Court, and gaue her admittance to  
his bedde, re-calling home the sonne  
also: beeing fully resoluèd, to haue left  
him heire to the Kingdome, if hee had  
not bene the cause of his owne ruine  
and death, by wicked machinations, con-  
triued against his father and brethren;  
beside, hee brought his owne mother in-  
to the dislike of his father.

*Antipater* tooke to wife the daughter  
of *Antipater*, the last King of the *Assmeane*,  
by whom hee had also *Antipater*,  
to whom was married the daughter  
of *Phoror* his great vnckle. Afterward  
hee married *Mariana*, daughter vnto his  
brother *Aristobulus*, whom he caused to  
be murdered.

The gene-  
alogie of He-  
rodus very great

Antipater the  
sonne of Doris  
the first  
wife of Herod

Doris recei-  
ued againe  
and her sonne  
tooke.

Antipater  
had a sonne  
named Anti-  
pater also.

By

By his second wife *Mariana* the *Assmeane*, he had many heires, thus following in order.

The issue to  
Herode by  
Mariana, and  
their matches  
in marriage.

*Mariana*,  
Glaphrya, daughter to *Archelaus* king of  
*Cappadocia*; *Alexander*, slaine by his fa-  
ther.

*Herode*,  
*Aristobulus*, slaine by his father, left fise  
children by *Berenice*, as followeth after.

The third dyed immediately.  
*Salome* was married to *Phaselus*, sonne  
of *Phaselus*, brother to *Herode*, of whose  
children we haue spoken before.

*Cypris* was married to *Antipater*, the  
sonne of *Salome*, sister to the King.

*Alexander*,  
*Tygranes*, who was sent by *Nero* King  
into *Armenia*.

*Tygranes* was King of *Armenia*, and af-  
terward accused at *Rome*, dyed without  
issue.

*The names of Aristobulus his chil-  
dren, by Berenice.*

*Aristobulus*, strangled by the command  
of his father *Herode*.

*Berenice* his wife, daughter of *Salome*,  
sister to King *Herode*.

*Agrippa* the first King of *Iudea*.

*Herode* the fourth King of *Chalcis*.

*Aristobulus*, to whom was espoused  
*Iotapata*, daughter to the king of the *Eme-  
sians*, by whom hee had *Iotapata*, a deafe  
daughter.

*Herodias*, who left her husband, and  
had a daughter *Salome*; who for the re-  
ward of her goodly dauncing, required,  
and had the head of *Saint Iohn Baptist*.

*Mariana*, affianced first to *Antipater*  
the sonne of *Antipater*; but afterward *Antipater*,  
sonne of great *Herode*, tooke her  
to wife.

The issue by  
the third wife  
to King He-  
rode.

*Mariana* daughter to *Simon* the foue-  
raigne Sacrificer, the third wife to *He-  
rode*, of whom came.

*Herode* the second, who had a daugh-  
ter named *Salome*, married sometime to  
his vnckle *Phillip* the Tetrarch; and af-

terward to *Aristobulus*, sonne to *Herode*  
king of *Chalcis*.

*Herodias* his wife, yongest daughter  
of great *Herode*, and also the daughter of  
*Aristobulus*, slaine by his father.

*Herode* affecting this *Mariana* for her  
rare beauty, who was the daughter  
to a filly sacrificing Prielt, he perceiving  
that he could no otherwise enioy her, but  
by lawfull marriage; made her father *Si-  
mon* (sonne to *Boethus*) High-priest, by  
deposing *Iefus*, the succellour to *An-  
nelius*.

Of her hee begate *Herode* the second,  
whom he had instituted (in his first Will)  
second heire after *Antipater* his eldest  
sonne. But growing offended (afterward)  
for some fault in his mother: hee altered  
his Will, and deputed him of all hope  
of succeeding.

*Iosephus* writeth, that this *Herode* the  
second (who alwayes afterward liued pri-  
uately) tooke to wife *Herodias*, the daugh-  
ter of *Aristobulus*, slaine by his father, who  
afterward was exalted by his brother *He-  
rod Antipas*, contrary to all right and rea-  
son. But (as I haue already said) this Ge-  
nealogie of *Iosephus* agreeth not with  
*Saint Marke*, who ruleth it in this maner.

*Herode* the second, borne of the High-  
priests daughter, liued without publike  
charge.

His wife *Herodias* that left him, married  
with the brother to her husband.

*Herode Antipas*, Tetrarch of *Galilee*.

*Phillip* the Tetrarch, who died  
without children.

The daughter *Salome* was married to  
both, each after other, and engendred by  
the last;

*Herode, Agrippa, Aristobulus*; of whom  
I finde nothing at all recorded.

The fourth wife of *Herode* was *Mar-  
thaea*, or *Malthaea*, a Samaritane; of whom  
were borne;

*Archelaus*, who by the last Testament  
of his father, was ordainèd to be his suc-  
cessour. But by *Augustus* he was institu-  
ted to be \* *Ethiopiae*.

*Herode* the third, called also *Antipas*,  
Tetrarch of *Galilee*; the raustier of *He-  
rodias*, and murderer of *Saint Iohn Baptist*:  
he was called also, the Fox for *Christ*.

Ggg 3 *Olympia*,

Mariana the  
daughter to  
Simon, ad-  
uanced to the  
High pui-  
hoode.

Herod the se-  
cond depre-  
ssed from suc-  
ceeding Iom.

Iosephus re-  
counteth in his  
Genealogie.

The Genea-  
logie accord-  
ing to the  
description of  
Saint Marke.

The issue of  
Herode by  
his fourth  
wife.

*Olympia*, married to *Iosippus*, sonne of *Iosippus* the brother to King *Herode*: Of whom came this Posteritie following:

*Mariana*, espoused to *Herode* the fourth, King of *Chalesis*, and had a sonne named *Archibolus*, who (by *Nero*) was instituted Governor of *Armenia* the lesser. He had to wife *Salome*, the daughter of *Herodias*, as formerly hath bene declared.

The fifth wife of *Herode* was *Cleopatra* of *Jerusalem*, whose children were

*Phillip*, who (by the last Testament of his father) was appoynted Tetrarch of *Trochomitis*.

*Herode*, of whom I finde nothing recorded in any Historie.

But, considering that *Iosephus* saith, that this *Phillip* was brother to the father and mother of *Archelaus*; I make some doubt of diuers other places before mentioned by him, where (perhaps by want of memory) he wrongeth himselfe in the numbering of *Herodes* children; as in the second Chapter of the same Booke. And that of the same mother *Marthaca*, were borne *Archelaus*, *Phillip* and *Olympia*: And that of this *Cleopatra*, issued only *Herode*, called *Antipas*. From whence it proceeded (as I thinke) that *Iosephus* attributeth two sonnes vnto this *Cleopatra*, *Phillip* and *Herode*: of whom (neuertheless) he maketh not any mention in his Historie.

I thinke then, that *Antipas* should be placed for *Phillip* vnder *Cleopatra*; for, because he nameth *Herode* also: some (not very skilfull) haue attributed two sonnes to *Cleopatra*: euen as if I should say, that *Julius* and *Cesar* had bene two Consuls. Assuredly, this coniecture seemeth to be confirmed, because *Archelaus* (being vpon his departure to *Rome*, after the death of his father) left all the care and managing of the kingdomes affaires to *Phillip*, as to his nearest and dearest brother; and not to *Antipas*, whom he ought to haue preferred before *Phillip*, if hee had bene his germaine brother by the same mother. But this shewes it selfe much more evidently, in regard that *Iosephus*, in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapters of the same seuenteenth Booke, saith: That *Archelaus* journeying to *Rome*, tooke a-

long with him his mother *Marthaca*, who dyed there, before the suite (concerning the succession) was decided; and that (soone after) *Antipas* followed him, who likewise was accompanied with his mother. It must needs follow then necessarily, that they had diuersitie of mothers. Wherefore it somewhat amazeth mee, that *Iosephus* repeateth in the Historie of the Jewes warres, to haue spoken ill in his Antiquities: to wit, that *Archelaus* and *Antipas* were brethren by one mother.

The sixth wife of *Herode*, was *Pallas*, who had a sonne named *Phasclius*, of whom *Iosephus* writeth nothing.

The seauenth wife was *Phadra*, who had by *Herode* (being then ancient) a daughter named *Roxana*.

The eighth wife of *Herode*, was *Elpis*, by whom hee had a daughter named *Salome*.

Afterward, *Augustus* married the two sonnes of *Pheroras*, to these two sisters, *Roxana* and *Salome*, being but young when their father died. To whom (beside the Legacies of their father) hee added (of his owne) in their dower, two hundred thousand peeces of silver money: which summe, if *Iosephus* doe vnderstand *Drachmas* thereby, as I imagine, it amounteth to five and twentie thousand crownes of the Sunne.

The ninth wife, was the daughter of his brother, whom *Iosephus* nameth not.

The tenth, was his Cousine germane, ynnamed also.

By these two wiues *Herode* had not any children.

All this so great lineage of *Herode*, failed (well-neare vnterly) within the space of seenty yeares, the most part of them living in private manner. Such as attained to gouernement of affaires, and succeeded in some small portions of their fathers dignitie; were only three sonnes of *Herode*, to wit, *Archelaus* the Ethnarch, *Phillip* and *Antipas*, Tetrarches, and two younger sonnes, the first *Agrippa*, King of *Iudea*, and *Herod* the fourth King of *Chalesis*; *Agrippa* the last, in whose reigne was the Iewish warre, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*. I will speake briefly of them all in order.

CHAP.

Antipas and his mother went also to Rome,

Pallas, Thedra and Elpis with their first-borne by Herod

The bounty of Augustus to the marriages of Roxana and Salome.

A greivous vnterly expiring in a short compass of yeares.

Of them that succeeded in gouernment.

## CHAP. XVI.

Of the Ethnarchie of Archelaus; and the plea of him and his Brother Antipas before Augustus, for the right of Gouernment.

**B**Y the last Testament of the Father (as I haue already sayd) *Archelaus* was appoynted successor with royall power; provided, that *Augustus* would be so pleased. But scarcely was the fathers body interred, when a great mutiny arose in the City, and he lost his peoples affection by cruelty. For some of the kindred & parents of the young scholars that were burned alive, about beating down the golden Eagle, returning to the Feast at Easter, mouing the people by their teares and complaints to challenge reuenge of certaine slanderous persons, and deposition of the Soueraigne Sacrificer, whom *Herode* had established in the ending of his dayes: *Archelaus* sent his Light horsemen against the people, and made a bloody slaughter, to the number of three thousand, beside diuers put to flight. After that, the tumult was for a time appeased, hee left the charge of his kingdomes affaires to his brother *Phillip*, and tooke his journey to *Rome*, accompanied with his mother *Marthaca*, and some other friends, to require of *Augustus* the full establishment of his Fathers Will.

By the suggestion of their Aunt *Salome*, *Herode Antipas* followed after his Brother, to contend with him for succession in the kingdom before *Augustus*. There hee accused him of cruelty, approouing, that the Crowne should rather bee his, then any due to *Archelaus*; because by the second testament, he was onely ordained heyre to the Royall dignity; when his father *Herode* was found both in bodie and memory. And such a Will so made, ought to bee of farre greater respect and weight, then the last to neere his death; when both body and mind were vncapable of sense and reason.

Soone after, fifty Ambassadors were sent from the people of *Iudea* to *Rome*, to

entreate, that they might no longer be gouerned by a King: but rather that *Iudea* (being reduced to the form of a Province) might be vnder command of the Romane Captaines (as afterward it was, but to the Iewes no great aduantage.) But if hee needs they must haue a King, and of *Herodes* posterity: they openly confessed, that they much rather affected *Herode Antipas*, then *Archelaus*, who (at his very entrance) gaue them sufficient vnderstanding, what mildnesse and moderation they should afterwarde expect in him.

While this sute was thus in hearing, and *Augustus* consulted thereon, vntill some of his most intimate friends; greivous tumults chanced to be moued; first by *Sabinus*, Procurator for *Cesar* in *Jerusalem*, and afterward in diuers other places of *Iudea*. For some people (of no worth) emboldned by the Kings absence, hauing gathered together certaine companies of Theeues; durst attribute vnto themselves, both the Royall dignity and Ornaments. During which time, *Iudea* was wonderfully waisted in manie places with fire and sword; vntill (by the vertue of *Quintilius Varus*, who scattered the armies of the Theeues, and hanged vpe above two thousand, such as were chiefe Leaders in the sedition) the danger was well ouer-blowne.

These troubles being certified by Letters to *Rome* by *Varus*, caused *Augustus* (hauing ended the sute concerning the succession) to send backe the Sonnes of *Herode* to *Iudea* againe. But hee had diuided the whole kingdom of *Herode* into two partitions: one whereof hee gaue to *Archelaus*, whom hee named Ethnarche, which dignity hee afforded to be greater then that of Tetrarche, & yet much lesse then Royall power. Promising (neuertheless) that he would make him King, after he had made triall of his industry & moderation in this gouernment. Moreover, hee diuided the other part into two Tetrarchies, which he gaue to the two Brethren to *Herode Antipas*, *Galilee* and *Perea*; the reuennues whereof amounted to two hundred Talents, that is fixe score thousand Crownes of the Sun. But the Ethnarchie of *Archelaus*, which contained *Idumaea*, *Iudea*, and *Samarria*, valowed fixe hundred Talents in reuennues.

Archelaus.

Archelaus made by the Iewes, no longer gouerned by a King.

Seditious and tumults hapning in Iudea, and other places of Iudea.

Herodes sons sent backe to Iudea againe, and the kingdom was diuided into partitions.

The diuision of the two Tetrarchies.

The issue of Herod by his first wife.

Iosephus saith, that this Phillip was brother to the father and mother of Archelaus; I make some doubt of diuers other places before mentioned by him, where (perhaps by want of memory) he wrongeth himselfe in the numbering of Herodes children; as in the second Chapter of the same Booke.

Iosephus saith, that this Phillip was brother to the father and mother of Archelaus; I make some doubt of diuers other places before mentioned by him, where (perhaps by want of memory) he wrongeth himselfe in the numbering of Herodes children; as in the second Chapter of the same Booke.

The journey of Archelaus to Rome, after the King his fathers death, and his mother with him.

The cruel be-  
haviour of Ar-  
chelaus to his  
subjects after  
his returne a-  
mong them.

Archelaus being come backe into Iu-  
dea, enflamed with hatred against his sub-  
jects (by whose accusation, hee had not  
only lost his Kingly authority, but almost  
the halfe part of his gouernment) began  
to carry himselfe cruelly towards them,  
and (for small or no causes at all) did put  
to death such persons, as hee imagined  
had desired the alteration of the State.  
Moreover, he highly soyled his reputa-  
tion, with marriage prohibited by the laws  
of God. For at his returne from Rome, as  
he passed thorow Cappadocia, to visite his  
kindman king Archelaus; hee found there  
Glaphyra (widdowed the second time)  
who had bene first married to Alexander  
that was put to death by his Father Herod  
with his brother Aristobulus. After his  
death, her Father in law Herode, sent her  
(with her dowry) vnto her owne father,  
where she was remarried to Iuba King of  
the Numidians; who being likewise dead,  
she came and lued with hir father againe.  
Archelaus (moeigled with her beaucie)  
tooke her to wife, notwithstanding shee  
had bene married to his brother Alexan-  
der, divorcing his owne wife, named Ma-  
rianne. This Glaphyra died a little before  
Archelaus was sent into exile, being af-  
frighted with a dreame; wherein shee se-  
emed to see the ghost of her first husband,  
reproouing her for this wicked marriage  
with his brother.

Finally, as he ceased not from commi-  
ting extraordinary cruelties, so he chan-  
ced to be accused at Rome, by some of the  
principall Iewes: after hee had nine yeares  
held the principality, from the death of  
his Father Herode. Whereupon, Augu-  
stus summoned him to his appearance; &  
after hee had bene conuicted by sufficient  
Witnesses, hee was sent into Dauphine,  
where he died, without leauing any chil-  
dren that were knowne. His goods were  
confiscated to the Romaine Emperour,  
and the Countries of his Ethnarchie  
were (for a time) ruled by the Romaine  
Gouernors: as by Coponius, Marcus, and  
Annus Rufus, who gouerned the Coun-  
treies (each of them) two yeares, euen vntill  
the death of Augustus, whose succe-  
sor Tiberius, sent Valerius Gracius into Iu-  
dea. Eleuen yeares after, hee sent Pontius  
Pilate alio, who behaued himselfe cruelly  
in Iudea: and (amongst other notorious  
matters) hee condemned our Lord & Sa-

Archelaus  
sent to  
Rome, his co-  
uision and  
death.

Pomius Pilate  
sent gouernor  
into Iudea.

uiour Iesus Christ to be hanged vpon a  
Crosse, in the seauenth yeare of his Go-  
uernment, and the eighteenth of the Em-  
peror Tyberius.

## CHAP. XVII.

Of Philip, sonne to Herod the Great, & how  
he gouerned in his Tetrarchie.

**King Herod**, by his last Will  
and Testament, left his  
sonne Philip Tetrarche of  
Tracoonitis, & of the neigh-  
bouring Regions beyond  
Iordane; euen from the Sea of Tyberias or  
Genesareth, to the springs of Iordane, and  
the foot of Mount Libanus. He gouerned  
this his Tetrarchy the space of ten and  
thirty yeeres (with great commendation  
for iustice and modesty) which hee also  
beautified with many goodly Buildinges:  
For in Pannecia, neere to the fountes of  
Iordane (where sometime his Father He-  
rod had erected and dedicated a Temple  
to Augustus) hee builded a Cittie, which  
he called Cæsarea of Philippi; and another  
vpon the lake of Genesareth, named Besh-  
saida, which encreasing and growing in-  
to great wealth, hee called it Iuliasa, after  
the name of the wife to Augustus.

Iosephus writeth, that this Philip tooke  
in marriage Salome, the daughter of He-  
rodiades, whereas Saint Marke the Euan-  
gelist, in his sixth chapter and the seauen-  
teenth verse writeth, That the Mother  
Herodias was espoused vnto Philip: and  
afterward being carried away, was con-  
iointed with his Brother.

He dyed without any heyre, in the 20.  
yeare of Tyberius the Emperour, that is to  
say, two yeeres after Christ was crucified,  
rose from the dead againe, and the Gos-  
pell was spread abroad by the Apo-  
stles, from forth Iudea to Neighbouring  
Nations. His Tetrarchie was annexed  
(by Tyberius) to the Province of Syria.

The large ex-  
tension of Philip's Te-  
trarchie.

The building  
of Cæsarea  
of Philippi  
and Besh-  
saida by Philip  
Iuliasa.

At what time  
Philip the Te-  
trarch died.

## CHAP.

## CHAP. XVIII.

Of the life and death of Herod Antipas, bro-  
ther to Phillip, and Tetrarche of Samaria  
and Peraea, &c.

**His Herode Antipas**, by the  
second Will was instituted  
successor to his Father. But  
the Testament being altered,  
he was ordained Tetrarche,  
and had (for his partage) Samaria and Pe-  
rea, which is a most fertile Region be-  
yond Iordane, betweene the Lakes of Ty-  
berias and Alphaltida. Neuerthelesse, be-  
ing not contented with his Fathers gift,  
and trusting to the precedent Will; hee  
contended at Rome with his Brother  
before Augustus, touching the possession  
of the kingdome. All which notwithstanding,  
hee obtained nothing else but the  
Tetrarchie left him by his father, & then  
againe confirmed to him. He took first to  
wife the daughter of Aretas, King of Ara-  
bia, liuing with him more then fifteen  
yeares. But afterward, being called to  
Rome, passing along by Phillip the Tetrar-  
che, or (as Iosephus writeth) by Herode the  
second, borne of the daughter to the high  
Priest: being enamoured on Herodias,  
daughter to his brother Aristobulus, hee  
contracted marriage with her, promising  
to repudiate his Arabian wife.

Being returned from Italy, hee tooke a-  
way from his Brother, Herodias and her  
daughter Salome; whereat the daughter  
of Aretas finding her selfe offended (se-  
cretly disguised) fled to her father in Ara-  
bia; whereupon ensued a lamentable war.  
For Aretas, purposing to reuenge this vi-  
cious divorce of his daughter, sent a potent  
Army against Herode; which did vterly  
ouerthrow all his Forces, notwithstanding  
their strength and multitude in num-  
ber.

This Herode Antipas, detained S. Iohn  
Baptist sometime prisoner in the strong-  
detained City of Macheron (situated on  
the Marches of Peraea and Arabia, neere  
to the lake Alphaltida) because hee hadde  
boldly reprooued him for this incestuous  
marriage; where the Adulteresse found

the meanes (afterward) to haue his head  
smitten off. The same Herode laboured  
subtly to entrap Christ, as he was teach-  
ing in Galilee; and afterward, when Pilate  
sent him prisoner to him, hee sent him  
backe againe opprobriously, because (at  
his request) Christ would not worke any  
miracle before him.

He likewise embellished his Tetrarchy  
with faire buildinges; for (to his great  
charges) hee builded Sephorim, a Cittie of  
Galilee, which hee caused to bee called An-  
tocratorida. Hee called another Iuliasa, by  
the name of Augustus wife, which before  
was named Betharama. After the death of  
Augustus, because hee had bene a kinde  
friend to Tyberius; hee builded a new City  
in honour of him, neere to the Lake of  
Genesareth, which hee commanded to bee  
called Tyberias. But because the place  
was prophaned by great heapes of dead  
bodies there buried, so that (by Moyses  
Lawe) it was not lawfull to dwell there,  
hee allured some (by diuers commodities  
and immunities) to builde there, making  
habitations for poore people; & compell-  
ing the rich and mighty, to inhabit (with  
their families) in this new City.

In the second yeare of the Empire of  
Caius Caligula, when Agrippa the Brother  
of Herodias returned from Rome into Iu-  
dea, adorned (against all attempts) with  
the royall dignity: Herode, by the conti-  
nuall injuries of his wife, was enforced to  
vndertake a iourney to Rome, to entreate  
the royall dignity of the Emperour. For  
this woman (burning with ambition) said  
it was vsufferable, that her Brother Ag-  
rippa (being but a while before poore &  
beggerly, and so farre indebted, that hee  
was made seruaile to his Creditors) should  
now triumph with a Kingly Crowne, sur-  
mounting his Vnckle in power and dig-  
nity, hee hauing bene to him as a nursing  
Father, and adiuaged (by the second tes-  
tament) worthy of the kingdome.

Antipas, prouoked by the incessant in-  
digations of this arrogant woman, went  
vnto Rome with her; desiring of the Em-  
peror Caius, to enioy the name and dig-  
nity Royall: beside, by manie greuous  
accusations, hee practised to make Agrip-  
pa hatefull to the Emperour. But Agrippa  
(advertisied of his Vnckles voyage and in-  
tent) preuented him, and sent letters be-  
fore him by an intimate friend: wherein  
he

Citties that  
were builded  
by Antipas, in  
his Tetrarchy.

The new citie  
of Tyberias.

Agrippa the  
Brother of  
Herodias,  
highly respect-  
ed by the  
Emperour, and  
adorned with  
royall dignity.

Antipas accus-  
ed his Vnckle  
Brother Ag-  
rippa before  
the Emperour  
Caius Calig-  
gula.

Samaria and  
Perea a most  
fertile coun-  
try.

The first wife  
of Herod An-  
tipas.

Antipas falls  
in love with  
Herodias, &  
contractes mar-  
riage with her.

Herodias and  
her daughter  
Salome  
carried away  
by Antipas.

S. Iohn Bapt-  
ist kept in  
prison by An-  
tipas, & re-  
leasing him  
caused him to  
preach, and  
thereby hee  
was crucified.

he informed *Caius*, that *Herode Antipas* was confenting in the conspiracie of *Sotinus*, against *Tiberius*; and that now (having close intelligence with the King of the *Parthians*) there was some noultie intended against *Caius*. A matter easily to be coniectured, by the great preparation for Armes which *Antipas* made: whereby, in an instant, he could be suddenly furnished with an Army of three-score and tenne thousand able fighting men.

*Caligula*, incensed by this report from his friends, demanded of *Herode*, what provision hee had in a readinesse for his Tetrarchie; Whereunto hee answered: That he had all things fitting for a King. Whereupon *Caius* instantly commaunded, that hee should be carried prisoner to *Lions* in *France*, and there kept in perpetuall exile. Moreover, by his Letters, hee gaue all his goods, with the Tetrarchie of *Galilee* and *Perea*, to *Agrippa*: except what appertained in propriety to his sister *Herodias*, whom hee rated innocent, and for her hee would have all to be intirely referred, if he would returne into *Iudea* againe. But *Herodias*, thanking *Caius* for his liberallitie, replied: That presently she could not make any vie of this great fauour, because she held it vnreasonable, to leaue her husband in this calamitie, whom she had alwayes accompanied in his flourishing prosperitie, and tasted thereof verry royally.

Thus spake this subtle woman, as hoping thereby, that the Emperour would alter his rigorous sentence, concerning the condemnation of *Herode*; and that shee should not vndergoe the forfeiture of confute, considering his supportall of her innocencie. But *Caius* (being highly displeased at her haughtie flatterie) commaunded, that being d' spoiled of all her goods, shee should walke with her husband in the same nature of exile. Thus *Herode* was the instrument of his owne harme, by listening (ouer-lightly) to the persuasions of this ambitious woman: for, if he could haue contented himselfe with his estate, hee had longer time enjoyed peaceably his dignitie of Tetrarch. But they both deferred iustly this heauie penaltie; because, being ioyned together by incestuous marriage, and charitably admonished in the greatnesse of

their sinne: they did put to death the most innocent man *Saint Iohn Baptist*, vnder colour of a rash oath, pretending conscience.

This great downe-fall happened vnto them, about tenne yeares after the beheading of *Saint Iohn*; eight yeares after *Herode* had hunted *Iesus Christ*, and sent him bound (clothed like a foole in white) as vnwilling to endure his presencie. There is not any thing recorded of his Posteritie, but that the Principallitie of *Iudea* went from the sonnes of Great *Herode*, to a younger sonne of another sonne *Aristobolus* and *Marianus* an *Amonites*, to wit, to *Agrippa* and *Herode*, of whom I haue here left downe the Ancestors and Posteritie.

*Marianus*, an *Amonites*.  
*Cypris*, daughter of *Salome*, sister to *Aristobolus*.  
*Agrippa* the second, King of *Chalcis*.  
*Drusus* dyed in his youth.

*Herode* the Great.

*Salome* his sister.  
*Berenice* his wife.  
*Aristobolus*, *Herodias*, *Mariana*.

*Aristobolus* dyed by his father.  
*Agrippa* the first King of all *Iudea*.  
*Herod*, the fourth King of *Chalcis*.  
*Berenice*, married to his vncle *Herod*, King of *Chalcis*, who being dead, shee remayned with *Polemon* King of *Syria*.  
*Marianus* ioyned with *Archelaus* *Hedebites*, and begate *Berenice*. Leauing him, shee wedded *Dometius* of *Alexandria*, by who shee had *Agrippina*.

*Drusilla* most faire, being but yonge, five yeares olde, was affianced by her father to *Epiphanes*, sonne of *Antiochus*, King of *Comagene*. But he making refusal to be circumcised, her brother *Agrippa* gaue her to *Hazarsenus*, King of the *Emesians*. Afterward *Felix*, brother to *Pallas*, Gouernour of *Iulias* (by power of Promises) made her to leaue her husband, and tooke her to wife. By whom shee had a sonne, named *Agrippa*, who dyed with his wife, at the burning of the Mountaine. \* *Vesenus*: which made an inestimable spoyle and waste in *Terra di Lauera*, otherwise called the *Great Campagnes*.  
Sunt

Agrippa procured his brothers accusations to the Emperour.

Herod imprisoned in his own sinners, and sent into banishment at Lions in France.

The subtle answer of Herodias to the Emperour.

The punishment inflicted on Herod and his wife Herodias.

*Saint Paul* maketh mention of this *Drusilla*, in the foure and twentieth chapter of the *Acts* of the Apostles, and the foure and twentieth verse, affirming her to be wife to *Felix*.

## CHAP. XIX.

The life of Agrippa, the first man of that name, coming to be King of Iudea.



Little before the death of his grand-father *Herode*, being as then but eight yeares olde, this *Agrippa* was sent to *Rome*, and there nourished with *Drusus*, the sonne of *Tiberius*. Hee was greatly affected by *Anthonia* mother of *Germanicus* and *Claudius* the Emperour, in regarde of his mother *Berenice*; whom hee loued as if hee had bene her sister.

Being come to age, hee retired into *Iudea*, after the death of *Drusus*: because *Tiberius* expelled from his court, al them that had bene friends to his deceased sonne; as fearing lest the sight of them, should bee the renewing of his sorrow. But *Agrippa* became charged with great doubts, whereinto hee had entred at *Rome*, after the expence of all his owne meanes. Wherefore hee wandered abroad for (some times) with his wife *Cypris*, beggerly, poore, and vtterly abandoned of his friends; so that at length, shame and pinching pouertie would haue prouoked him to shorten his life. But his wife *Cypris* making humble supplications to *Herodias*, the sister of her husband: shee prevailed so farre, that *Herode Antipas* the Tetrarche, builded a house for him in the city of *Tiberias*, and assigned him there a yearly renew. Not long had *Agrippa* enjoyed this benefite by his brother in law, but *Herode* growing offended at his table, for some wordes spoken by *Agrippa*, ouer-boldely reproued him angrily, terming him a begger, and a vagabond, and that hee liued by his bounty.

*Agrippa* grieuing at this reproach, forsooke this fauour afforded by *Herode*; and borrowing some small store of money, of

one that respected him, but at extreame interest; once more hee intended to visite *Rome*, and there againe to make triall of his fortune. Hee went to salute *Tiberius* in the Isle of *Caprea*, where hee found gracious entertainment for a few dayes: vntill some Agent for the Emperour, wrote backe from *Iudea*, that *Agrippa* did owe thirtie thousand Crownes of the Sunne, to the Receiueurs of the Emperour. Beside, that hee had formerly made many escapes, euen when the dayes for repayment came, vsing nothing but subtle and colinging shifts.

*Tiberius* much offended at these rydings, commaunded *Agrippa* to auoyde his Court, vntill hee had made full satisfaction: which hee did (with great difficulty) by the meane of *Madame Antonia*. Wherewith *Tiberius* was so well pleased, that hee appointed him the guardian of his twinne sonne *Tiberius*. But a little before the death of *Tiberius*, once againe hee fell into his disfaour. For, being at supper one night, with *Caius*, the yonge adopted sonne of *Tiberius*, among other speeches passing at the Table; *Agrippa* wished, that olde *Tiberius* might quickly die, to the end that *Caius* should enioy the Empire.

This with comming to the eares of *Tiberius*, *Agrippa* (by the Emperours commaund) was clapt vp in close prison, and there so kept, vntill such time as *Tiberius* deceased. *Caius*, well assisted by his warlike troupes, and by his father *Germanicus*, came to enioy the Empire, and hauing released *Agrippa* out of prison; adorned him with the habits befitting a King, subiecting also those countries to him, which *Phillip* the Tetrarch, and *Lyfianus* formerly had commaunded. Moreover, he gaue him a chaine of gold, of equalitie in weight to the yron chaine, wherewith he was bound lying in prison. Hee remained a yeare with the Emperour *Caius* at *Rome*; and then tooke leaue of him for his returne to *Iudea*, to take possession of his kingdom.

Thus you see, that hee who (before) was not onely despised, in regard of his necessitie and great debts, but also durst not abide in any place, for the importunite of his creditors; was (to the admiration of all such as sawe him in that wofull miserie) raised to the magnificence royall; which

Miserie foorthwith enuie with enemies then succeds.

The strange and variable condition of Agrippas fortune.

The coming of Caius to the Empire, and readuancement of Agrippa.

The returne of Agrippa to possesse his kingdom.

Hee also called Herod, in Acts 12.1.

Agrippa was educated at Rome with the Emperours sonne.

The great poverty and diffelte of Agrippa & his wife Cypris.

\* Comagene lay betwixt Syria and Arabia.

Herodias was a meane to relieve their misery.

\* Mount Sion was the temple, where Noe was the first, and the last, of the world.

Agrippa forsooke Herod, and took his fortune elsewhere.

Honors heaped more and more vpon Agrippa by the Emperour.

Agrippa maketh a journey to Rome.

Philo the Jew sent Ambassadors for the Jewes.

A great complaint made to Caius against the Jewes.

A command to erect the Emperours statue in the holiest place of the Temple.

Petronius goeth with a powerful army to Ptolomais, to execute the Emperours command.

which caused some to tremble, that denied and refused to aide him, or had iniuriously repulsed him, while he liued in priuate estate and extreame pouerty. Soone after, *Caius Caligula* gaue him *Galilee* and *Berea*; with all the cheuifance of *Herode Antipas* his emulatur, and of his sister *Herodias*, as in our last Chapter we haue related: wherefore, after he had taken order for his kingdomes affaires, hee tooke his iourney towards *Rome*, with gifts and presents, to declare (on his owne behalfe) what seruices and acknowledgement hee made, for so many gracious fauours done to him by *Caius*.

During the time that *Agrippa* was at *Rome*, there happened a strife betweene the Citizens of *Alexandria*, and the *Jewes* dwelling in the same Cittie: so that (by lottes) Ambassadors were sent on eyther part to the Emperour. Amongest whom was *Philo* the Jew, whose testimony we haue diuers times made vse of, in the course of this present Historie. There the *Jewes* were sharply accused by a *Greeke* named *Aprian*, for many faults, and especially, for oblitinate contempt of the Imperiall dignitie: because in all parts of those Citties where the *Jewes* dwelt, they would not suffer any Statues or Images of the Emperour *Caius* to be erected; but if any were set vpp, immediately they would throw them downe very opprobriously.

*Caligula* being very furiously moued with this complaint, repulsed the *Jewish* Ambassadors, somewhat rudely, and wrote to *Petronius*, (who from the beginning of his Empire, he had sent Governour into *Judea*) that with all the haste he could possibly vse, hee should erect the Emperours Statue, in the most holy place of the Temple of *Ierusalem*, if not by consent of the *Jewes*, yet in despite of them, and (by force of Armes) whether they would or no.

*Petronius*, willing to obey this comānd, yeknowing the execution would not be easie; called the Legions from all parts, & being prouided of sufficient succor, went from *Syria* to *Ptolomais*, carrying a braue army along with him. But first he made knowne to the *Jewes* (by Ambassadors and Letters,) wherefore he came in such dreadfull manner, as grounded vpon the Emperours commaunds; desiring the peo-

ple, that he might rather perforce it by their good liking, then by the course of force & violence. The *Jewes*, not a little affrighted at these newes, came from a great number of Townes and Citties, into the fields before *Ptolomais*, bringing no arms or weapons with them: but entreating *Petronius*, not to fulfill so wicked a commaund, protesting, that they would rather endure a thousand deaths, then suffer the Temple to be prophaned with the Statue of a man.

Contrariwise, *Petronius* admonished them to take heede, lest this their stiffnecked opiniō, should procure the countries deuastation by fire and sword; alledging first vnto them, the sterne commaunds of the Emperour, how gracious hee had bene towards him, and (being angrily moued) hee would admit no mercy, to such as disobeyed him in the least manner, approouing his speeches by examples, of diuers cornented in strange kinds. He further desired them to pardon him, in not denying to execute the Emperours charge imposed on him: because they knew well enough themselues, that neuer any refused to fulfill his commaund, but was extremely punished for it. Wherefore, hee rather intended to aduenture his life, in fighting against their whole Nation: then to bee held remisse or negligent, in what the Emperour had enioyned him.

Heereupon the multitude resolved to insist, entreating him to pardon their religion and iust constancie, if (more fearing God, the Creatour of heauen and earth, and hauing often experimented his heauy wrath, by their transgressing his commandements) they did now oppose themselues against the Emperours will, being full of impietie. Considering also, that *Petronius* himselfe confessed that hee stood in such feare of a mortall man (whose life was vncertaine) that he held it no safetie for his person, to transgresse the least of his commaunds.

*Petronius*, amazed at this obstinacie in the people, and (after that the assembly was dispersed) finding himselfe in great perplexitie, what hee should doe in this dangerous case; paused a while vpon it. For, hee had bene particularly admonished by *Aristobolus*, brother to King *Agrippa*, and some other Princes of *Judea*, with earnest imprecations, not to soyle himselfe

What impartiallance paied betwene the Jewes and Petronius.

Petronius perswaded the people to stand in feare of the Emperours thus commaunded.

Arguments alleged to Petronius by the Jewish multitude.

himselfe, with the innocent bloud of so great a multitude, by the wicked commaund of the Emperours; because in so doing, hee should brand the Romaine Empire, with so infamous a note of crudelty, as the like was neuer heard of before, destroying a whole Nation, for refusing to suffer the Image of a sinfull man, to be aduanced in their most holie Temple. Which diuine honour, no man (of vnderstanding or good iudgement) did euer couet before: but contrariwise, many, to whom such an offer had bene made, did holde it in no meane detestation.

They further aduised him, that hee would write to the Emperour, and let him vnderstand the peremptorie resolution of the people, in defence of the doctrine and ceremonies given them by Almighty God, calming his displeasure so well as hee could, from proceeding in so cruell a sentence. But if it should so come to passe, that the humour of the Governour might not bee altered: yet then hee had enough to goe on in, and (when hee did please) to proceede in Armes.

*Petronius* desiring to consider in these matters more maturely, and to trie the peoples inclination yet a little further: went with his Army to *Tiberias*, where an infinite number of *Jewes* met him, incessantly entreating him, that their sacred Temple might not bee prophaned. Why? answered *Petronius*, Dare you warre with the Emperour? Feare you not the power of the Romaine Empire, knowing how weake your strength is, to contend against so mighty a Monarch? Wee resist not by Armes so great a power (cryed out the *Jewes*) but humbly lay downe our liues at *Cæsars* foote: rather then, against the Lawe of our God, we will see the Statue of the Emperour, to bee erected in the holiest place of our Temple. Which words were no sooner spoken, but they all fell flat vpon their faces, prostrating their neckes to any that would smite them.

*Petronius* perceiuing them so resolved and inuincible, that they rather would die, then suffer their Temple to be violated; considering also, that already (for the space of fortie dayes) they had not toucht the earth with any labor, although

it was the onely apt time to sowe their seede: after hee had consulted with some of his friends, hee concludcd, that hee would write to the Emperour. Yet, before hee would make any publication therof, he meant to presse those people somewhat further. So, causing a mighty multitude of the vnarmed *Jewes* to meete at *Tiberias*, and to feare them in most dreadfull manner; he engirt them on all sides with warrelike troupes, and his horsemen ready prepared to ouer-runne them. Once more hee declared to them, the rigorous commaund of the Romaine Emperour, the obedience of all the people in the like case; the daunger wherein hee and al his were, if they did not effect what hee had commaunded. Wherefore hee exhorted them, that the Emperours anger might be endured: because such fayted not to reuenge cruelly, the breach of any thing commaunded by him.

But when the *Jewes* cryed out all with one voyce, that hee ought to make more account of Gods commaund, then of any mortall mans whatsoever, to trample them vnder his horses feete, or slice them in peeces with their Swords, that so all the *Jewes* being extirpated, he might vse the Temple at his owne pleasure: *Petronius*, entirely moued to mercy, his heart throbbing, and his eyes ouer-flowing with teares, commaunding silence by a Trumpet, thus he spake.

¶ The Oration made by Petronius, to the Jewes assembled at Tiberias.

Seeing you are so resolute, that you desire rather to die, then violate the Law giuen you by God, I am not the man, that (by a wicked kinde of obedience) will soyle your Temple; for which I see you endeavour so much. Nor will I doe seruice to the Emperour my Maister, in a matter so monstrous and inhumane: but rather will be a partaker in your perill, then purchase my life, by the innocent bloud of so great a multitude. Be comforted then in this your Religion, and returne to your labour, which (for so many dayes) you haue omitted. For mine owne part, I will labour by my friends and mine owne Letters, to alter this opinion in the Emperour. If hee commaund me to Rome, and condemne mee

A further trial vrged by Petronius vpon the people in warlike manner.

The answer of the people to Petronius.

The honourable disposition on great piety in Petronius.

A noble resolution in so powerfull a Commander.



to death, I will gladly endure it: knowing, that by my death, a people living in great daunger, may yet preferue their Religion to themselves. For your part, pray to God, that what I enterprize for your safesie, may haue a good issue for vs all.

When the Iewes had heard this Oration; as people extraordinarily ioyfull, they beganne (with loude voyces) to extoll the pietie of *Petronius*, wishing to him all felicitie. And sodainly, vpon the Assemblies seperation, there fell a mightie shouere of raine (all the day before, and the whole moneth fore-going, the Heauens were so cleare and bright, that the earth was burnt by extremity of heat) and this the Iewes interpreted to bee a signe of their happinesse.

While matters proceeded thus In *Iudea*, King *Agrippa* being at *Rome*, vnder stood the troubles in his kingdome, and the occasion from whence they proceeded. Whereupon, he made a magnificent feast for the Emperour, consisting of all the delicates that possibly could be deuised. *Caius* wel knew, that *Agrippa* would not launch out in such liberal expences, but that hee intended some especiall suite to him: wherefore, with a gracious countenance and franke spirit, hee bade him boldly ask what he would, protesting, that he should not be denied. In a long & well prepared Oration, *Agrippa* resolued the Emperour, that he desired not any enriching of his kingdome; but humbly craved pardon for the Iewish people, if, in feare to be punished by God; they had not received his Statue into their Temple of *Ierusalem*.

*Caius* accounting it a shame and disgrace to him, if heerein he should refuse his friends request: wrote to *Petronius*, commending his care for the execution of his commaund. Adding withall, that if (with the peoples liking) the Image was already placed in the Temple, so to let it rest: but if the people would not voluntarily suffer it to bee doone, by no means to offer them any violence. Soone after came the Letters sent from *Petronius*, concerning the slowe resolution of the Iewish Nation: which quite altered him from his former minde, and made him highly displeased with his Captaine, for not performing what hee had enjoy-

ned him.

Wherefore hee wrote againe to him, that if he would not be brought to *Rome*, and there be massacred with most horrible torments: hee should make choice of what kinde of death himselfe pleased, as a punishment for the contempt of his commaund.

It came to passe, and (no doubt) diuinely, that the ship which carried these cruell Letters, was greatly tardied by boysterous tempests: so that an other shippe (bringing the newes of *Caligulas* death) arriued there in *Iudea* before it. Fearfull indeede was his death, but well worthy such a monster, who shortly after hee had written these terrible menaces to *Petronius*, was massacred, with his wife and daughter, by *Chereas* and his confederated conspiratours. Whereupon *Petronius*, being insourmed of the Emperours death, and thereby exempted from all feares, received the other Letters of his death. Thereby he plainely perceyued, that almighty GOD had miraculously preferred his life, for the good hee had doone to the Iewish Nation.

About the same time, *Claudius* was saluted Emperour by the Souldiours: who, because hee had bene both counselled and assisted by *Agrippa*, at such time as hee remayned in *Rome*: he confirmed vnto him (by publique Ediēt) the Kingdome of *Iudea* giuen him by *Caligula*, adding also *Samaris*, and all the other parts and portions, which his grandfather *Herode* the Great formerly possessed.

Moreover, hee gaue him the Tetrarchie of *Lysanias*, called *Abelā*, with a part of *Cilicia*, and *Comagena*, which hee had taken from *Antiochus*. He conferred also on *Herode*, brother to *Agrippa*, the Kingdome of *Chalcis*.

*Agrippa* being in this manner richly recompenced, returned to *Iudea*, in the first yeare of the Empire of *Claudius*, and ascending vp to *Ierusalem*, gaue thanks to the Lord for his good successe. There hee made a solemne great feast, hanging vp in the Temple, the Chaine of golde which *Caligula* had giuen him in memory of his miseries, and diuine deuertuance.

Afterward, he beganne to fortifie the

Cittie

*Caius Caligula* his wife & daughter murdered altogether, & cruelly intreated by *Petronius*; miraculously preserved.

*Claudius* made Emperour, & *Agrippa* confirmed by him in his kingdome, with other additions belike.

A Towne Campanie in Italy now called *Bela*.

The Chaine of golde hanging vp in the temple.

Cittie of *Ierusalem*, and with such sufficient furniture, that *Clauasius* (feearing a revolt in the Iewes, vnder trust in such a well ordered fortification) forbade *Agrippa* by his Letters, to finish the work hee had begonne. Hee was also most liberrall towards his subiects, and (above all) a superstitious obseruer of the traditions, receued in the forefathers lawe. So that, hearing the Apostles to vaile them of no reckoning, to winne the good liking of the sacrificing Priests, and fauour of the vulgare people: Hee executed some of the Disciples of our Saviour Christ, and namely *James* the brother to *Iohn*, they being the sonnes of *Zebedee*. Hee also caused *Saint Peter* to bee put in prison, during the dayes of vbleauened Bread, to bring him forth to the people after the Feast. But the Euangelist *Saint Luke* amply declareth, that *Saint Peter* was deliuered by the continuall prayers of the Church: where hee also declareth, the miserable end of this *Herod Agrippa*.

Now, concerning the description of *Iosephus*, speaking of his death: it agrees with the Historic of *Saint Luke* in this manner. After hee had reigned ouer all *Iudea* for the space of three yeares; in the fourth, hee came to *Casarea*, where hee celebrated the Feast with a great company of the Iewes; causing Playes to be acted, in honour of the Emperour *Claudius*, and for his health.

The second day of the Feast, he entred the Theater in the morning, attired in a Roabe of cloth of siluer, tissued, and made most sumptuous and artificall: where, on when the bright beames of the Sunne did cast their radiance, it caused such a lustre by their reuerberation; that all eies were dazeled with the splendour of the garment. Whereupon it happened, that some of his Flatterers, interrupting him in his Oration; tolde him, that he spake like a god; nay, and (with a loude voice) called him God, crauing mercy of him, because (vntill then) they had feared him, but as a man onely; but now they plainely perceiued, that hee farre excelled all humane nature.

As the King gloried in these flattering clamours, no way reproouing them for such impious behaviour: hee was suddenly smitten with a most grievous

paine in his entrailes, so that very hardly hee could bee caried to his Pallace. Where, after many horrible torments, his life expired the fifth day: being iustly punished for the crueltie, which hee had exercised against the members of the true Church of Christ, whereas otherwise, he was very benigne and gracious towards all men, especially to strangers and Gentiles. Hee reigned (in all) about seauen yeares; for hee helde the Tetrarchie of *Phillip* (vnder *Caius Caligula*) three yeares, and foure other yeares, the whole Kingdome of *Iudea*. He dyed in the foure and fiftieth yeare of his age; the third of the Empire of *Claudius*; and the twelfth yeare after the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Christ Iesus.

His posteritie hath already bene related, whereof *Agrippa*, being his eldest Sonne, and of the age of seuen yeares when his Father dyed, albeit *Claudius* the Emperour gladly desired, that hee should haue bene successour in his Fathers kingdome: yet some other preuayled so farre with him, that all the Regions (subiected before to his Father) were againe reduced into the forme of a Province; and the first Governour sent thither to rule in *Iudea*, was *Cuspius Fadus*, or *Fadus Cuspius*.

## CHAP. XX.

Of *Herode*, the fourth King of *Chalcis*, youngest Sonne to *Herode* the Great, brother to the first *Agrippa*.



Haue heretofore named this man, *Herode* the fourth, for his better discerning from others; who led a private kind of life, vntill *Claudius* (mooued by the intercession of his brother *Agrippa*) bestowed vpon him the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, in the first yeare of his Empire, which hee enjoyed the space of eight yeares, furnishing onely five yeares his brother *Agrippa*.

H h 2

After

The terrible & iust judgement of God vpon King *Agrippa*.

The yeares of *Agrippas* reigning.

*Agrippas* sonne succeeded not his father in the kingdome.

*Cuspius Fadus*.

*Claudius* made *Herode* King of *Chalcis* in the first yeare of his Empire.

The Iewes interpreted on concerning a shouere of raine.

King *Agrippa* feasteth the Emperour, and maketh intercession for the Iewes.

*Agrippa* winneth pardon for the people of the Iewes.

The Emperour sheweth claundes from his promise made to *Agrippa*, & wrathfully sentenced *Petronius*.

A debate or contention for keeping the ornaments of the High-priests.

The libell of Claudius to Herode.

Thoudas the Sorcerer his abusing the people, and put to death by Cyprius Fadus.

Ag 15.36.

A great famine in Iudea, foretold by Agabus. Ag 11.18.

\* A people living beyond Armenia.

Ag 11.29.

The death of Herode hing

After the death of his brother, *Cyprius Fadus* being sent into *Iudea*, stroue to haue the custodie of the Roabes and other ornaments, which belonged to the Soueraigne Sacrificers, and to transerre the Sacrificers to Romaine Gouvernours: whereupon, *Herode* transported himselfe to *Rome*, at request made to him by the Iewes, whose cause he maintained there so well; that he obtained, that the garments belonging vnto the High-priest, should be kept in the custody of the High-priest. Moreouer, hee obtained of *Claudius*, that he should haue the charge and care of the money, consecrated to the Temple of *Ierusalem*. Having power also, to depose the High-priest, for some causes of importance, and to substitute an other more sufficient. A Grant which brought great gaine and profite to the Kings; because the Priests sought by power of money, who should haue that soueraigne dignitie.

*Cyprius Fadus* gouerned the Countrie of *Iudea*, when a certaine man, named *Thoudas*, abused in such sort the vulgar people by his enchauntments: that hee brought them to *Iordane*, promising to make them passe (dry-footed) ouer the diuided riuier. But *Fadus* following, took him by his horse-men, and hauing put him to death, scattered all the heapes of his followers. *Gambell* maketh mention of this *Thoudas*, in the fifth chapter of the *Actes* of the Apostles.

*Tiberius Alexander* was sent by *Claudius*, to succede *Fadus* in the gouernment; vnder whom happened that terrible famine in *Iudea*, which *Agabus* had foretold in the cleauenth chapter of the *Actes* of the Apostles; and which was about the sixt or seuenth yeare of *Claudius*: which extremitie was somewhat alluaged, by the libellic of *Helena*, Queene of the *Adiabanes*, who caused great plenty of corne to bee brought out of *Egypt*, and figges from *Cyprus*. Also the Churches of *Greece* and *Asia*, gathered much money, which they sent to succour the brethren, that endured the famine in *Iudea*.

*Herode*, King of *Chalcis* dyed in the eight yeare of the Emperour *Claudius*. Hee had two wines, each after other; the first was *Mariana*, daughter to *Olympia*, the yongest daughter to Great *Herode*, by whom hee had *Aristobulus*. Afterward,

he married *Berenice*, daughter to his brother *Agrippa*, who brought vnto him two sonnes. And this was his issue or posteritie, which was reputed quite consumed, by the calamities hapning in the warres of the Iewes.

*Aristobulus*, slaine by his Father *Herod* the Great.

*Agrippa* the first.

*Mariana*, daughter of *Olympia*.

*Herode*, the fourth King of *Chalcis*.

*Berenice*, daughter of *Agrippa* the first, who had by her vncle,

*Berenice*, *Hircanus*.

Of these we read nothing.

*Agrippa* the last.

*Salome*, daughter of *Herodias*, first married to *Phillip* the Tetrarch.

*Aristobulus*, to whom *Nero* gaue the gouernment of the Lesser *Armenia*; and had by *Salome*,

*Herode Agrippa Aristobulus*.

*Iosaphus* maketh no other kind of mention (concerning them) that I can finde.

## CHAP. XXI.

¶ Of *Agrippa* the last, Sonne to the yongest sonne of *Herod* the Great, the last King in any part of *Iudea*.



His *Agrippa*, being aged seuenteen yeares, was at *Rome* with *Claudius* when his father dyed; and succeeded not immediately after his father, because of some enemies about *Claudius* therein were his hinderance: who alluaged; That his youthfull yeares were not apt to gouerne so great a kingdome, neither to bridle a people to rebellious. But in deede, their pretence was, to enrich themselves by gouerning the Countrey.

Five

of Chalcis the  
quoth that  
name

The title of  
Herod the 4.

*Agrippa*  
made King  
of Chalcis,  
and ended  
with his vncle  
his power.

*Cumanus*  
next gouernor  
in Iudea  
to *Tiberius*  
*Alexander*.

The warres  
tend behauiour  
of an insolent  
Souldiour to the  
people.

A most cruell  
and bloodie  
act of *Cumanus*,  
whereby  
thous. lost  
their liues.

A Booke of  
Moses &c. the  
Prophets writing  
abused  
by a wicked  
Souldiour.

Five yeares after his fathers death, his vncle *Herode* being dead also: *Claudius* conferred on him the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, at the age of 22. yeares. He gaue him also the same power his vncle had, to keepe the treasure of the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and to create the High-priests. Of which authoritie *Agrippa* made verie good vse: for (in a short time) he deposed diuers, and substituted other at his pleasure.

At such time as *Agrippa* beganne his reigne, *Cumanus* was sent into *Iudea*, to succede *Tiberius Alexander* in the gouernment, who greatly tormented the countrey, which already fauored of the succeeding ruine. For, at Easter, the fourth day of vnleauened bread, a Romain Souldier of the band, which (according to custome) kept a garison about the Temple; vnrueently shewed his base backe-part to the people, they being dutifully busied in the seruice of God.

The Iewes not a little moued at this iniurie, gaue very bitter speeches against the Gouernour *Cumanus*, because hee did not punish this wicked act of the Souldiour.

*Cumanus* taking in disdayne their bold words, and fearing some violence by the mutinous multitude: sodainly (but very secretly) fommoned his armed Legiōs and horsemen together, who discouering themselves before they could be suspected; made such an affright among the vnarmed popularity, that they fled away so confusedly crowding, that more then twenty thousand men and women, were trodden and crushed to death in the Streetes and other places, to the great and grieuous lamentation of all the people.

Another tumult also followed soone after, the issue whereof was not yet so pittifull. For some threeing Iewes, had (vpon the highway) shrewdly beaten and wounded one *Stephen*, a seruant to the Emperour *Claudius*, stripping him out of all that hee had about him.

*Cumanus* heereat highly offended, and not finding them that had done the deed; tooke all the neighbouring parts, where the fault was committed. Which being done, a Souldiour finding a Booke in his booty, which containd the writings of *Moses* and the Prophets; made a pub-

like shew thereof in denition; & asseretore it peeces, in presence of the chiefest Iewes. Sodainly a great multitude of the Iewes ranne (by troups) to *Cesarea* (where then was the ordinary abiding of the Romaine Gouvernours) and required, that iustice might be inflicted vpon him for this wicked act: whom if *Cumanus* (by the perswasion of some) had not beheaded, to satisfie the enraged peoples anger; this tumult could not haue bene appealed, without very great effusion of blood.

Afterward, some of the *Gallilaeans* ascending vpp to *Ierusalem* to the Feast, were slaine by the *Samaritanes*; which was the cause of many murders committed on both sides. For, eyther part being encouraged to reuenge, ranne into fresh iniuries, by way of robberies, putting to fire and sword all they met withall. But, because *Cumanus* (corrupted with money) did not repress those theueries done by neighbour on neighbour, *Quarrens*, President of *Syria*, was called thither by the contrary side; who (hauing received information of the fact, and executed the authorith of the mutinies) sent *Cumanus* to *Rome*, to render a reason for the Promise committed to his charge. He being convicted of auarice and crueltie, was sent into exile by *Claudius*; & in his place, was appointed gouernor of *Iudea* and *Samarita*, *Claudius Felix*, brother to *Pallas*, who (long time before) was sent into *Philitine*, to gouerne the Tetrarchy of *Phillip*, as is affirmed by *Cornelius Tacitus*.

Almost at the same time, that is to say, in the twelfth yeare of his Empire, *Claudius* gaue to King *Agrippa* the Tetrarchy of *Phillip* (being destitute of a Gouernor) which contained *Trachonitis* and *Batanea*, giuing him also *Abella*, the Tetrarchy of *Dysanias*. Then he gaue to his vncle paternall *Aristobulus* (brother to the first *Agrippa*, and *Herode of Chalcis*) the kingdome of *Chalcis*.

After these affayres thus passed ouer, the condition and estate of the Iewes grew worse and worse; and now beganne the gouernement of *Felix*, who being reprooued by *Ionathas* the High-priest, for his rapines and other wicked actions by him performed, and yet not daring to depose him from the Sacerdotal dignitie, because hee stood in feare of the people: suborned diuerse Ruffians, who

Diuers: Gallilaeans slaine by the Samaritans

*Cumanus* sent to Rome by *Quarrens*, after whom succeeded *Felix*.

The libell of the Emperour *Claudius* to King *Agrippa*.

*Ionathas* the High-Priest reuoued the rapines of *Felix*, and was secretly murdered.

(entring into *Ierusalem* at the feast with the multitude) slew so secretly the High-Priest *Ionnathas*, and others marked for the same purpose with him; as very easily they were concealed in the troups.

This attempt speeding so well as the Ruffians could desire, fell out to bee the occasion, that (at every feast) they made a market or merchandise, of killing the honestest of the people: sometimes being hired there-to by other, sometimes out of their owne spleene and mallice. So that every man stood in feare, because no one knew how to secure himselfe; audacious boldenesse dreading no punishment, in regard of the Governours carelessse negligence.

Troups of theeves ranne every where making spoile, though many were apprehended by *Felix*, and executed: yet wickednesse had taken such deep roote, onely through neglect in the precedent Governours, as it could no way be helpe; no, not by the greatest severity of iustice. And the worst of all was, that these theeves were maintayned by the High-priests authoritie: amongst whom, such as were best stored with money, kept bands of desperate villaines about them, by whose meanes they oppressed such as they pleased, laying close ambushes to kill and murder them.

In the thirteenth yeare of *Claudius* his Empire, *Paul* the Apostle was taken in *Ierusalem*, and being led thence to *Cæsarea*: pleaded his cause before *Felix* and *Drusilla*, as *S. Luke* declareth in the foure and twentieth of the *Actes*. Afterward, *Felix* called for him diuers times, and heard him answer for himselfe, hoping that *Paul* would redeeme himselfe by money. But after hee had kept him two whole yeares in prison; at his departing from *Iudea*, hee left him there, to please the Iewes.

*Claudius* died in the foureteenth yeare of his Empire, and *Nero* (at the beginning of his government) encreased the authoritie of *Agrippa*, adding thereto part of *Galilee*, with the Cities of *Tyberias*, *Tarichea* and *Iuliada*. Forthwith he sent *Portius Festus* into *Iudea*, calling home *Felix*, whom they of *Cæsarea* followed, and accused him of cruelty, rapines and other iniquit dealing; but he escaped by the cunning of his brother *Pallas*. So soone as

*Portius Festus* was arrived in *Iudea*, hee gaue audience (at *Cæsarea*) to *Paul* and the Iewes his accusers: and as he intended to send *Paul* to *Ierusalem*, he (hearing the ambushes of the Iewes) appealed to the Emperour *Nero*.

Some few dayes after, *Agrippa* went to *Cæsarea* with his sister *Berenice*, onely to salute the new gouernor: which sister (after the death of her husband *Herode of Chalcis*) liued so familiarly with her brother, that there was great suspition of incestuous acquaintance. *Paul* was brought before them to pleade his cause, and (in a well couched oration) so approved his innocencie; that, according to the Kings owne opinion, he might haue gone at liberty, if hee had not appealed to *Cæsar*. Not long it was, but *Paul* was sent (with other prisoners) to *Rome*, in the first yeare of *Neroes* Empire, as is aouched.

*Agrippa* returning to *Ierusalem*, offended the Priests very grievously, by a building erected in the Pallace royall, and somewhat neare to the Temple: for hee could thence discerne, whatsoever the Priests did in the inward parts, and when they loytered in the sacrifices and diuine Service. The Priests holding this action vnlawfull, erected a wall (on the Temple side) of the like height; whereby *Agrippa* was not onely hindered from seeing the Temple, but also a great part of the City. The King insisted, that the wall should be beaten downe; but the Priests so preuailed (by means made to *Poppæa* the Emperours wife) that *Nero* allowed the wall to remaine as it did.

Heereat *Agrippa* being exceedingly offended, deposed *Ioseph* the foueraigne Sacrificer, placing *Ananias* in his roome, who was of the Saduces Sect, a man very bolde and cruell. He (*Festus* dying in *Iudea*, and *Albinus* his successeur staying somewhat longer ere he came) tooke occasion to exercise cruelty against many worthy persons; especially against *James* the sonne of *Ioseph*, brother to our Lord Iesus Christ by an other mother, a man (in the iudgement of all them dwelling in *Ierusalem*) excelling in innocencie of life and piety, who was throwne down headlong from the highest wall of the temple; and by command of the said *Ananias* overwhelmed with stones, about threecore yeares after the birth of Christ.

For

For this wicked deed, he was accused before *Agrippa*, who feared the Romane Gouernour, named *Albinus*, now neere approaching; and also stood in feare of the peoples fury: wherefore *Ananias* was dismissed from his Office, exercised by him but three moneths onely. And yet he ceased not to commit great cruelties, against them that were of his owne condition. For, in regard of his great power, hee had many Theeves (kept at his charges) of whom he made vse to murder his enemies priuily. Beside, hee made them breake into the Garners of corne, to steal the Tythes therein enclosed: which being often done without any punishment, was the cause of starving to death manie of the poore Priests.

*Albinus* being overcome with insatiable couetousnesse, cared for nothing else but onely to get wealth together, by any vile meanes whatsoever: wherefore, such of the Priests as gaue him Gold, hee winked at all their wickednesse, and permitted Theeves to doe what they listed, if their kindred or friends would redeeme them with money. By which meanes, in short time, all *Iudea* was full of Theeves, all things turned topsie turvy, no Iustice exercised in any place: and there was no acte so horrid or execrable, but it might quickly be pardoned for money.

*Gestius Florus* was sent as successeur to this Horfe-leech, who farre exceeded the rapines of *Albinus*, by infinit other wicked courtes; so that the Iews reputed *Albinus* a Saint vnto this other. For *Florus* proceeded not couertly; nor after the cunning manner of his predecessour: but by open violence, scorning, stealing, rudely raking, and doing whatsoever he pleased; for will onely was a Law to him. And surely it seemed, that he was meely sent by destiny to the Iewes, so to irritate them by open iniuries, and blinde them from all desire of reuenge, as finally to be their vtter ruine. For, the whole country being ouer-runne with Theeves, and the people growne desperately desirous of warre; had a hope of some other Dominion, groaning vnder the tyrannical Romane rule, and (insottish zeale) were perswaded to recouer their liberty.

In breefe, the time was come, which Christ and the Prophets had foretold, concerning the destruction of the whole

Priesthood, and policy ordained by *Moses* and diuine authority: considering, that the Messias had already bene sent, for the loe of whom, both the Priesthood and policy had bin (till that time) diuinely preferred. Wherefore, vnder *Gestius Florus*, threecore yeeres after the Natiuity of Christ, fise and thirty yeeres after hee was crucified and risen againe, the twelfth of *Neroes* Empire, the seuenteenth of this *Agrippa* now in question; and three yeares before *Paul* was put to death by *Nero*: the warre began to waxe tempestuous, because the Iewes revolted from the Romane Empire, and entred into mutiny against *Cæsar*.

*Florus* could easily haue quenched this warre in the beginning; but that hee rather affected, to nourish and feede the flame newly kindled, by prouoking the Iewes dayly more and more, still adding iniury vpon iniury: vntill the fire steele forth both farre and neere, that finally, it wrought the destruction of all *Iudea*.

At the beginning of this reuolt, *Agrippa* labored very seriously, to stay the Iews from this furious desire of warre, and to regaine peace and tranquillity, by requiring pardon of the Romanes for their offence, which they might haue obtayned on meane conditions, in regard it was very euident, that they had some iust causes of rebelling, by the outrages done vnto them by *Florus*. But he came so short of their expectation, they hating nothing more, then to heare of peace or equity; as (very hardly) he escaped their violence. Perceiuing then the Nation so enraged for fight, &c (like men blindfolded) throwing themselves impetuously into perdition; he retired from their furious enterprise, and sent ayde to *Vespasian* in *Iudea*, to tame the head-strong course of those Rebelles, foreseeing already in his soule, the sad ruine of all the Iewish people.

Heere I could weaue vp the sagge-end of this History, with report of the Iewish warre, which *Iosephus* and other authors haue described; but that my heart will not serue me, to discourse those strange & miserable ouerthrows, which (in their pitifull events) did exceede humane beleefe. For no History is found of any nation whatsoever, that was so long time

(shut

Mens liues bought and sold as trafficks pleased, with out any punishment.

The miserable afflictions of the Iewes, now way to be redressed.

Paul imprisoned, pleade before Felix and Drusilla. Actes 24. 24.

The death of Claudius and reigne of Nero.

Portius Festus sent to gouern Iudea

Actes 24. 24. Paul appeale to Ananias before Cæsar

Paul pleades before Felix Agrippa and Bernice.

A contention betwene Agrippa & the Ierusalem Priests about a building.

The greedy & insatiable couetousnes of Albinus the Gouernour.

Florus a more wicked gouernor then Albinus, sent as a iust plague and vtter ruine of the Iewes.

Ioseph the high Priest deposed, and Ananias installed.

Ananias caused James to be murdered.

The time fore prophesied for the destruction of Ierusalem, was now fully come to passe

Florus a bloody desirer of the vtter ruin of the Iewish Nation.

Agrippa labored to reconcile the Iewes to the Romanes.

The lamentable horror of the warre betwene the Iewes and the Romanes.

The Lewes re-  
mained in the  
20 years of  
Nero the em-  
peror.

The misera-  
ble estate of  
Jerusalem, six  
whole yeeres  
together.

Bands of por-  
tality and in-  
solence.

The richest  
Citizens in  
most wastell  
pompously.

Such matters  
as they ac-  
counted in  
their madnes  
to be Treason  
& conspiring  
with the Ro-  
mans.

shut vp from all succour, wofully tormented, and finally (wholly confounded, with numberlesse calamities) almost altogether quite rased out, and destroyed. For after that the Lewes were reuolted in the twelfth yeare (as is affirmed) of *Nero*, the army of the Romanes neuer ceased for six whole yeeres together, cruelly to ravage the countrey of *Judea*, because from time to time, the Lewes (by their inuincible obstinacy) provoked the victorious soldiers to such tyrannies, as the like were neuer heard of.

But though I spare to relate the destruction of the whole countrey: who can conceiue (with true iudgement) but the miseries of the City *Jerusalem* it selfe? Which, before it beheld the *Roman* enemy, for the space of six whole yeeres, felt (within it selfe) farre more cruell domesticke aduersities: as being diuided and torne in peeces, by Sects, Factions, and Seditions of *Theeues*, fighting amongst themselves (when they had none else to quarrell withall) for rapines, murders, and other mischeefe, every Faction thinking to support it selfe, by dooing iniurie vnto it selfe, and surmounting one another in number, and manner of nouel villanies and extremity.

Purie grew on to such horrid perfection, that if any Man or woman were esteemed holy, religious, and modest: these were arguments sufficient, to yeld a pregnant reason for their death; and the goodes of the richest Citizens, must bee brought forth, and layde before their doores, while the Factions fought who should enioy them. To kill people of meane or simple condition, was but to riddle them out of the turbulent crowdes, for they were esteemed but as a charge to the City, and hindered the way when the sledge should beginne: for this they accounted their wisest course, and best meanes, to abide a long lingering sledge.

If any man durst but speake a word, or expresse by any apparent signe, that hee disliked the present License vnto all Villanies, it was presently termed Treason, and state conspiracy with the Romanes; yea, it was a sinne deserving terrible punishment. And as great an offence it was, to mourne or lament for Parents or Friends, being slaine or mur-

thered in these vprores.

To prophane the very holiest part of the Temple, with Rapes, Murthers, and Massacres; they sayde, it was fighting in defence of the Temple, and for the Religion of the countrey. To beare away violently the riches out of the Temples Treasurie, and to waste them in all Villanie and abhominable excess: this was rearmd, borrowing money, wherewith to defend the seruice ordained by GOD. And vpon paine of death, no man durst flye, or get him gone, from these horrible, diuillish, and dangerous courses.

Moreover, such as dwelt in the Citie, beheld (beside these publike miseries) their owne bodies, their wiues, children, and goods, exposed to the violent & vnbridled attempts of those mercilesse Villaines. In breefe, there could not be thought or desired any iniury or opprobrious behaviour, which the miserable Lewes might feare or expect from the Enemy, but they first made triall thereof vpon themselves, vsing no resistance at all against it. Wherefore, the coming of the enemies army was no way dreadful vnto them, but rather gladly desired; and euen but as a tolleration, or rather a recreation (when the City was sharply assailed) the seditious factions were enforced to ioyne their forces, for repulsing the enemy, and to breath awhile, from their owne domesticke theueries and warres.

The last six moneths of this warre, after that the City was round engirt with enemies, and themselves had pilld, polled, and miserably spoyled all that they could by their intestine robberies: they began to feele a famine in the height of extremity, which was accompanied likewise with so greivous a Pestilence, that in the time of the sledge, about cleauen hundred thousand men died by the plague and famine. During this war also, great multitudes were daily murdered within the walls, by the mutinous and rebellious factionists: & in the assaults, surprisals, and sackings of the city, many millions of people lost their liues. Also in the war time, there were taken 97000. persons, who were partly sold as slaves, and partly distributed to rounde neighbouring great Cities, there to bee giuen and deuoured by wilde beasts, in publike Playes,

Calamities of  
the Lewes such,  
as fifteen any  
nation was ex-  
perience to.

Men forward  
to vicary vi-  
olence yppon  
themselves.

Pestilence &  
famine in all  
extremities,  
whereof distric-  
tly, 110000.

Ninety seven  
thousand sold  
as slaves, and  
deuoured by  
brutish beasts

and

The vnter-  
termination  
of the Lewes  
people, for  
their contem-  
ning Iesus  
Christ.

and fantasticke spectacles. Some other were compelled to fight as Fencers in the Theaters, with the like fury as hostile enemies: and some were sent into *Morea* (by huge troopes) to cut out a Channell betwene the *Egypt* and *Sonias* seas.

By these pittifull examples of Gods heauy wrath, against the contemners of his Sonne Christ, and the doctrine Euangelicall; almost all this nation was vtterly exterminated. Hapning by the Diuine permission, that at the Feast of vnleavened bread, when the Lewes were wont to meete at *Jerusalem*, from the farthest parts of all *Judea*, the City should be thus besiedged, and all the desperate Robbers, Theeues, & Ruffians, dispersed throughout the whole Regions, should (euen then) be retrayed to *Jerusalem* to shelter themselves in her fortifications.

After that *Vespasian* (for about the space of five yeeres) had first of all subdued well-neere all *Judea*, conquering many strongly munited Citties, yea, destroying and burning them, onely through the wilfull obstinacie of the inhabitants; in the last halfe yeare, *Titus* brought his Army to the City of *Jerusalem*, and there planted his sledge, in the second yeare of the Emperor his Father; and the sledge continued for the space of sixe moneths, which *Iosephus* rearmeth by *Macedonian* names.

<i>Xantiqua.</i>	} which in our	{	Aprill.
<i>Artemiston.</i>			May.
<i>Dention.</i>			June.
<i>Panemon.</i>			July.
<i>Loion.</i>			August.
<i>Gorpiation.</i>			September.

The names of  
the 6. moneths  
wherein *Jeru-  
salem* was be-  
siedged.

## CHAP. XXII.

A breefe Collection, of the principall Accidents which happened in the time of the sledge.

The beginning  
of the sledge.



He fourth day of the first moneth, *Xantiqua* (which is Aprill with vs) the Citie of *Jerusalem* was besiedged, neere to the feast of Easter.

The two and twentieth day after, *Titus* essaying (in vaine) to haue it yielded, raised his Bulwarkes, and prepared his Engines to batter the City.

The seuenth day of *Artemiston*, which is *May*, *Bazetha* (that is to say, the new city, the first wall being taken) which was a part of the City beyond the Temple towards *Betha*, newly annexed, and enuironed with walles by the first *Agrippa* was seized on by the Romanes.

The twelfth day of the said month, the second wall was taken, and yet the same day it was recovered againe.

The sixteenth day, the Romanes hauing taken the other wall againe the second time, enioyed the base or lower part of the City, which the Lewes called *Acra*, & was seated beneath on a little hill.

The one and twenty day, two parts of the City were lost, when the Lewes (being graciously entreated by *Titus*) did binde to embrace peace. Then the Souldiers began to mount their scaladoes, neere to the Towre called *Antonia*, ioyning to the third wall, where their Engines and Bulwarkes being raised in twelue dayes, they were againe as quickly burned by the Lewes.

All the whole moneth of *Dention*, the which answereth to that of Iune, the Romanes were seriously busied, in engirting the whole City with a Wall, to hinder the bringing of victualles to the Lewes, and also to bereaue them from all means of flight.

The first day of *Panemon*, which refereth it selfe to our Iuly, *Titus* taking compassion on the people, whom he knew to dye by the extremity of the Famine and Pestilence, onely through the obstinacie of some among them; being desirous to deliuer them without long delay, he created new Terrasses vp aloft, and began to batter the third wall, called *Antonia*, verie difficult to be surprized. This *Antonia*, was a most magnificent building, and verie strongly munited neere to the Temple, foure square in forme, and carrying the greatnesse of a very large Castle. *Herod* the Great had builded it, in fauour of the Soueraigne Sacrificers, and gave it the name of *Marke Anthony* the Triumire. Within that goodly Monument, the Ornaments belonging to the High-Priests were continually kept.

Preparation  
for battay.

The taking of  
the first wall  
by the Roms

The 2. wall, &  
the other part  
of the city taken

Two parts of  
the City lost.

A wall built  
round about  
the City.

Battay play-  
ing on *Anto-  
nia* the thirde  
wall.

Herode the  
Great builded  
this *Antonia*.

The

The Antonia  
wonne.

The sixth day, the *Antonia* was wonne, because the walls fell downe of themselves, on that side where the Iewes hadde vndermined, to get forth of the Citie, with intent to burne the enemies rampiers.

The eight day of *Loion*, which is the moneth of August, after that the Iewes had bene many times exhorted, to desire peace of so gracious a Conquerour; after they had repulled his often Ambassages by base iniuries, and wicked abuses: the Temple was forcibly taken, being a worke well worthy of admiration. And (contrary to the Edict of *Titus*) it was set on fire by the offended Souldiers. So that it burned the very same day, when as (six hundred, threecore, and nineteen yeares before past) it was burned by *Nabuchodonosor*, Colonnell of the *Chaldeans*.

The twentieth day, was the batterie of the high Towne (called the City of *David*) begonne: after that the Iewes (once more admonished to lay downe Armes) refused peace, being gently offered vnto them.

The seventh day of *Gorsipiaion*, which is our September, the high part of the City was taken: the Fortresse whereof was the Temple, as the *Antonia* was Bulwarke to the Temple.

The eight day, all the City of *Ierusalem*, (pilled & rancked before) was conquered all into ashes.

The foure and twentieth day of October, *Titus* celebrating the birth-day of his brother *Domitian* in *Casarea* (a Citie on the Sea-coast) had Playes there of sundry kindes: wherein were brought forth three thousand Iewes captiues; some of them being deuoured by beasts, the rest killing one another, fencing and fighting each against another.

The seuenth day of Nouember, *Titus* went to *Berytha*, a City in *Syria*, where he celebrated the Natiuity of his Father *Vespasian*; & where (in sports & pastimes presented before the Romans and Grecians) a great number of captiue Iewes, were some trodden to death, others hacked, hewed, and torne in peeces.

I haue collected this small discourse, concerning the wofull consummation of this City, which sometime was the principall feare of Gods people, and of his diuine Doctrines: from the eight yeare of

King *Dauids* reigne, vntill the finall destruction, being eleuen hundred, thirrie and seuen yeares. The due Obseruation whereof, may serue to testify the mighty anger of God, against the despisers of his Sonne, and of his word in him reuealed; exampling vs, from falling into the like calamities, either by a violent appetite of oppressing the true Doctrine, or to darken & obscure it by false interpretations, or (vtrery contemning it) by wandering into euery wickednesse.

Now I returne againe to *Agrippa*, who (according as hath bene sayde) detestling the furious madnesse of his Nation, and evidently fore-seeing their wofull ruine) sent ayde to *Vespasian*, making Warre against the Iewes, and by that means partly saved his owne Countreies, from the lamentable spoile happening in this warre.

*Nero* being dead, and *Galba* chosen Emperour, he projected a journey to *Rome*, with *Titus* the sonne of *Vespasian*, to entreate the confirmation in his kingdome by the new made Emperour. But contrary winds intercepting them, they could not compasse what was intended: but receyued tydings neere vnto *Achaia*, of *Galbaes* death: which was the reason, that *Titus* returned towards *Syria*, *Agrippa* holding on his course for *Rome*. But *Italy* being embraced with ciuill warre, because *Otho* (successor to *Galba*) being slaine, and *Vitellius* presuming to the Empire, *Agrippa* was very hastily called backe to *Iudea* by Letters, where he assisted *Vespasian* to bee saluted Emperour by his soldiers, and safely to conduct a well provided Armie towards *Italy*, with purpose to encounter the Captaines of *Vitellius*. So he left his sonne *Titus* (with some legions) to beate downe the Iewes, especially them of *Ierusalem*, as hath bin said before.

I finde no other matter of *Agrippa*, or any other of the posterity of *Herode* the Great: but onely *Philo*, writing of *Agrippa*, saith: That he reigned seuen and twenty yeares. He dyed then (by *Philo*es account) in the threescore and eighteenth yeare of Christ, the seauenth of *Vespasian*, and the fift yeare after the destruction of *Ierusalem*.

*Philo* further saith, that this *Agrippa* had a sonne, named *Agrippine*, who reigned thirty yeares after the death of his father: wherefore he attained to the year an hundred

His returne  
backe to the  
Iouner Iubilee  
of King  
Agrippa.The death of  
Nero, and  
ascension of  
Galba.Agrippa  
appears in  
the end of  
the journey  
to Rome.Vitellius  
contending,  
Vespasian  
is saluted  
Emperour.How King  
Agrippa  
reigned  
and when he  
dyed.Agrippine,  
sonne  
and successor  
to King Agrippa.

dred and eight after the death of Christ, and to the eight of *Traine* the Emperour, which yeare *Philo*, being ouer-spent with yeares, foretold would be the last of his reigne.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Of three great and notable Doubtes, which the ancient Philosophers knew not how to resolve, and for what cause.

The naturall  
illumination  
of ancient  
Philosophers.

THE ancient Philosophers, illumined by the gifte of God, made curious search into all things belonging to nature: and verified al their propositions (without contradiction or repugnancie) by other propositions meerly naturall. Notwithstanding, they neuer knew how to resolve three things, verie doubtfull and of importance, neither could yeelde a reason for the causes of their originall.

The first doubt  
is a naturall  
desire men  
neuer to dye.

The first was, that they well knewe a desire giuen to man by nature, that hee would neuer dye, neither feele any paine or greauance whatsoeuer: but to liue happily in the pleasures of this world, without the want or neede of any thing; and yet hee could neuer attaine to the end thereof. On the other side, hauing made this proposition, that God and Nature neuer did any thing in vaine, & that this appetite in man ensued thence, whereof they couered to finde the cause; considering beside, that in all other naturall effects the proposition alwayes did verifie it selfe: they were vtrery confounded in infinite perplexities, being neuer able to compasse the end.

The second  
doubt  
is a naturall  
desire  
men to dye.

The second was, they said & affirmed naturallly in like manner, that euery man felt in himselfe a peruerse carnall inclination, or sensuality, quite contrarie to the former appetite of vnwillingnesse to dye: and yet this carnall lustful desire, causeth a man fall into diuers diseases, which are the abridging of life, yea hasteneth on death, wherto his other appetite is an vtter enemy.

Moreouer, many couet after riches

and pompe, seeking to winne them courageously in the field; where soonest of all they meete with death, or else bear away wounds, maiimes, afflictions of mind, & other misfortunes, quite contrary to their desire indeede.

The third doubt proceeded from the order of nature, all inferiour things being gouerned by their superiour: as wee see the elements obedient to the celestiall bodies; the Orbes and Spheres to the mooing intelligence, and all the intelligences to the cheefest of all, which is God loued and desired. Onely in man is this order peruered; for he being composed of a soule and a body, the flesh which is the vilest part of all other, stands repugnant to reason, yea and to the soule, which is the very noblest part of all: and (which is farre worse) draweth it to the bent of his owne wicked will. And therefore the *Apostle* saide: *That hee felt a Lawe in his members, repugnant to the Law of his thoughts, and attracted him to sin.*

The Philosophers that were before the coming of Christ, neuer knew how to find out the occasion of this disorder: yet making curious search for it, fell into many and lundry errors. Wherefore *Augustine* saide: *This exorbitant irregularity, happened at the beginning of the world, and when all things were confused in the ancient Chaos. For the intellect being separated by discord, and reigned by concord, all things were created good, and well ordered in their kinde: onely man excepted, whose flesh hee saw to be ill disposed, and disagreeing with the reasonable soule. And therefore, even in that Chaos these two things were discordant: so in like manner afterward, they still continued repugnant, contrary to the rule & order of all other things in the world.* In this manner, this poore Philosopher imputed the blame of all, to the Diuine intellect, which is God himselfe.

Others saide: *That this proceeded from the celestiall constellations, vnder the which man is engendered, and receiveth birth.* For *Aristotle* durst neuer bee so bolde, as (openly) to yeeld a resolution of this doubtfull difficulty; but seemed (as it were) to contradict himselfe sometimes, saying: *Sensuality is naturallly inclined to euil, howbeit (with great difficulty) it may sometime be ruled or tamed by the moral vertues.* And in another place he saith, *That the se-*

The 3. doubt,  
the peruerse-  
ness of Nature  
order in the  
body of man.The soule is  
the most no-  
ble part of all  
other in man.The opinion  
and saying of  
Anaxagoras,  
concerning  
the discordance  
of things in  
the Chaos.The iudge-  
ment of some  
other Philo-  
sophers, and  
Aristotle him-  
selfe.

licity which is atcheued by the vertues morall, is the gift of God. By consequence then those morall vertues, in whose operation the happinesse of man doth consist; mult be the gift of GOD, and no way naturall.

Contrarywise, the Manichees, desirous to render a reason for this peruerse disorder, saide : *That there were two soules in man, the one good, made of the substance of the Prince of Light; and the other badde, made of the substance of the Prince of darknesse, and these do cause this continuall combat in man.*

Origen afterward saide; *That before the creation of the world, all things were conserued in Heauen which sinned against God: & therefore (as a punishment) they were dissolved into ill complexioned bodies, and from thence ensued this controuersie in man.*

All these detestable opinions were confuted by Saint *Augustine*, writing against the Manichees; where, by long & pregnant reasons, hee prooueth the occasion of the subuersion of this order; and that because they had no vnderstanding in the sacred Scriptures, they vterly lost that light. For in them is declared to vs, the full resolution of these doubts, and there may plainly be discerned, that these two propositions are good and true, and both of them in the order of Nature. To wit, that God and nature neuer did anything void of purpose, and that it is very conuenable, that a man (by nature) should not desire to dye, but to leade a happie kinde of life, and yet without power of attaining thereto; not because he hath this desire giuen him in vaine, for it is truly naturall: but to obtaine the end and effect thereof, is a matter accidental to man, and not naturall.

For it is plain and apparant, that God created man immortall, in such sort, as effectually (according to the very soundest opinion of all Diuines) he could not haue dyed, nor be subiect to any miserie, if hee had obserued his commaundement. But hauing transgressed, hee ought iustly to suffer death, and the miseries of the world; therefore, because he obeyed not his command, he incurred death and all afflictions. So that by the sinne of disobedience (as the Apostle saide) death came into the world. Hereby it appeareth thē, that death was not (at the first) naturall to

our prime father, neither successiually ensuing to vs, but accidental; because it was not the intention of God.

Thus come we then to resolve this doubt, that desire not to dye, nor endure any paines; is giuen to vs by nature, and not in vaine: because the power was giuen vs to obtaine the effect, but in regard of our disobedience, the desire still remaineth, and cannot be taken from vs. By the selfsame reason is the second doubt answered: for of our selues, by carnall obscenity, and glutinous gourmandize, we purchase death, and make way to this disorder.

In like manner, the third is resolved by *Adams* sinne committed, whereby hee lost the originall righteousness which God had giuen him; which serued him as a bridle to moderate himselfe by iust order, and so this harmony fell into confusion. For the soule, which ought to govern the body, as beeing the thing most noble and excellent; came afterward to bee gouerned by the sense, and by the bodye. And so wee see evidently, that this subuersion is no way naturall, but accidental.

By this meanes then, the proposition remaineth firme & true, that those things most worthy and most noble, ought to gouerne them of lesse noble and inferior quality: which sayleth nor, neyther can, as well wee may obserue in the celestiall bodies. And if in man it falleth out otherwise, it is by accident of the faulte, deferring this and worse, but not by Nature.

### CHAP. XXIII.

*Of such Ceremonies as were vsed by the Romaines, before they moued any warre.*



As haue read the sacred Ceremonies, and Religious obseruations which were vsed by the auncient Romaines, as well in matters concerning peace, as attempts and enterprizes of warre: doe not make any wonderment at all of the great Victories

The first doubt resolved.

Answer to the second.

Resolution of the third.

The confutation of the first conuincing betwixt.

Ceremonies for times both of peace and warre.

Contempt of religious Ceremonies, & scorn of the Roman Empire.

by them obtained, against so many furious people, and most potent nations. On the contrary also, they manuell not at the decadence of that Empire, which began, when they began to contemne those Ceremonies and religion. For we may obserue by infinit histories, full of examples, that so long as they were best obedient to religion; their Common-weales prospered so much the more happily, & the enterprizes of their Captaines fell out then successiually. As was well noted in *Pompey*, *Brennus*, and infinite other, who albeit they were idolaters, and neuer knew the true God: yet it seemed (neuertheless) that by certaine meanes of terrestriall retribution, God fauoured them that were religious. And it might be perhaps to this end, that like as the people were then zealous in a religion, whereof they had neither foundation, or any perfect beleefe; they would (by far stronger reason) bee good obseruers of the true faith, if it had bin reuealed to them, as now it is vnto vs. The effects then make it euident, that heauen neuer left them, without some apparance of good prosperity, & fortunate success in their temporall affaires.

The Ceremonies which the auncient Romaines obserued in times of warre or peace, were many and diuers: wherein I must needs be silent, because the relating of them all, would require more time than I am allowed; and it might offend to speak of some, and not of other. My intent therefore, is to make relation of five only, and especially by them obserued, before war was moued against any Prouince. To the end, that moderne Princes may perceiue, how farre out of the way they wander, in attempting war inconsiderately, & making no consultation first to GOD: wherein (if they iudge rightly) they may conceiue, that ill success happeneth to them by no other occasion, they liuing in Religion so farre inferiour to Ethnicks and Idolaters.

When newes came to *Rome*, concerning the rebellion of some Prouince, or of any trouble giuen by some barbarous Prince to their countries, or to any of their confederates: they sent ambassadors to him, by whom the Senate gaue to vnderstand, that they would know, in what manner the wrong receiued should be repaired, with refraining from offering the

like afterward; wherein finding obstinacy then war was intimated. The Senate hauing created a Captain for this expedition, called the Sacrificers, who were commanded to invoke the Gods with their prayers: for the Romans neuer went forth to shed the blood of their enemies, vntill the Priests had first wept, and made their solemn prayers in the Temples. Afterward, the Senate beeing assembled, went to the temple of *Iupiter*, where they swore a most solemn oath. *That at all times when the enemy (against whom the instant warre was published) would require a new consideration with them, or desire pardon for the offence of pusillanimity, should neuer be denied him.* This being done, the Consul elected for the enterprize, went to the Capitoile, and there made a solemn vow, to such a one of the Gods in whom he reposed confidence, to offer some singular thing vnto him, if he returned home victorious from the war. And yet the offering of neuer so great value, yet the people stood obliged to pay it. Then the banner of the Eagle, being the ancient ensigne of the Romanes, was brought forth into *Campus Martius*; which they did, to let the people vnderstand, that in *Rome* ther might no feasts be celebrated, so long as their fellow Citizens and kindred were in war: & so bringing out the ensignes, deliuered them to their seuerall Captains. But first, a Prator mounted on the gate called *Salaria*, causing a Trumpet there to sound, while the soldiers received their pay. Whereby may be gathered, that they liued not their armies at any time, till they had first appeased and honored their Gods, and likewise made their orisons for the prosperitie of their Captains, and virtuous carriage to their enemies in conquering them. For, if their Consuls (appointed for war) in conquering any Prouince or city, made no euident testimony, as well of their vertue as valor, they were greuously punished by the Senat. Hereof we haue many examples, but two only shall serue my turn: the one for vltimate vertue in his campe; the other, for due punishment inflicted vpon him, who (being victorious) soiled his reputation in base manner. *Fabius*, being encamped with his army of Romanes before *Fidenæ*, a schoolmaster of the Citie came forth with the Sonnes of diuers principall Citizens, as intending to grati-

The Senates going to the temple of Iupiter, & their Oath there taken.

The Consuls vow made in the Capitoile.

The Ensigne of the Eagle, deliuered to the Consul in *Campus Martius*.

The other ensignes giuen to their captains.

The honorable act of *Fabius* vpon a day of all and treacherous schoolmaster.



tise the Consull with them, and so presented them vnto him. The Consull (albeit he might haue detayned them, and thereby haue made himselfe Lord of the Cittie) not onely refused to accept them: but stripping the Schoolemaister naked, and binding his hands, hee gaue a Rod to euery Scholler, and so sent them (whipping him) backe to their fathers. This benignitie tooke such preuailing power in the foules of the Citizens; that they yeelded themselves instantly to the *Romanes*.

The other was thus. In the yeare of *Romes* foundation, 318. warre was deliberated by the Senate and Consules, against the *Sarmates*, and other people inhabiting by the Mounraine *Caucasus*, which (according to Cosmographers) deuiding *Asia* in the middest, terminateth *Syria* on the one side, and finisheth *India* on the other; where, by extremitie of cold, the Vine hath no ability to grow. *Lucius Pius* was created Consull, and appointed for this expedition; where, waging cruell warre against them: Fortune was one while fauourable to him, & then againe frowning. But in the time of a truce concluded betweene them, *Lucius* very friendly entertained the *Sarmates* Captaines, and hauing diuers times bancketed them, perceiuing that they were

lickerously affected to wine, because it was a rarity among them; at last he made them a bountifull feast, wherein he fitted them with great plenty of wine; that they (in drunken loue to him) yeelded the whole Prouince tributary to the Roman people. The warres so concluding, & the Consull being returned to *Rome*, hee demanded Triumphes; which not onely was denied him by the Senate, but also his forme of victory so abhorred by the, that publickely they did put him to death, and for his greater defamacion, engraue an Epitaph on his Tombe, speaking in this manner.

*The Epitaph appointed by the Romanes, to be engrauen on the Tombe of*  
*Lucius Pius.*

*Here lieth the Consull Lucius Pius; who, not by Armes in the fildes, but by carrowing at his Table; not by the Lance, but plenty of wine, conquered the Sarmates.*

And yet the Senate, not satisfied with this his disgrace, caused publickly to bee proclaimed thoroughout *Rome*, that all (whatsoeuer) had bene wonne in the *Romaine* peoples name, by *Lucius Pius*, should be accounted as nothing. And wrote (moreouer) to the *Sarmates*, that they denied any Conquest of them; but referred them vnto their former priuiledge and liberty.

Wine brought that to pass, which warre had not the power to doe.

An Epitaph first for a Quaiting Conquest.

The Consuls of Rome make warre against the Sarmates and Lucius Pius was appointed for the expedition.

## The end of the sixt Booke.



## THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

### CHAP. I.

*Of the Gouvernement and Administration of Iustice obserued in the Commonwealth of Luca.*

*Luca* is a noble Cittie (seated in the Country of *Tuscany*) so called of *Lucomenus*, King of the *Tuscans*. *Strabo* saith, that *Luca* is a Citie neare to the mountaines of *Luna* (and nowadayes the Country is called *Lunigiana*) and that the Region yeeldeth very woorthy men, apt and able in valour for Armes: there being a multitude of knights, from whom the Senate receiued the Military order.

But because we are to discourse of our times, I say, that *Luca* is now found to be about two miles in circuite, seated singularly, and in a good place. It containeth about foure and thirty thousand persons within the walles; and there are rich families, because the men of this City do trafficke greatly in merchandise, and especially in matters of Silkes: for which (amongest all Christians) they haue no meane name. In the time of *Castruccio Castracani* (who was of the *Interminelli*) he became Lord thereof, there beeing a diuision of many families, that would not obey a Tyrant; they vied the Arte of making silke together, deuining great wealth from diuers parts of *Italie*. They brought also into *Florence*, the Artes of making cloths of golde and siluer, whereby they attained to inestimable riches. The men are (naturally) very courteous and modest, not niggardly, but bountifull, and therefore prosperity commeth the more freely vpon them. The *Lucan* tongue in *Tuscany*, is held to be very sweete and pure,

because they haue no medling with noyous accents, which are common to all other cities of the Prouince. This so small a cittie, hath a long time maintained it selfe in freedome, and so still doth, with good and substantiall orders.

#### The Councell.

*Her* maine foundation (as it is in all other Common-wealths) consistes of the Councell; because on them depend, and from them are deriued all the other Magistrates, that are members of a bodie so well ordered. These Councillors do discourse on the State occasions, and are (indeede) Fathers of that Common-wealth. It is compounded of three kindes of persons, because some are ordinarily of the Councell, and they continue a whole yeare. Some others are invited *ad bene placitum*, and are not ordinary. Some others are subrogated in the place of such as die, and so endure for a full yeare. This Councell consisteth of an hundred and three score Cittizens, but ordinarily are in number an hundred and twentie.

#### The Signoria.

The City of *Luca* is diuided into three parts, which (there) they vnto tearme *Terzieri*: The one is of *S. Saluadore*, the second of *S. Pauline*, and the third of *S. Martine*. The Councell doe elect the Signorie from the three forenamed *Terzieri*, that is, for euery *Terziera* they create three men, which are nine in full number. Beside these, they elect the *Gonfaloniere*, who is the head, or chiefe of the Common-wealth, & (for examples sake) he is first elected from the *Terziera* of *S. Saluadore*; next from that of *Saint Pauline*; and the third time from that of *Saint Martine*: and the *Terziera* being once gone ouer, the *Gonfaloniere* returneth

l ii 2 for

The Language sweete and delicate.

The power for creating all other Magistrates.

Three several degrees of Councillors.

Three diuisions of *S. Saluadore*, *S. Pauline*, and *S. Martine*.

Some hold this Office to be the chiefe Stande-bearer.

*Strabo* lib. 5.

Concerning the Country *Lunigiana*.

The situation, compass, and number of the people of this Citie.

The working of Cloths of gold & siluer.



for election to S. *Savonar*, and so successively (each after other) according to the forefaid order.

By these men, and by the *Gonfaloniere* living abroad, other are to be elected, called *Antiani*, and the election is made in this manner. Three men are chosen, who they terme *Assortitori*, one for each *Terziero*. These, haue the charge of counting the Ballots of them that are elected, culling out such as they think fittest, after that the Councell haue made choise of many men, and then they elect the *Gonfaloniere*. And in making this election, the *Assortitori* sit in Councell separtely in a place, and account the Ballots vntill they come to the number: which being not complete, they rebalot them ouer againe, vntill they be an hundred & eighty in number. And neither such as are subrogated, nor the other ballotted, are published to the Councell; but onely are made knowne to the *Assortitori*. And because no fraud or deceit may ensue by the *Assortitori*, two principall chosen Fryars are as their Assistants; one of the order of S. *Dominicke*, and the other of S. *Francis*.

These *Assortitori* haue Authority, to bring the men elected to the Magistrates, at such time as they think fitting in feuerall months: and this deputation done by the *Assortitori* (who are the prime men of Luca:) it is kept by them in secret, & they are sworne not to reueale it. The *Assortitori* created, then they create the Seigniorie, who cannot bee vanquished, if they haue two third partes of the Ballots, although the forefaid Ballots are to be seen by none but onely by the *Assortitori*. The charge of the Seigniorie is to hear (freely) matters of iustice and punishment, being alwaies present in the Palace, & may not depart thence vnder capital penalty: the publike purse payeth their expences.

By this forenamed body of ten, one other officer is chosen, whom they call *Comandatore*, and this new man they make peere vnto them, his gouernment lasting no longer then three daies: in which time he hath liberty and authority to commaund all the other, yea, and the *Gonfaloniere*, & is Patron in euery busines. And although the supplications which com to the Signory, are presented to the *Comandatore*, & if he wil not present them to the collidge

of the Lordes or Signiors, they remaine with him: yet notwithstanding he cannot dispose of them without the authority of the Signiorie. And if the *Comandatore* propone the suppliments to the Signorie, & there they passe two thirds; the *Gonfaloniere* propones them afterwards in the Councell. The authority of the Signorie extendeth vnto straungers, but not ouer the Citizens: and they propone all things, but conclude nothing.

#### The Secretaries Office.

The Office of the Secretaries (who are three in number) is very important. These men haue authority, onely in matters of consensu to the maiesty of the Commonwealth, being absolute in that case, & are about the *Gonfaloniere*. But true it is, that they can do nothing without the *Gonfaloniere*; and before they conclude any action, they must tender the cause vnto the Councell. Sometime it falleth out, that seeking iudiciously into the matter, they accomplish it, & afterward render a reason for it to the Councell, when they haue done it: either, because they could not congregate the Councell in the instant, or in regarde the cause necessarily required, to haue such fodaine expedition.

#### The Councell of Conference.

The Colloquie, or Councell of Conference, is composed of 18. Citizens, and they are elected by the Councell. These men, if the Lordes are doubtfull in any matter, and that the case cannot be easily deliberated: they meet together, and discourse on the cause propounded to the Councell; and after they haue discussed it pregnantly, then they determine together, whether it is to bee granted by the Councell, or no.

#### The Councell of sixe.

These six men (being of sound reputation) haue charge of the expences & profits for common employment. They provide and command all things, which passe in many accounts, and are as Gouernours of the rents and reuenues. They haue also a Chamberlaine, who is the executer of their deliberations. And all these are likewise chosen by the greater Councell.

#### The Rata.

In many Cities of Italy, this office is ordinary, consisting of three forraigne Doctors, within the compasse of fiftie miles. One of them hath the Title of *Potestade*; the

The extent of the Signories power.

Three Secretaries, and the import of their authority.

18 Citizens in this Office of Colloquie, & their charge.

As Customers or Receiues of rents & reuenues for generall vse.

The Doctors lining out of the Cities jurisdiction.

Elders, Counsellors, or Companions.

Account made of the Ballots to their full number, or els rebalotted ouer againe.

The authority of the Assortitori in bringing the elected persons to the Magistrates.

Their abiding in the Palace.

The power of the Comandatore.

Of Supplications presented to the Comandatore.

They change their places & offices by turnes.

Matter of the Potestades power.

Nine Officers and a forraigne Iudge.

Officers for the Cities plenty of corn.

Commissaries for occasions of warre and their prouiso.

the second is Iudge of malefactours; & the third is Iudge in ciuill causes. By turnes they haue their feuerall changes, and euery fixe moneths, one of the Centers as Potestade, being first Iudge of malefactours; and his Office of Potestade being past, hee becommeth Iudge in causes ciuill. So that each one of them is Potestade, Iudge for Malefactours, and Iudge in ciuill occasions, as it cometh to his turn. If the Potestade haue (perhaps) a Citizen in his power; he doth no more but forme the Proceffe, and sets downe (in writing) his owne opinion, what is the merite of the delinquent, and so it passeth vnto the Councell, who either commend, teare, or temper the opinion and sentence of the Potestade; and then in such a case, the Potestade entrench into the Councell. On strangers, the Potestade may absolutely determine, without any other: And in breefe, these three men do also discourse on ciuill matters.

#### The Marchants Court.

These Officers are nine in number, being elected (by threes) out of the *Terzieros*. They haue a forraigne Doctor for their Iudge, being their Assistent. They iudge in causes appertaining to merchandise, their authority stretching (in the said matters) to blood.

#### The Office for Store.

In like manner there are nine Officers, & so chosen out of the *Terzieros*. These men are the prouiders of Corne, that the City may continually be furnished therewith, and they hear all causes concerning the matter. Prouision still being made for euery three yeares, and the Garners diligently respected where the Corne is kept, being still supplied, that there may be no want.

#### Six Commissaries.

And because throughout the whole Countie, certain assemblies are ordained of such persons as are meete to manage armes: for this especiall businesse, and such occasions as may happen in times of warre; these fixe Commissaries haue authority to muster and make ready bands of Souldiers, and all such things as are requisite for them. Whatsoeuer belongeth to this businesse, passeth thorough their power, and their sentence in them carieth allowance.

#### For Health.

There are likewise three especiall Presidents, for matters concerning the countries health. These Officers do regard, that all the food may be found and good; that all filth and vncleanesse may be sent out of the City, and men employing all diligence, to conserue the people from being offended by any pestiferous accident, or whatsoeuer annoyance may be preiudicial to health.

#### The Councell for disobedience.

And because in euery City, there are found too many persons, not enclineable to any goodnesse, but practising to liue viciously, adding themselves to lewde courses, and are meerey opposit to all well instituted rules, for liuing ciuilly, & in good order; therefore the men of Luca haue a Councell, which they entitle, for disobedience, and inflicting punishment on such (as by their vile example) may be the ruine of a well-policed Commonwealth. And the forme of their discipline (in this case) carieth some correspondence with the *Ostracisme* vsed amongst the *Athenians*; only herein is this difference, that the *Athenians* banished such, whose granteesse and power grew suspicious to the people, and so sentenced them for ten yeares, whereas here it extended but to rascality onely, and the sentence lasting but three yeares.

#### The Office for Lodgings.

Eight Gentlemen are appointed to this Office, who haue charge for vnderstanding the affaires of all strangers comming into the City, and what businesse they haue there. All hosts stand bound to giue in writing the names of such Guestes, as come from any part abroad, and are not of the City, and those names they must deliuer to these officers. And if perchance some one tell a lye, reporting one thing for another; he is then examined by the strappado, because the truth of his businesse there, ought to be knowne. Such as approue themselves good and honest, being no spies or treachers to the Citie, are kindly entertained, their Lodgings orderly appointed, and their expences well respected.

#### The Guard.

The Signorie electeth an hundred Soldiours, lining within fifty miles compasse, to be as a Garde for the Pallace,

Presidents appointed for wholesome discipline, and cleane keeping the Citie.

Slothfull Rogues and idle vagabonds.

Banishment given for 3. yeares.

A good and prouidēt care and meete to be vsed in euery well gouerned Citie.

for election to S. *Sanior*, and so successively (each after other) according to the foreaid order.

By these men, and by the *Gonfaloniere* living abroad, other are to be elected, called *Aniani*, and the election is made in this manner. Three men are chosen, who they terme *Affortitori*, one for each *Terziera*. These, haue the charge of counting the Ballots of them that are elected, culling out such as they think fittest, after that the Councell haue made choise of many men, and then they elect the *Gonfaloniere*. And in making this election, the *Affortitori* sit in Councell separately in a place, and account the Ballots vntill they come to the number: which being not compleate, they rebalot them ouer againe, vntill they be an hundred & eighty in number. And neither such as are subrogated, nor the other ballotted, are published to the Councell; but onely are made knowne to the *Affortitori*. And because no fraud or deceit may ensue by the *Affortitori*, two principall chosen Fryars are as their assistants; one of the order of S. *Dominicke*, and the other of S. *Frances*.

These *Affortitori* haue Authoritie, to bring the men elected to the Magistrates, at such time as they think fitting in several months: and this deputation done by the *Affortitori* (who are the prime men of Luca): it is kept by them in secret, & they are sworn not to reueale it. The *Affortitori* created, then they create the Seignory, who cannot bee vanquished, if they haue two third partes of the Ballots, although the foreaid Ballots are to be seen by none but onely by the *Affortitori*. The charge of the Seignory is to hear (freely) matters of iustice and punishment, being alwaies present in the Palace, & may not depart thence vnder capital penalty: the publike purse payeth their expences.

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of the Lordes or Signiors, they remaine with him: yet notwithstanding he cannot dispose of them without the authoritie of the Signiory. And if the *Comandatore* propone the supplications to the Signorie, & there they passe two thirds; the *Gonfaloniere* propones them afterwards in the Councell. The authority of the Signorie extendeth vnto strangers, but not ouer the Citizens: and they propone all things, but conclude nothing.

#### The Secretaries Office.

The Office of the Secretaries (who are three in number) is very important. These men haue authority, onely in matters of offense to the maiesty of the Commonwealth, being absolute in that case, & are about the *Gonfaloniere*. But true it is, that they can do nothing without the *Gonfaloniere*; and before they conclude any action, they must tender the cause vnto the Councell. Sometime it falleth out, that seeking iudiciously into the matter, they accomplish it, & afterward render a reason for it to the Councell, when they haue done it: either, because they could not congregate the Councell in the instant, or in regarde the cause necessarily required, so haue such sodaine expedition.

#### The Councell of Conference.

The Colloquie, or Councell of Conference, is composed of 18. Citizens, and they are elected by the Councell. These men, if the Lordes are doubtfull in any matter, and that the case cannot be easily deliberated: they meet together, and discourse on the cause propounded to the Councell; and after they haue discussed it pregnantly, then they determine together, whether it is to bee granted by the Councell, or no.

#### The Councell of fixe.

These six men (being of found reputation) haue charge of the expences & profits for common employment. They provide and command all things, which passe in many accounts, and are as Gouernors of the rents and reuennewes. They haue also a Chamberlaine, who is the executer of their deliberations. And all these are likewise chosen by the greater Councell.

#### The Rota.

In many Cities of Italy, this office is ordinary, consisting of three forraigne Doctors, within the compasse of fiftie miles. One of them hath the Title of *Potestata*; the

The extent of the Signories power.

Three Secretaries, and the import of their authoritie.

18 Citizens in this Office of Colloquie, & their charge.

As Customers or Receiues of rents & reuennewes for general use.

The Doctors living out of the Cities Iurisdiction.

They change their places & offices by turns.

Master of the Potestates power.

Nine Officers and a forraigne Iudge.

Officers for the Cities plenty of coun.

Commissaries for occasions of warre and their prouiso.

the second is Iudge of malefactours; & the third is Iudge in ciuill causes. By turnes they haue their seuerall changes, and euery fixe moneths, one of the Centers as Potestate, being first Iudge of malefactours; and his Office of Potestate being past, hee becometh Iudge in causes ciuill. So that each one of them is Potestate, Iudge for Malefactours, and Iudge in ciuill occasions, as it comes to his turn. If the Potestate haue (perhaps) a Citizen in his power; he doth no more but form the Proceffe, and sets downe (in writing) his owne opinion, what is the merite of the delinquent, and so it passeth vnto the Councell, who either commend, teare, or temper the opinion and sentence of the Potestate; and then in such a case, the Potestate entrench into the Councell. On strangers, the Potestate may absolutely determine, without any other: And in breife, these three men do also discourse on ciuill matters.

#### The Merchants Court.

These Officers are nine in number, being elected (by threes) out of the *Terziero*s. They haue a forraigne Doctor for their Iudge, being their Assistant. They iudge in causes appertaining to merchandise, their authority stretching (in the said matters) to blood.

#### The Office for Store.

In like manner there are nine Officers, & so chosen out of the *Terziero*s. These men are the providers of Corne, that the City may continually be furnished therewith, and they hear all causes concerning the matter. Prouision still being made for euery three yeares, and the Garners diligently respected where the Corne is kept, being still supplied, that there may be no want.

#### Six Commissiouners.

And because thoroughout the whole Countie, certain assemblies are ordained of such persons as are meete to manage armes: for this especiall businesse, and such occasions as may happen in times of warre; these fixe Commissaries haue authority to muster and make ready bads of Souldiers, and all such things as are requisite for them. Whatsoeuer belongeth to this businesse, passeth thorough their power, and their sentence in them carieth allowance.

#### For Health.

There are likewise three especiall Prefidents, for matters concerning the countie health. These Officers do regard, that all the food may be found and good; that all filth and vncleannesse may be sent out of the City, and men employing all diligence, to conferre the people from being offended by any pestiferous accident, or whatsoever annoyance may be preiudiciall to health.

#### The Councell for disobedience.

And because in euery City, there are found too many persons, not enclineable to any goodnesse, but prauising to liue viciously, adding themselves to lewde courses, and are meerey opposit to all well instituted rules, for liuing ciuilly, & in good order; therefore the men of Luca haue a Councell, which they entitle, for disobedience, and inflicting punishment on such (as by their vile example) may be the ruine of a well-policed Commonwealth. And the forme of their discipline (in this case) carieth some correspondence with the *Ostracisme* vsed amongst the *Athenians*; only herein is this difference, that the *Athenians* banished such, whose greatnesse and power grew suspicious to the people, and so sentenced them for ten yeares, whereas here it extended but to rascality onely, and the sentence lasting but three yeares.

#### The Office for Lodgings.

Eight Gentlemen are appointed to this Office, who haue charge for vnderstanding the affaires of all strangers comming into the City, and what businesse they haue there. All hosts stand bound to giue in writing the names of such Guestes, as come from any part abroad, and are not of the City, and those names they must deliuer to these officers. And if perchance some one tell a lye, reporting one thing for another; he is then examined by the strappado, because the truth of his businesse there, ought to be knowne. Such as approue themselves good and honest, being no spies or treachers to the Citie, are kindly entertained, their Lodgings orderly appointed, and their expences well respected.

#### The Guard.

The Signorie eleateth an hundred Souldiours, liuing within fifty miles compasse, to bee as a Guard for the Pallace,

Prefidents appointed for wholesome duty, and cleane keeping the Citie.

Slothfull Rogues and idle vagabonds.

Banishment giuen for 3. yeares.

A good and prouident care and meete to be vsed in euery well gouerned Citie.

Elders, Confessors, or Companions.

Account made of the Ballots to their full number, or els rebalotted ouer againe.

The authority of the *Affortitori* in bringing the elected persons to the Magistrates.

Their abiding in the Palace.

The power of the *Comandatore*.

Of supplications presented to the *Comandatore*.

Citizens are the watch and guard for the wals.

Two citizens Commisfaries & their charge

and out of this hundred are chosen Captaines and Collonels. These men haue good Wages, if they be called to guard the Wals in the night time: whereas otherwise, the guard for the wals consisteth of Cittizens artificers, such as haue wiues and children, and are waged with three Crownes each man euery month. At the gates stand wien of the country, and each gate also hath two Citizens Commisfaries: one of them being there early in the morning at the gates opening, & so continuing til dinner time; and at his parting commeth the other, who stayeth there til Euening, when the gates are shutte in againe.

## CHAP. II.

*What benefite and honor it is to a Prince, to haue a comely bodye, a gracious countenance, and venerable aspect.*

Beauty of body is no mean blessing in a Prince.



NE of the parts (in mine opinion) which maketh the Maiestie of a Prince to bee most venerable (speaking of exterior graces) is beautie of body: which wee see to be accompanied with singular grauity, and which yeeldeth argument of wisdom and knowledge.

The saying of Pythagoras concerning a crooked body

And although the rule of *Pythagoras* hath often bene noted to faile, affirming, *That in a crooked body, there can neuer dwell a right soule* (because we haue seene in an ill shaped body, to reigne diuers choyce vertues) yet that which is most frequent and ordinary, is to see the contrary. And if an honourable aspect and representation, serued to no other end in a Prince, but to increas his authority and reuerence, yet are they much more dignified, if some signes of vertue and bounde doe beare them company. As on the contrary, they are diminished by ill shape and deformity. For *Cicero* sayeth; *The habitude of vertue is of such efficacie, that it maketh vs to loue him that is possessed thereof.* Euen so, Maiestie in the person of a Prince, hath a veneration merely in it selfe, which attracteth the heartes

*Cicero in Tu. Cn. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

of his subiects vnto loue: vrged thereunto (perhappes) by no expresse fantasie, that a Prince ought to bee vertuous, and conforme his actions to the beauty of his body.

This reason (it may be) hath induced many barbarous people to iudge, that there was no man capable of a good spirit, to bring any great attempt to successefull end; but onely such a one, as was endued (by nature) with a goodly proportion of body, and an honorable presence. *Macrobius* declareth, that in the life of *Mercus on Nilus*, the inhabitants (who are said to liue halfe againe as long as we do) vse to elect as their Prince, him whome they know to be the strongest, and of far goodlier presence then any other. There is no man, but will repute a deformed Prince, yet vertuous; ought to be preferred before him of goodly person, and vicious: but when wee come to make equality of them, our affection will rather leane to the comely body, then vnto the counterfeite.

*Demetrius*, the sonne of *Antigonus*, was of such a goodly and honourable representation, that there was neither Painter or Caruer that durst attempt to portraire him: for there was in him both a sweete complexion, and terror mixed together, yet ioynted with such manietude & grauity, as it plainly appeared, that hee was meere borne, to be affected, feared, and reuerenced altogether. VVee reade of *Marius* (who had so many Triumphs) that he was of such a venerable aspect, as becoming prisoner to his enemy *Silla*: a French man was sent by him to murder him. Who entering into the prison, with his weapon ready drawne, and noting in him a venie graue and dreadfull aspect; he became so dismayed and terrified, that hee returned backe, leauing the prison open, and (by that means) was the cause of preserving his life. *Alexander* the Macedonian (being but of meane stature, and not ouercomely countenanced) walking with his deere affected Friend *Ephelion*: the Mother of King *Darius* (being verie desirous to salute *Alexander*) offered her courtesies to *Ephelion*, making him many humble reuerences. For, seeing him to bee so goodly a man of person; the verily thought, that (of necessity) hee must be *Alexander*.

Histo-

*Demetrius in Tu. Cn. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

The opinion of diuers barbarous nations.

*Macrobius in Saturnalia lib. 3. cap. 7.*

Affection for the true and comely, then delectation.

The excellency of Demetrius the son of Antigonus.

The countenance of Marius feared his life in great perill.

*Ephelion* thus used to greet of *Alexander*, only by his countenance.

The benefite of comely appearance to Countries & Common-weales.

Example of deformity in Philopomenes Governor of the Achaians

A City of Achaia on the borders of Asia.

A pleasant history of Philopomenes hunting.

The Citizens well supplied Philopomenes to be some more sightly person, then he appeared in his eye.

Historics make report, that *Alcibiades*, *Scipio*, and many other, did highly honor and make great the dignitie of their authority: onely by their sightly appearance: wherewith also their innatred vertues being combin'd, did inestimable benefite to their seuerall Countries and Common-weales. On the contrary, we finde that many Princes and Captaines, as well auncient as moderne, haue bene despised for their lowe stature, and other defects of honourable presence, euen to the perill of their liues, whereof I purpose to produce two examples onely.

*Philopomenes*, Duke of the *Achaians*, and much renowned, was of so lowe stature, misshapen presence, and deformed countenance, that when he attyred himselfe in mechanike habite (as oftentimes he vsed to doe) he seemed rather to bee of vile and vulgare place, then woorthy to haue gouernement of the people. He was greatly addicted to hunting, and therefore resorted very often to *Megara*. It so chanced on a certaine day, that this desire of hunting carried him further off, then hee had any willing intent to goe: so that hee attyred at the house of a Citizen neare adioyning, who was a singular friend of his, and had lately before bene married. He had but one seruant in his company; because the rest hee had sent to other places, and being come to his friends house, he knockt at the doore: and the women looking forth at their window, demanded what they would haue; when the seruant replied, That *Philopomenes*, Duke of the *Achaians* came to haue entertainment there.

The woman being much amazed, that a man of such worth, and so much vnexpected, should come on such a sodaine thither, and (having neuer seene the Duke) reputing thele to be but two of his seruants, which came before to giue knowledge of his coming, because they were thus alone: without returning any other answer, came and opened the doore to them. When they were entred into the house, she sent one of her seruants to aduertise her husband speedily (who was then abroad at the next village:) requiring *Philopomenes* & the other with him, to sit downe in the meane time, while she bestirred her selfe to prepare supper. About the house trots she and her maid,

her thoughts much busied and molested, beginning one thing, and then another, but neuer going thorow or finishing any, though she had but little time of allowance. At last, looking on *Philopomenes*, who sat muffled in his cloake, and might be more cold then hee would make shew of (whereat (happily) she the more smiled, then at his deformitie) she, somewhat roundly (like a nimble stirring huswife) prayed him to lay by his Cloake, and help her to make a good fire, because her other seruants were else-where employed, and that supper might be made readie in due time, against the coming of his Lord and maister.

Heereupon, he tooke a hatchet which she gaue him, and fell to cleauing wood for the kitchen: hauing formerly giuen order to his man, to take no other knowledge of him, lest the woman should discern any scruple of the deceit. While hee stood stoutly to this employment; home came the maister of the house, who knowing *Philopomenes*, and wondering to see him so homely busied; did him humble reuerence, saying; *My Lord, this is no office for you to vndergoe.* Whereunto (smiling) hee replied: *Worthy friend, let mee alone, I doe but pay the penaltie due to my deformitie.*

In our time, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, who had the title of *Catholike* a very wife and discreet Prince; but of stature, rather too lowe, then of any mediocrity, and although hee had a royall face, and was a man of great gouernement; yet it appeared plainly in him, that it was not correspondent to his other members. Besides, hee vually wore his garments of cloth, whereby he was rather thought to be a Citizen, then any way taken to be a King.

The King trauiailing (on a time) to *Naples*, accompanied with Queene *Isabel*, and being there lovingly expected; by occasion of weather, hee attyred at a haue towne on the Sea coast (called *Puteoli*) with his onely Gally, the rest being much better prepared, remaining behinde. Landing there, he was honourably received by the Inhabitants, according to the extent of their power in such a place. While the Pallace was furnishing, and prouision for his diet preparing, hee walked alone by himselfe in a Hall, where

This doubtlesse the world hath not had done; but that shee took him for some meane seruant.

*Philopomenes* cleaueth wood for the kitchen, to make ready supper.

A free confession of his own deformitie.

Another History of King *Ferdinand*, called the little King of *Spaine*.

A Towne in Campania, eight miles from Naples

The conference between a blunt Fisherman and the King.

The Fisherman would not credit outward appearance.

The Kings pleasant words to his Lords.

Another History concerning the same King, but in a more dilated full manner.

The King in danger of life by his deformity.

where (very soone after) a poore blunt fisherman came to him, who (by chance) had taken a goodly fish, wherewith he intended to present the King. The Fisherman, not knowing him, desired to understand where the King was: he presently answered him, I am he. The Fisherman brake forth into loud laughter, imagining that hee had merely mocked him; wherefore hee prayed him agayne, to tell him where the King was: and he againe affirmed himselfe to be hee. But the Fisherman, discerning in him no maiestical resemblance, either for his person or habite, and no attendants about him sitting for a King; returned backe, and carryed away the fish with him. Hereat the King could not chuse but smile, and some of his especial Lords and Favourites immediately entring (after they had saluted him with their wonted reuerence) laughing outright, thus hee spake vnto them. *Lords, did yee not meete a Fisherman going forth? If you do not goe and giue him assurance, that I am your King, wee shall loose the best Fish that euer I saw.* Instantly the Fisherman returned backe againe, and beholding him (whom he so much neglected) to bee so dutifully reuerenced by such worthy persons; he beganne to conceiue in his soule, that (vndoubtedly) he was the King, and falling vpon his knees before him, he humbly presented the fish vnto him.

Wee may account this for a merry accident, in regarde of another which happened to him, and by the same occasion of misconfusing his person. For, at another time, the same King being at *Barcelona*, going in Procession with his courtly attendants, as wayting on the Sacrament, on the day dedicated to that solemnity: hee was suddenly set vpon by a *Spaniard*, who gaue him so mightie a stroke with a great Dagger on his necke, as had beene sufficient to smite off his head; but that the blow was rebated by a great chaine of golde, being then (accidentally) about his necke. This *Spaniard* being taken, and suspected that hee had some other complices in the action; was put to the tortures, where he would confesse nothing else, but onely that he was moued out of his owne mind to do it, in mere hatred he bare to the King. Hereupon he was demanded, what occasion

should so prouoke him to hate the King? He answered; Truly nothing else, but because his countenance did not please him, for, it appeared so vngracious vnto him, that if they did set him at libertie, yet he would kil him, whatsoeuer came of it. Questionlesse, it was a strange case, that a man should so desperately endanger his owne life, because a King was not formed to his liking.

### CHAP. III.

Of the inhumane actions, and monstrous cruelties of Aristotimus the tyrant; a subject well becoming a Tragedy.



*Aristotimus*, vnder the fauours, and forces of King *Antigonus*, tyrannically vsurped ouer the \* *Eleusians*, exercising his power so intemperately, that he omitted not any kinde of iniury or crueltie, whereby he might afflict the miserable Citizens; for he was (by nature) more inhumane and cruell, then any man liuing in his time. Hee added to this his cruel disposition, the counsell of barbarous men, to whom hee not only gaue the rule of the kingdome, but also the gardance of his owne person. Among all the extraordinary cruelties, that which he inflicted on *Philodamus*, a very honourable Cittizen, deserueth to be recorded for a most especial example.

This *Philodamus* had a daughter of admirable beauty & singular graces, named *Mica*, on whom a souldier called *Lucius* (an especial fauourite to the Tyrant) became so extremely enamored; that (in a bold & imperious manner) he sent to her father, commanding him to fend him his daughter. *Philodamus*, much afflicted at so lawcie a command, & knowing what power *Lucius* had with the Tyrant, fearing also what might happen to him and her mother, laboured by perswasions, that his daughter should go to him. But the yong Virgin, who more prized honor then life, by mere instinct of her noble education; fell on her knees before her father, & embracing his knee very strictly, humbly entreated, that hee would not expose her to such monstrous dishonour, but rather to see her dead before his face, then deliuer her to such shame and indignitie.

The

Lucius goeth himselfe to the house of *Philodamus*, where (in an inhuman manner) he breathes Mica.

\* Eleusis a City in Attica neere Athens, where Ceres had a Temple.

Tyrants are commonly gouerned by barbarous persons.

The lamentable History of *Philodamus* and his faire daughter *Mica*.

The vertuous entreatie of *Mica* to her Father.

Lucius desperately killeth faire Mica, which procured death to her, and banishment to others.

The father being moued by her teares to compassion, late downe by his wofull wife, and sorrow now sung grieue in three sad parts, which admitted no leasure for a final resolution. Whereat *Lucius* growing impatient, through the violence of his hote and fiery lust, seeing the mayd not brought, according to his wicked expectation: he ran himselfe to the house, where finding her on hir knees before hir parents, fall holding her fathers legge in her armes; with heauy threatnings, hee commanded her to arise, and goe thence along with him immediately. Shee continuing her wofull complaints, refusing to rise, or listen to his menaces; the cruell man, tearing off her garments to her naked skinne, did strike and beate her in most vnmanly manner; all which she endured with a most constant courage, not breathing forth so much as a sigh, but as one prepared to suffer his vttermost cruelty.

On their knees fell the mournfull father and mother, before the wretched man, not able to abide so rufull a spectacle, entreating him, to take pity on the Virgin, and their age. But seeing they could not preuaile with this merciless barbarian; they called for helpe to the gods, and men, whereat hee waxed extremely displeased, drew out his sword, and slew the Virgin, as thus she embraced the knee of her father. Although this horrible cruelty moued not the Tyrant a iote, yet the Cittizens so distasted the deede; that some of them hee punished with present death, and banished some other, so that eight hundred fearfully fledde into *Aetolia*: who afterward writing backe to the Tyrant, desired so much fauour of him, that their wiues and children (with some part of their goodes) might bee sent thither to them, to liue with their husbands.

The women, not a little glad at this good motion, beganne to make vp their hardells, some providing wagons, others horses, for conueying thence their goods and children.

Vpon the day appointed for their departure, all the Gates were set open for them to passe out at; their waggon and horses laden with their children and goodes; and as they offered to issue forth, diuers Sergeants and Catch-poles (stan-

dng ready for the purpose) cryed out to them with dreadfull threatnings, to stay and passe no further, ouerthrowing the waggon and horses, laden with their goods and children, so that they were not able to escape out of the crowds: but beheld their yoong children bruised in peeces vnder their heels, they not being any way vnable to helpe them. Afterward, such women and children as were left aliue, the Souldiers assembled them together, driving them on before them, (like herds of cattell) beating them with stauces towards the Tyrants Pallace, who (causing all their goods to be taken from them) imprisond them and their children together.

This horrible cruelty did highly displease the Cittizens, who not knowing how they might best incite the Tyrant to pity their wiues: tooke sixteene vestall Virgins, consecrated to *Dionysius*, and, attyring them in their religious habites: they tooke sacred things out of the Temple in their hands; and (in sollemne manner of a Procession) went towards the tyrant, to craue mercie of him for the women and children. The Souldiers, who stood as a garde about the Tyrant, being moued with reuerence to those holy Virgins; made way for them, that they might the easier come into his presence. *Aristotimus* affoording audience, to vnderstand what these women desired, and gathering by the very entrance into their Oration, to what end the full scope aymed; hee gaue very disdainfull looks vpon his Guard, reprouing them roughly and rigorously, because they suffered them to come so neare him. Whereupon, the rude Souldiers, without any regarde of their Sexe or religious condition; smote them with the stauces of their halberds, giuing them many cruell blows and bastinadoes, vntill such time as they went away from him, being each of them condemned in two Talents fine beside, because they had presumed so boldly to enter into his presence.

There was a noble Cittizen in the Citie, named *Hellanicus*, two of whose children the tyrant had put to death, and yet (in regarde of his age) did not account him any way to be suspected. This worthy Gentleman, being no longer able to dure, the outrage and crueltie inflicted

The monstrous and cruell acte of Aristotimus, vpon poore women and children.

A Procession of sixteene vestall virgins to pacifie the cruell Tyrant.

The vestall virgins cruelly vied by the Souldiers about Aristotimus.

Hellanicus a Noble Cittizen, practiseth reuenge vpon the Tyrant.

on

on his Countrey: determined to finde out some apt occasion, and to reuenge all wrongs by the death of *Aristotimus*. In the meane while, the other Cittizens, that were fled before into *Aetolia*, hauing mustred so many men together as they could possibly procure, entred into open armes, and came into the *Eleusians* confines, where they fortified themselves, and daily drew more and more to their faction, determining present warre vpon the Tyrant, many neighbouring friends assisting them with supplying forces, so that they encreased to an indifferent armie.

Vpon these proceedings, the Tyrant became afflicted with very great feare, so that he went to the women whom he detained prisoners, and being a man of a diuelling spirit, coueting to compasse whatsoever he would haue, rather by rigorous menaces, then any faire or gentle means, commanded them very roughly, to write to their husbands by Ambassadors, that they should desist from their present enterprise: otherwise, hee would instantly massacre all their children, and cause them to be beaten stark naked throughout the Cittie. To these threatnings the women returned not any answer, which incensed him with the greater rage against them; and hee sternely commanded them, to giue him resolution what they would do. Some, not hauing the boldnesse of spirit to reply, stood stedfastly looking vpon the rest, as questioning in their soules, which of them should retorne the answer, yet making no account of all his threatnings.

Among this company of worthy women, was one, named *Megestena*, wife to *Thimoleon*, who, as well in regarde of her husbands Nobilitie, as her owne innated singular vertues, was held to be the very chiefe of them, & (with the like esteeme) they honoured her. This Lady, when the Tyrant came in among them, would not aske to giue him any reuerence, neither suffer any of the rest to do otherwise then as he did. She hauing heard the Tyrants menaces, sitting stil vpon the ground, and retorning no signe at all of reuerence, she spake thus,

*The answer of Megestena to the Tyrant Aristotimus.*

*Aristotimus, if there remained in thee any wisdome, then wouldest thou not make thy recourse to women, to haue them write a direction to their husbands, what they should doe; but rather thou wouldest send their wives to them, with better speeches and more worthy considerations, then thou hast rised toward them, making a mockerie of vs, by a most base and dishonourable deceit. And now, when thou seest thy selfe able to doe nothing else; thou presumest (by our meanes) to beguile our husbands by faire wordes, as formerly thou hast abused our credulitie. Thou deceuest thine owne iudgement, for wee will not suffer them to be agayne overreached by thee; neither doe thou imagine them to bee so foolish, as to sheld their children from death, or prevent the losse of their poore wifes liues, they will foreare to execute that whereto they stand obliged: I meane the freedome of their Countrey. For the losse of vs & their children is not so yreke some to them, as the glad come satisfaction will be, to deliuer their people and Countrey from outrage and cruelty.*

Longer would *Megestena* haue continued her discourse, but that the Tyrant (seeing vnable to bridle his rage) commanded the Ladies sonne to be brought thither, that there hee might be slaine in her sight. But whilst the Officers were seeking among the rest of the imprisoned children for her sonne, the mother (with an vndaunted courage) calling him by his name, sayd. Come hither to me, sweete Boy, and rather die by thy mothers hand, then endure the bloody crueltie of a Tyrant. These wordes so amazed *Aristotimus*, and kindled such outrageous choller in him, that (drawing forth his Sword) hee purposed to haue slaine the Lady. But one of his chiefe familiar friends, named *Chilon*, standing by, caught her in his armes, and pacified his fury.

This *Chilon* was one of them, who praised with *Hellanicus* the Tyrants death, as vnable also to suffer his cruelties. Hee hauing somewhat calmed the extremity of his rage, caused him to put vp his Sword agayne; plainly telling him, that it was a matter monstrous, and ill becomming the dignitie of a Prince, to foile his hand with the blood of a woman.

Within a while after, there hapned a strange

The proud folly of the Tyrant wily requoyed by a discreete woman.

An admirable & worthy resolution in a woman, to the amazement of the Tyrant.

Chilon one of the Confederates with Hellanicus to deliuer his Countrey from tyranny.

A strange prodigy prefiguring the death of Aristotimus.

A Wizard relateth the intent of the Prodigy.

A vision seen by Hellanicus in his sleepe, to hasten the death of Aristotimus.

A City betwene the Hills Ossa and Olympus, where Iupiter had a Temple.

strange prodigy, as foretelling the death of the Tyrant. For, being in bedde with his wife, whilst the Cooks were making ready his diet, an Eagle was seene to hover ouer the Lant-horne of the Pallace, and letting fall a great stone directly into it (it being ouer the Chamber where hee lay) it made a great noyse in the fall, and giuing a fearefull loud shout, the Eagle vanished from the sight of all that beheld it. The Tyrant awaking, with the confused murmure of such as had seene it, and not a little dismaied when it was reported to him; sent for a cunning Soothsayer, in whome hee reposed no meane confidence, to vnderstand what the meaning hereof might bee. The Wizard bade him be of good courage, for it figured nothing else, but that *Iupiter* had a especiall care of him, and sent his Eagle so to expresse it. But he told the Cittizens quite contrary, in whom he durst repose his trust, because he knew their hatred to *Aristotimus*: and bade them be bolde, that some sodayne and strange kinde of death, should (in a short while) happen to the Tyrant.

Heereupon *Hellanicus* and his Confederates, thought fit to delay the time no longer, but concluded to kill him on the morrow following; because the verie same night, *Hellanicus* sleeping in his bed, seemed to see one of his sonnes, that before had beene slaine by the Tyrant, who cryed out aloud to him, saying; *Deare father, Why doe you sleepe thus? Wherefore doe you trifle away the time? Stand you in doubt, that you shall not be made Prince of the Cittie?* *Hellanicus* confirmed by this Vision, went early the next morning to finde his vowed friends, hastening them to execute the deed determined. At the selfe same time, *Aristotimus* had received tydings, that *Craterus* was coming to assist him with a great power of Souldiers, and that hee was already set forth from *Olympia*. Which news were not a little welcome to him, so that seeming now free from all feare, he walked abroad to take the aire, some small distance from the Pallace, accompanied onely with *Chilon*, not attending for any more, although they came dropping after one by one. Which *Hellanicus* well obseruing, thought it now a fit time to execute the enterprise, and without giuing any fig-

nall to the rest of the confederacie, he lifted vp his hands to Heauen, speaking aloud; *What shal I see for, valiant Gentlemen? Why make yee not now the goodliest spectacle that euer yet was seene?*

*Chilon* was the first that drew his weapon, and killing one that came last from the Pallace, who offered to steppe in the tyrants defence, *Aristotimus* elypt *Thrasibulus* and *Lampidius* (two whom he most trusted) drawing their weapons likewise vpon him. Whereupon, hoping to escape their violence, hee ranne into the Temple of *Iupiter*, where he was slaine by his owne followers. Afterward, his bodie being throwne forth into the open street, the people cryed out, *Libertie, Libertie*. The women were the first, that (making way through the throngs) came thither, who ioyfully embraced them, that by the tyrants death) were the happy deliuerers of their Countrey. In the meane while, multitudes flockt to the Pallace, where the wife of *Aristotimus* (hauing heard of the murder of her husband; and doubting how the people would deale with hir) shutting her Chamber doores about her, there with her Chaîne shee strangled her selfe.

The Tyrant had two very goodly and beautifull daughters, of yeares apt and able for marriage, who hauing heard of their futhers death, had lockt themselves vp close in a Chamber; from whence they were drawne by the peoples violence, and in their furie they would haue slaine them. But *Megestena*, with diuers other of the Ladies, stood in their defence, saying: That it were an euill deed, and iustly deserting blame, to kill them: considering, they had not leard so much courage of the Tyrant their father, to exercise cruelty vpon themselves. By these speeches the people were appeased, and a decree was set downe, that they should make election of their death, and performe it on themselves with their owne hands, if they had the heart to doe it.

So being sent into their Chamber, *Alpasia* the eldest sister expressing no appearance, eyther by countenance, or any signe else, that she stood in feare of death, loosed her girdle, and fastening it about a timber-beame, refused so there to hang her selfe, exhorting her sister (with manly courage) to perforce the like vpon

*Aristotimus* the Tyrant slaine by his owne followers in the Temple of *Iupiter*.

The Tyrants wife strangling herselfe with her chaine of gold.

*Alpasia* and *Hilaria*, the daughters of *Aristotimus*.

The valiant resolution of two sisters in their death.

\* A Region in Greece, betwene Acanth and Phocis.

*Aristotimus* being in feare goeth to his women prisoners, and cruelly threateneth them.

*Megestena*, wife to the Noble Lord *Thimoleon*, chiefe among all the women.

The words of  
Alpasia to her  
sister Hillaria,  
before her  
death.

upon her selfe; *Hillaria* the younger daughter, taking her sister by the hand, desired her to permit, that shee might die first. Whereto shee replied in this manner: *As during the time, that Nature permitted vs to liue like Sisters, I neuer did willingly deny thee any thing; so farre be it from mee now, to refuse thee in thy last request: howbeit, nothing can afflict mee more, then to see thee die.* No sooner were these words spoken, but *Hillaria* taking the Girdle, strangled her selfe therewith immediately. When shee was dead, *Alpasia* kneeling by her body; and loosing her girdle from about her necke, turning herselfe to *Megestena*, & intreating, that their bodies might receiue no shame after death; with the selfe-same constancie of courage, she ended her life likewise.

## CHAP. IIII.

*The reason why men cannot know and vnderstand the truth of many things, while they remaine in this life.*



Five principall causes there are, why a man can not know the truth of diuerse things, during his abiding in this world: which if hee could attaine vnto, he might repute himselfe to be wise indeede.

The first is ignorance of his end, that is, he knows not to what end he was created, for it is a matter most certayne, that if he did know that; he would labor no lesse to obtaine it, then he doth to get dignities & riches: wherein (because they best agree with his appetite) they make him to imagine, that all his happines consists in them. But in this case it faileth with him, as with a kings son in his child-hood. For, if it be demaied of him, whether he doth more affect the succession in his Fathers kingdom, then Apples, Cherries, or some other fruites, presented instantly to him: questionlesse, hee will rather accept the Apples or Cherries, then the kingdom, because he finds them suitable to his yong desires, as hauing both sight and knowledge of them in taste and apprehension.

Euen so it happeneth to a man; for if it were demaied of him, whether he best liked to make choice of, Riches or Wis-

dom: his election would stand on wealth and power, being meere ignorant, that Wisdome onely is the chiefe wealth, and that the Wife man only ought to ordaine and gouerne. For, without Wisdome and Knowledge, power is not power, but weaknes, and vter deprivation of power indeede: And riches without knowledge, is but a bestiall possession, an abundance of presumption, and a kind of sottish substance. Whereas on the contrary, a wife man hath alwayes sufficient for himselfe, & others beside hauing in him that truly abounding treasure, that can neuer faile or deceiue him. And all this enueth to a man, because he is ignorant in his true end.

The second cause, is the vse of corporal delectations, voluntary and sensible, which ouerwhelme and drowne, not onely the senses of the body, but also those of the spirit and intellect. So that a man, being thus wrapped vpe in the mire of this world, is like the beautifull daughter of a King, to whom appertaineth the inheritance of her fathers Kingdom, but hauing committed adultery with some blacke deformed slave, loseth the right of her succession thereby.

The third cause enlieth by the indisposition of such matter, as many times maketh a man vncapable of learning and knowledge: which commeth often so to passe, in regarde that the region or place of his birth, is vitterly disagreeable, and causeth him to receiue a bad complexion. As in some of the Easterne parts, and of *Africa*, where men are borne so beastly, by reason of the heates extremitie; that they are not capable of any reason. And contrariwise, some places in the northern parts are so colde, that verie furious men are there borne & bred: such as the *Goths* and *Ostrogoths*: some whereof feede on humane flesh. And these people may aptly be compared to an Eagle, that hath a stone fastened to her foote, to keepe her from ouer-violent flight, which commonly is naturall vnto this Bird, causing her to soare aboue the cloudes.

The fourth is, difficulty in the Sciences. For, although a man doe plainly discern, that the desire of his soule is to seeke attentiuely, as coueting to know the truth of high and deepe causes: yet notwithstanding, he findes them so hard

There can be no greater treasure or wealth, in the world, then wisdome.

1. The vse of bodily delectations & pleasures, which are the things that showes both of body and soule.

3. The indisposition or vncapability of the Country where a man is borne, by two extremities of heat or cold.

4. Difficulty in truly vnderstanding the Sciences.

to

to be vnderstoode that he retreates, and quite giuech ouer his enterprise. Wherein he resembleth his owne eye, which fixing respectuely to beholde the Sunne: the splendour thereof prouoeth so piercing, that it ecclipseth and troubleth so his sight, as he is not able to endure it.

The last and strangest of all, is an affection taken by a man in his youth, vnto things wherein he hath bene instructed, and especially when his desire hath lasted of some long continuance thereto. For then, Custome conuerteth it selfe into Nature, and therefore worketh a fetted feare in the mans soule, and a singular loue to those things embraced, hating all other contrary to them, and the whole world (almost) is swallowed vp in this error. Do we not obserue that children among the Turkes, before they can reach to the yeares of reason: do vitterly abhorre our Faith and Religion; and to the Iewes in like manner? Wee see also, that country people, by being inured and accustomed to field-dwelling, do liue grossely, disdainyng conuersation with Courtiers, or such as inhabite ciuile Cities. From whence ensued the Prouerbe; *Vn-luckie is the Bird, that is bred in a bad valley.* For, by vse and conuersation receiued there, he cannot part thence, though he beholde a much better place for him. And not onely heerein is knowne the power of this habitude: for we our selues do despise them of another country (except fight or frequentation haue begot more familiaritie) and only through some bad and abusive relations of them: This error hath also preuayled with women, with whom, matters of long vse beare so high a priuiledge, that bee they neuer so bad yet they despise the contrary, be they neuer so good.

Finally, this affection to continued vse, and detestation of such things as we know not; extendeth it selfe to all matters in our election. Wherefore, it were good to expell those hinderances out of our hearts, to the end we may (if possibly wee can) know the veritie and truth of things indeed. For, in the knowledge of them, consisteth all contentment in this world, and the way to all felicitie in that hereafter: imitating the good husbandman, that intending to prepare his grounds for the best advantage, doth first

roote vp the thornes and weeds, because his graine will bee the better borne. So, when the Physician would giue a sicke man health, he first purgeth his stomacke from all corrupt humors; because in matter ill disposed, the former cannot induit it selfe. Let vs then contend against all these impediments; for the reasonable man, that will not yeelde to reason, but onely leane to his owne appetite: is like to him that will fayle ouer Mountaynes, or builde his dwelling in the Sea: for the effect both of the one and the other, are deprived of their proper ends.

## CHAP. V.

*Of diuers Accidents (monstrous in nature) which serued as diuining Auguries, or coniectures of things to come, in olde and ancient times.*



In precedent times, whē by permission of the true GOD, sundry Oracles, which were spirits of illusion & falsehood, hidden in Idolles and Images, gaue answere to Idolaters: many prodigious sights were seene in the Ayre and on the earth.

And because that in these latter dayes of ours (we liuing in the light and truth of faith) none such are now to be seene: it is a matter of some difficultie, to credit what learned Authors haue written, concerning those which hapned in their times.

Yet (mee thinketh) there needeth no distrust at all; for they hauing written Histories of warres, and other occasions happening in those dayes: by inserting the memorie of prodigious Accidents, we ought not to make any scrupulous doubt of them; but rather to rest perswaded; that as they dealt faithfully in the one, they vsed the like iustice in the other; especially, when they are likewise confirmed by many and sundry other Authors.

Comparisons aptly answering to the purpose.

Oracles of lyes & gross illusions.

Grate Authors of great and venerable credite, deserve not to be distrusted in their writings.

Kkk

Amongst



Plin. in l. 9. c. 14

Two great Mountaines met together, and did much harme to Townes, Men and Castell.

Plin. in l. 9. c. 15

Two distant Fields removed strangely into each others place, by reason of an Earthquake.

Men metamorphosed into Woolues *Emanthes* in lib. 2. cap. 9.

Fabius Pictor in lib. 2. cap. 9. Scipio in O. lymper.

Amongst other Prodigies in the *Romaines* dayes, the most notable was, that of *Modena*, vnder the Consulship of *Lucius Martius*, and *Julius Sextius*, Consuls: where two mountaines arose out of their proper places, and mette together so impetuously, that hurling a great flame and smoke vp into the ayre, by the violence of their encounter; they returned backe agayne, not onlie destroying villages which were betweene them, but also killing an infinite number of cattell, in the open sight of many trauellers, and likewise of a great company of *Romane* Knights.

*Pliny*, in his ninth booke, and in the fifteenth chapter, likewise relateth in the same place, saying, that in his time, and vnder the same Empire of *Nero*, *Vellus Marcellus*, a *Romaine* Knight, whome the Emperour had sent (on his behalfe) into the kingdome of *Naples*: had (there in the maritime territorie) two fieldes, each distant from the other, the one being a fayre meadow, and the other verie thickly planted with *Oliue* trees.

By an admirable accident, but how, I know not, these two fieldes chaunged into each others place: for the *Oliues* field was transported where the meadow stood, and the meadow into the *Oliue* plottes place; and this was conceyued to be doone by an Earthquake. This is not onely reported by *Plinie*, but also is auouched in the *Chronicles* of manie learned men, as also in the Booke of the Mountaines warre.

And although hee cannot be induc'd to credite, that men may be metamorphosed into Woolues; yet neuertheless hee declareth, that *Emanthes*, an Authour of no meane authoritie among the *Grecians*, recordeth the *Arabians* to haue written, that in *Arcadia* there is a great standing Poole, whereto men are brought at certayne times to passe thorrow it: and as they sincke into the sand, they are instantly transfourmed into the shape of Woolues; and hauing continued so for the space and terme of nine yeares: they doe recouer their former formes agayne, according as *Fabius Pictor* in his second booke and in the ninth chapter; who addeth also, that *Scopas*, who wrote the *Olympiades*, speaketh of one, named *Demarchus*, had eaten the

bowelles of a young Boy, which they of *Arabia* had sacrificed to *Iupiter Lyceus*, and presently hee was transfourmed into a Woolfe, in which forme he continued the space of tenne yeares, and afterwards recouering the shape of man agayne, he wonne the victorie for *Luce* in the Mount of *Olympus*. *Saint Augustine* in his fourteenth booke *De Civitate Dei*, and the third chapter saith, that *Varro* also recordeth the same. In mine opinion these transformations could not thus happen, but rather were performed by diabolicall Artes.

Now, concerning these things of wonder written by *Pliny*, they are not to be wondered at, because he setteth downe many matters, reputed vterly impossible, as the transformation of a woman into man, and yet himselfe will not credite the like things, or offesse impossibilitie, and which haue bene apparant to his owne iudgement. Notwithstanding, such as consider well the Scriptures, need not meruaile at transformations, happening really, and not feigned. For we know what is written in the leuenth chapter of *Exodus* and twelfth verse, That the Rods of the Nations were (not in apparance, but in effect, by secret charmes) turned into Serpents. Now, which thing is more easie, to change a Rodde into a Serpent, or the true body of a man (I doe not say his spirit) transformed into a beast. The opinion of *Saint Augustine* is heerein auailable, where hee saith; A certayne man conceiued in his minde, that his daughter was turned into a young Mare. And bringing her to an holy man, named *Hellarion*, the graue olde man looking on her, said: *I see a young Maid, but no Mare*: for it appeared that by his deuoute prayers, she had recouered her former shape againe. Wherefore we may iudge, that some things are shewne to men, which are not indeede; and such a thing may be apparant, and yet not existent.

But returne wee now againe to our Auguries. It hath bene obserued diuers times, that in the opening of a beast, that no heart hath bene found in him: as it happened at the first time, when *Cesar* the Dictator sat in his golden Chaire, and then it was disputed among the *Auruspices*, if a beast were to be found without a heart.

Aug. in Clit. lib. 14. cap. 9.

Plin. in lib. 2. cap. 9.

The foretellers rods conuerted into Serpents. Exod. 7. 11.

Aug. in Clit. lib. 14. cap. 9.

No heart found in a Beast being imbowelled before Cesar.

Plinie

Plin. in l. 7. c. 7. Cicer. in lib. de Diuinit. cap. 9.

Two hearts haue bene found in one beast.

\* A Country in the North part of the East Africa, by the sea side, about Galatia. *Al. Gellius* in lib. 6. cap. 15. \* A little country of Macedonia by the River Strymon.

Al. Gellius in lib. 1. cap. 9.

Arilander in lib. 1. de Rege. 8. Cicer. in lib. de Diuinit. cap. 9.

*Plinie* in his foureteenth booke and the seauenth chapter reporteth; so doth *Cicer* in his *Diuinations*, that *Cinius Martius*, offering Sacrifice at *Putea*: euen in the same manner, there was not any heart found in the beast. But it might be then well obserued, that it chaunced not thus by nature: but rather was rightly to bee presumed, that false spirits did thus delude and abuse the people, taking away the beastes heart in the Sacrifice time, knowing well thereby what was to happen after.

Ofentimes likewise hath bene obserued, that two hearts haue bene found in one beast. For, wee read that in the Sacrifices, which *Marcus Marcellus* made before hee dyed in the battaile against *Hannibal*: the first day he found no heart in the beast he sacrificed; and the next day following, hee found two. *Pliny* writeth in the place before alleaged, that in *Paphlagonia*, the Partridge hath two hearts: so likewise saith *Theophrastus*, the most expert (among Philosphers) in naturall things, as *Julius Gellius* declareth. *Theophrastus* saith, that in \* *Bisaltia*, each Hare hath two Liuers. And in some places (as in *Emboa*) the beastes haue no gaudes.

In *Nassa* it is quite contrary, for there they are very great, and double in diuers. And Frogs, which are there called *Rubettes*, haue two liuers, the one venomous, the other medicinable: so that when they are dead, the Antes make search for them, and feede on that which is Physicall.

Wee read, that on the day when *Pyrrhus* dyed, they sacrificed the heads of dead beastes, that licked their owne blood vpon the ground.

The same yeare, when *Hannibal* was vanquished by the *Romaines*, vnder *Publius Aelius*, and *Cneus Cornelius*, Consuls, Wheate was scene to growe vpon trees.

*Arilander* (a learned Greeke Author) declarerh in his Booke of Prodigies, and in the third chapter (and it is also confirmed by *Cneus Epidius*, the *Romaine*, in his Commentaries) that some Trees haue bene changed into another kinde of Trees.

Wee read also, that in the warre of the *Cimbrians*, a great noyse was heard

in the Ayre, like vnto the founding of Trumpets, and clashing of weapons. And in the third yeare of the Consulship of *Marius*, two Armies were leene in the heauens, that went from the East, to meete in the West: besides many other the like Prodigies, whereof *Saint Augustine* maketh mention in his Booke of the Cittie of God.

## CHAP. VI.

Of a very strange and admirable Accident, which happened on an Arme in the night season.



Whoever shall reade ancient Histories, needeth not wonder at some things, happening in those times, or else related by such as haue scene them: for sometimes it hath bene obserued, that either the same accident, or else but little differing, hath chaunced in one place as well as another. Among the admissible Accidents, which I haue read in ancient or moderne Histories: I finde that to be very singuler, and well deseruing memorie, which happened to *Agathocles* (the Tyrant of *Sicilie*) in *Africa*.

This *Agathocles* was a man very expert in Armes, whereby (becing but of base condition, to wit, the sonne of a poore Potter) hee made himselfe Lord of the whole Isle of *Sicilie*. Hauing had long warre against the *Carthaginians*, and seeing himselfe besieged (both by Land and Sea) in *Syracusa*, by *Amilcar*, with a powerful Arme of *Libians*: hee was of such an vndaunted courage, that, leauing the Cittie to the garde of his brother *Antander*, and hauing certain shippes readily prepared; by the helpe of a cunning stratageme, hee gotte forth at a narrow port, with about seauen thousand footemen, and a small number of horse, and went to land on the shores of *Africa*. Hauing gotte there in pay fixe thousand *Greekes*, he went and besieged *Carthage*, bringing the Cittie into such distresse, that the Senators knew not which part to take.

Many battailes were fought betweene them,

Accidents happening in diuers places of little difference each from other.

*Agathocles* the sonne of a poore Potter, came to be a singular Soldier and a King.

*Carthage* besieged by *Agathocles*.



A fresh supply  
from Libya,  
came to the  
Carthageni-  
ans.

Agathocles  
maintained  
the assault still  
to his owne  
losse.

A bloody and  
cruel manner  
of sacrificing  
obscured a  
mong the  
Carthageni-  
ans.

The coming  
of a fresh  
company of  
Lybians, cau-  
sed a strange  
accident in  
this confusion

them, wherein *Agathocles* proued alwaies victorious; because the time so fauored him, that he had drawn no meane troupes of horse to take part with him. The *Carthaginians* (beside their Citizens, and many mercenary Souldiers (in great number) which they had for defence of the City, being vnable to equall the caualerie of *Agathocles*) called one of their chiefe Captaines from *Lybia*, bringing with him a powerfull army into the field, to haue a day of tryall against *Agathocles*. After diuers skirmishes passing betwene them, vpon a day, *Agathocles* would needs assault the enemies Campe (for his men wanting victualles, desired nothing more then present fight) but the enemy being very strongly planted, would not issue forth, though they were very hotely set vpon in their Fort; knowing the necessitie of *Agathocles*, and the desperate condition of his men.

Continuing the assault still, to his owne disauantage, he payed the penaltie due to his boldnesse: for the enemy repulsed him with great losse of his Souldiers; one part of them beeing slayne, and the other within compasse of the enemies power. The night preventing the battailes conclusion; I am to tell yee an example of wonder, which strangely followed thereupon, in this manner. The *Carthaginians*, after their victorie, sacrificing vnto their Gods, in signe of their thankfulness (with a cruell superstition) a great number of their prisoners, both *Greeks* and *Italians*, brought such a quantitie of wood to burne the bodies, that the fire grew so impetuous: as it not onely consumed the sacrificing Tent, but also the Paulilion of their Captayne and Generall, besides infinite other, being a lamentable spectacle to all that beheld it. For, through the extremitie of this accident, a mighty tumult grew among them, proouing to occasion the death of many; for some, labouing to quench the fire, fell into it, and so perished; others struing to escape from it, crowded one another to death in the throngs.

In this night of horrour and confusion, one nouell accident drew on another: for, in the Campe of *Agathocles*, there was found about five thousand *Lybians* newly arrived, in whom hee durst repose no trust; for they intending to

pasle on, and to ioyne with the *Carthaginians* forces, were mist-led, onely throw the darkenesse of the night. On still they went from *Agathocles* Campe, till they came within hearing of the Guards and Centinells of the *Carthaginians*, who imagining them to be the Armie of *Agathocles*, re-assembled againe for a fresh assault; and hoping to finde them in disorder (as indeede they were, through the fies violence) rayed sodainely such a strange noyse themselves, that the whole Campe fell to flight, and was vtterly broken, so that few or none remained, but all were disperfed, some running thwart the fieldes, others backe to the City, to saue themselves.

The Citizens hearing this noyse of the people (conceiuing verily, that it was the enemy, who had foiled their Campe, and came now to assault the Cittie) were so confounded with feare and amazement, that they left the City without any defence, seeking how they might best secure their owne liues. So that if *Agathocles* had receiued but the least intelligence thereof, and had gone immediately to giue the assault: this night had made him Lord of *Carthage*, and the whole Kingdome thereto belonging. Fortune, not yet satisfied with blinde-folded confusion, caused the five thousand *Lybians* (perceiuing what had happened) to turne backe vpon the disordered Campe of *Agathocles*, who fearing a fresh onfet of the enemies, fled, some one way, some another, and fel into such a madding fury among themselves, that thinking their owne people (still as they mette) to be *Carthaginians*; they slew one another very cruelly, the obscurity of the night not permitting them to see their owne error. So that, through this inaduertence or inconsideration, five thousand were slaine among the *Grecians*, and as many of the *Carthaginians*, flying and fighting in this confused manner. By which meanes, five thousand men (erroniously mis-ledde) against their willes, brake three hostis or Armies, with no meane example, of Fortunes power in actions of Armes.

CHAP.

A strange confusion happening liuely among the Citizens of Carthage.

Another accident in the Campe of Agathocles, among themselves.

## CHAP. VII.

How indiscreete a thing it is, and greatly to be blamed in Christian Princes, to permit the Duella, or single Combat between man and man.

Like as abuse is growne among all things (well-neare) in the world, by the coldnesse of charitie in men, and their mallice augmented one towards another; Euen so falleth it out in Duells or single fights. For, amongst great Princes, when they lawfully exercised themselves in Armes, it was honourably admitted in certayne cases, and differences of most high importance, which could not otherwise be terminated or decided. But now it is growne to such corruption, as euery silly and priuate Souldiour, for very small or simple occasion, presumeth, that it is lawfull for him to vndertake it. But that which most of all distasteth me, is to see, that Christian Princes onely doe permit it, considering, that in them (more then in any other) the Lawe doth exprefly forbidde it; and it is encreased to such an abuse, that, except God amend it, it is to be feared, that Prelates of the Church will also suffer it.

Inelder times the combat was honourably granted.

The Law exprefly forbiddeh combat in Christian Princes.

The combat is denied to a Christian in action sufficient, or fight

Things not offered by naturall means in emptying God,

the weaker, and of lesse abilitie. Contrariwise, that the stronger bodie shall be overcome by the weaker, can not happen but miraculouly.

Bringing then two such vnequall persons into the field, victorie is desired for him which hath right and reason on his side, to the end, that the truth may be made apparent. But then God is tempted, in seeking, that he should performe a myracle; which must needs bee so, when the weaker man conquereih the stronger, beeing (as it were) directly against nature.

I prouoe it further forbidden by Diuine reason, after this argument: when a Law prohibiteth a thing, it forbiddeh also the dooing of it; and a man performeth an especiall inhibited thing, when hee knoweth (by the Diuine Lawe) that hee is not to kill a man: The Combate then is flatly forbidden, because thereby murder may happen.

I yet proue it otherwise thus. The Diuine Lawe forbiddeh euery action, that differeth from the fountaine of charitie, which is the scope and end, of al vertues, and vtterly expelleth vice: The acte of Combate is farre off from charitie, leaning vnto vice; because charitie is nothing else, but to loue God and thy neighbour, and he that enters the Combate to kill his neighbor, is out of all obedience to God.

It is likewise prohibited by the Canonall Lawe, because it euermore followeth the diuine Law: and in plaine reason, what the one inhibiteth, the other neuer alloweth. Combat is also forbidden by the Lawe of men, and the prooffe is, that euery thing which repugneth and contradiceth naturall equitie, is likewise prohibited by the reason of man, because reason is grounded vpon naturall equitie. The reason of equity among men willet, that he which committeth a crime, should be punished, and the innocent cleared: notwithstanding, by Combate it falleth out many times quite contrary.

It is further proued by this argument. Naturall equitie, whereon (as we haue already sayde) all reason in men is grounded; is entirely for the conseruation and encrease of them. That acte then, which turneth vnto the diminution and destruction of men, is quite forbidden: so ought Combate to be, because thereby

Miracles only appertaine to the power of God.

Murder may happen by combat.

The acte of combat killeth Charitie.

Combate contrary to the common law, and law of men, and naturall equity.

Naturall equity is for the conseruation of mankind, and combat is for his destruction.

Kkk 3

men

men kill one another, and men are of greatest price in the world. Moreover, every aile which repugneth the precepts of naturall equitie, is forbidden by mans reason, because it is grounded thereupon. One of the precepts is, that no man shall desire profit or honour, by the prejudice and hinderance of another. The second is, that no man shall wish that to another, which he would not haue done to himselfe. The acte of Combate contradiceth them both, because hee which commeth to prepared into the field, cooeteth his owne glorie, by the shame and harme of him against whom he fighteth, which is his neighbour, and witheth that to him, which he would not haue executed on himselfe; for, he would vanquish and kill him.

It is also forbidden by Ciuile reason, and this is the rule. Ciuile right prohibiteth every acte, whereby Iustice may be denied to men, or iniurie doone them. Now, in the case of Combate, oft times it falleth out quite contrary, for the innocent man dyeth, and the guilty offender remayneth aliue, so that by this meanes, Iustice can not take her due place.

## CHAP. VIII.

Of strange and admirable properties in the Asse.



Mongst all the properties in beasts, those of the Asse are most to be admired; for hee is so meeke and domestike, as that *Isidore* doth say, that he taketh his name of seating; for, in elder times, men no sit on such beasts backs, to faue themselves securely. Or else it cometh of the Greeke diction *Asinos*, composed of *A*, which is a Greeke diction priuatiue, signifying *Sine*, *Without*, and *Cinos*, which signifieth *Sensus*, *Wit* or *Senses*; so that coupling these two vocables together, signifieth, without Wit or Senses. Hereupon it is said, that hee is fearefull to goe ouer a Bridge, where water runneth vnderneath it: because hauing a weak brayne, hee is (by instinct of nature) fearefull to fall therein. He is timo-

rous also to enter water, how shall I ouer it be; fearing by the current thereof, his braine may be troubled, and he drowned; which proceedeth from a kinde of knowledge that hee hath of his owne imperfection.

This creature is slouthfull and melancholy, because he is colde, drie, without memory, laborious, and apt to carry burdens. By reason of his great frugallitie, he cannot liue in colde Countries, and it by aduenture hee doe liue there: hee affecteth not the generatiue action, neither can hee there ingender. Hee beareth best vpon his reines, rather then on his backe or shoulders: for, being melancholicke, his bones behinde are the more strong and dry, for there is the signe of melancholy, and there is his skinn so thicke and hard, that though he be beaten with great stauies, he cannot be killed without much paines. Also, because he consisteth of an earthie nature, hee is hardly disciplinable, and fatheneth very little. *Albertus Magnus* sayth, That by the selfe same reason, hee endureth much paine in his head, and dieth, tumbling his head aside, and in regarde of his heads weightinesse, a thicke and viscusous humour falleth on his lights or lungs, which maketh him to breathe with difficulty, and fall downe (swooning). He eateth little, and the more hee watcheth, so much the more hee drinketh beyond other beasts.

In regarde of his great coldenesse and drienesse, hee can not stirre to ingender, at such times as other beasts doe, to wit, before the Winter Equinoctiall, or else vnder the Equinoctiall; but in the month of May, when the Sunne mounteth, almost to the right angle of the Equinoctiall, and then his grosse humiditie being deprested and diminished; he is prouoked to the acte with such fury, as if hee were a wilde foale, and especially when he is yong. The thicknesse of his skinn, is caused (as we haue sayd) by his grosse humours; and hee that menderh his shoes with leather, of that part of the skinn, where the Asse hath longest borne his burdens, can not wear it out at all, but it will long time endure, passing ouer stony or craggy wayes, and will at the last growe to such hardnesse, as the feete can not suffer it: *Albertus Magnus* speaketh thereof by proofe.

From

The milke of the shee-Asse is physical to a consumption.

The Asse is not to be used in a consumption.

Small birds are enemies to the Asse: but the rauen must of all.

What defence the Asse hath, to save his eyes from the rauen.

The cure of the Asse in drinking.

The Asse is not to be used in a consumption.

The benefit of the Asse in wearing in shoes.

The cure of the Asse in drinking.

The cure of the Asse in drinking.

From this drinesse it ensueth, that the milke of the Female Asse is subtiler, than it cannot curdle: and therefore it is Physicall for such as are in a consumption. Moreover, the purity of this milke whitenesse maketh the skin of men or women wonderfully faire, and very cleare. Hereupon *Pliny* reporteth, that *Pappas*, Cnocubine to *Nere*, often vsed to bathe her bodie in the Milke of a shee-Asse. This beast hath a custome to Vrine in the place, where hee smellth that another Asse hath staled before.

He is very much hated by small Birds, because he bites of the bushes & thornes, where they build their nests: and with his crying noise, makes them fall onto the ground, or frights them away when they sit in the bushes. The Raven is his naturall enemy, so that when hee hath taken any harme on his skinn; hee mounteth thereon, and pitifully plagues it with his bill. So do the small Birds likewise, onely to be reuenged of him: but the Raven aboue all the rest, labours to picke out his eyes with his beake; against which cruelty, the hollow conceality of them, doeth serue him as an especial defence, the hardnesse of his hide, and continuall agitation of his eares; for, by closing his eies, he chafeth them away with his eares stirring. The Bear also is his enemy, wearing him (oftentimes) to kill him, desiring to feede on his raw flesh.

He will not drinke but at such Springs or Welles where he is inured, & where hee may passe without wetting: but that deserveth merraine, is, that if the water be troubled, though hee be neuer so thirsty, he cannot be procured to drinke, vntill such be given him as is pure and cleare. *Pliny* faith besides, that he will hardly be constrained to drinke, vntill his backe bee disburthened of his load. The shee-Asse is intirely affecteth her young Foale, and is so fearefull of it by Nature: as shee dreads not to passe through fire to find it.

*Aristotle* faith, that the shee-Asse will remaine so long time from conceyuing, vntill the graine of Barley, steepe in the blood of a Muler, be given her to feede on. For the generation of Mules, the Mare must be of no lesse age then foure yeares, and not aboue tenne. Now, in regard that (naturally) no beast will habite

with any other then of his owne kinde, such Heardsmen as would haue a Mule engendered by an Asse and a Mare, do vse this kinde of cunning. The young Asse-foale is nourished with Mares milke all his tender time, but in some obscure place, for better taking it. By this meanes, comming to age (as adulterated) he groweth to loue Mares. And in like manner, nourishing the Foales of Mares with milke of a shee-Asse; they habite afterwards willingly with thee-Asse. And if it happen that the Mare be taken, and the Asse hath yett of her immediately, her greatnesse will corrupt, through the extreme coldnesse of the Asse. And so it fareth with the shee-Asse, if the horse haue ioyned with her, and by the same reason.

The Mule that is bred of an Asse and a Mare, cannot engender, the cause (according to *Aristotle*) is, that the seede of the Asse (as we haue already said) being cold, & that ioyning with the seed of the Mare which (hauing respect to the sexe Feminine) is also of cold complexion; & therefore, that engendered is so cold, as it cannot be proper for generation. And albeit *Pliny* faith, that diuers times they haue yong ones: yet (for all that) it is not naturallie, but rather as a thing prodigious.

*Aristotle* granteth that they do engender, but the fruite cannot be reared or brought vp. *Theophrastus* faith, That in *Cappadocia* they engender and haue yong. *Aristotle* further faith, that the Asse fatheneth more by drinking troubled Water, then that which is cleare, and best agreeth with Kine. The Foale of the shee-Asse, is of so short memory, that following the damme, if it be but hie paces behind hir, it hath forgot, and followes no further, but stayes and standeth stone still. It is said, that the shee-Asse hath a naturall custome, when she is ready to Foale, shee withdraweth into some obscure place: but the opinion of *Albertus Magnus* is, shee doth so in regard of the weakenes of the Foales sight.

It is a thing well approued, according to the iudgement of the same author, that the Liver of an Asse being boyled, and afterward roasted the same day, is verie soveraigne for the falling sicknesse, provided, that it be often vsed: the like power hath his hooves, being burnt, beaten into powder, and drinking the weight of three Ducates

The two main precepts of naturall equitie, are broken by the acte of combat.

Combate forbidden by the ciuill Law.

Isidore in lib. 8. cap. 8.

A definition of the Asse's name.

Fearefulness in the Asse to passe ouer a Bridge.

The Asse is not to be used in a consumption.

The ability of his beeing burdens.

Albert Magnus in lib. 4. cap. 3.

The Asse engendereth not when other beasts do.

The benefit of the Asse in wearing in shoes.

Aristotle in lib. 2. cap. 3.

Pliny in lib. 8. cap. 4.

Aristotle de Gener. Animal. lib. 3. cap. 3.

The short memory of the Asse foale.

Albert Magnus in lib. 4. cap. 7.

Ducates, and euery day an ounce. An emplaister made of the same powder, diffoloth the Kings euill, & heals the chaps, which trouble the handes in Winter by cold.

Moreover, the houes so beaten into powder, and applyed vnto an Impostume, quickly breaketh it. The Vine of an Asse, is very auailable for the Disease of the Reines, caused by grosse humidities; and his dung, either burnt, or not, made in an emplaister, restraineth the Flux of blood, and smoking any houle with the Lunges of an Asse, it killeth all wormes and mothes.

Againe, his dung steeped in Vinegar, and applyed to the nose in a cloth, ceaseth the extreme bleeding: making also an emplaister thereof, and binding it to the forehead, it hath the same vertue. *Pliny* also saith, that both the Milke and bloud of an Asse, are very effectuall against the biting of a Scorpion.

His Vine, applyed with Spickenard, encreaseth and conserueth haire: and his bones being broken, and the powder of them drunke in white Wine, is very foueraigne against poyson. *Aristotle*, *Alberthus Magnus*, and *Pliny*, reporteth infinite other Vertues, abiding in this much despised creature, which would require too long a time to relate.

## CHAP. IX.

*Of the singular vertue and constancie, of the Noble Lady Aretaphila, the enforced Wife to the Tyrant Nicoreon: And her honest policy, for the deliuerance of her Country.*

An honorable Gentleman of Cyprus, and a worthy soldier.

**T**HE vertue and constancie of the Noble Lady Aretaphila the Cyrenian, deserueth to be remembered in all Ages. She was the Daughter of Aglathor, and wife to Fedimo, who for Nobility and riches, was one of the worthiest men in the whole country: and in those times she was no lesse endued with singular beauty, then admired wisdome and eloquence in her speaking. It came to

pass, that *Nicoreon* usurping the government by tiranies, condemned many worthy Citizens to death. And among other cruelties by him committed, hee caused *Melapian* (the Priest of *Apollo*) to be slaine, to make usurpation of his Priestly Office.

Afterward, hauing treacherously put to death *Fedimo*, the husband of *Aretaphila*, constrainedly, and whether she would or no, he married *Aretaphila*. Continuing on his pride against his people, & day by day encreasing his cruelty, hee furiously put a great number to death. And because they were to be buried without the City, he was entrusted by some of his pickethanks, that many counterfeited themselves to be dead, for their safer escaping out of the City, onely thereby to auoid his cruelty. Hereupon, guards of souldiers kept the gates, with long Iron Pikes and Bodkins, made red horte in the fire; wherewith they pierced the bodies carried by, to try whether they were dead or no.

These cruelties, were greatly displeasing to his wife *Aretaphila*, who grieved to see her Country thus oppressed; and to such a height grew her compassion, that hating *Nicoreon* for her former Husbands death, she resolved to make adventure of her owne life, to free her country from so bloody a Tyrant. And although *Nicoreon* affected her extraordinarily, & bestowed infinite fauours on her, onely to please her: yet could shee not quit her thoughts from this magnanimous determination. And, when (through the tyrants power) all hope in the people was utterly lost, for euery freeing themselves from his tyranny: the only grew the stronger in her confidence, that shee should compasse the meanes of his death.

Herein she was still the more encouraged, by remembering the vndanted resolution of the *Thebanes* *Phraa*, so much renowned thorough the world, counteing to imitate her example. But because shee had not the benefite of assisting Friends, as *Phraa* had; she concluded her enterprise alone by her selfe, purposing to kill the Tyrant by poyson. By which meanes the ranne into great dangers (as you shall read hereafter) in regard shee failed many times of her attempting; and being surprized at the last; all dissimulations

*Nicoreon* a tyrannical usurper of the supreme authority.

A hard extremity that may be used to escape from tyranny.

*Aretaphila* by the oppression of her Country, hazardeth her owne life to deliuer it.

\* An honorable Lady of Thebes, that deliuered her country from cruell oppression.

were

were not sufficient, but shee was conuincd by most euident arguments.

At this time, *Caluia*, Mother to the tyrant (being a Woman of fierie temper, and one that heauily hated *Aretaphila*) laboured him by earnest perswasions, to put her to death with grievous torments: but the feruent loue of *Nicoreon* towards her, and her owne couragious spirit, in answering the accusations of her enemies; occasioned the delaying of her death. Nevertheless, after much clamor and constraint, she being conuincd by apparant testimonies, and no longer able to denie, but that shee had prepared a breuage for him: In the presence of the Iudges, with an vndanted and cheerefull countenance, thus she spake.

### The Speech of Aretaphila, in the presence of the Tyrant, and all her hatefull enemies.

**M**Y Lord and Husband, I freely confesse, that a drinke was prepared by mee to giue thee; yet farre from so much, as thought, that poyson, or any harmful thing should therein be compounded: but onely as a drinke, whereby to incite feruent loue and affection. For, seeing my selfe to be enuied by so many Ladies, in regarde of the kinde loue by thee extended to me, and exalting me to wealth and honor, farre beyonde any capacity in them of compassing the like; fearing withall (most worthy Lord) that they would not spare their uttermost endeauour, to kill that louing kinde in thee towards me, and quench the intire affection so long continued: I made that breuage purposely, to preserve the heat of Loue in full power, and rather urge it to a higher reach, then suffer it to quail in the least degree. If therefore herein I haue offended, Reason (me thinks) should free mee from punishment; in regard that spotlesse loue to confound that foul stend (hated) thereto procured me. Neuerthelesse, if I shall bee faile to merite chastisement; it cannot urge death, as to an hatefull impostor: but rather such an amiable and fauouring affliction, as such a wife may be thought worthy of, who will not spare to practise any enchanting Potions on her Husband, to con-

The Tyrant mother laboureth the death of Aretaphila

Her witty inclination to ouer what shee had delicately intended.

ne his Loue in correspondencie, equally returns.

Such was her constant carriage in this answer, and appearing of so sound truth in the Tyrants opinion; that by no means he would permit shee should bee put to death. Onely, through their diuelliish & violent urging, he suffered her to be further tryed by Racks and Tortures, as hoping (that way) to extort confession. *Caluia* causing the extreamest tortures to be prepared, flood by, while they were inflicted on her, euen according to the measure of her monstrous cruelty; and so many violences was done to the poor Lady, that *Caluia* her selfe, grew wearie with the very sight of them. So that *Aretaphila*, not confessing any thing more then shee had done, was deliuered from further tormenting, and adiudged innocent by *Nicoreon*; repenting that shee had permitted her to bee so cruelly misused, and his loue now growing to farre greater extremity towards her, made him labour by all amorous blandishments, and gifts of extraordinary valiew, to reconcile fauour, & qualifie all conceiued vnkindnesse in her. And she, being a wife and sprightly minded Lady, had her owne discretion so much at command, that shee could seeme as earnest in loue to him as euer: yet carrying an inward vnconquerable remembrance of her Countreys Oppressions, and her owne extreame wrongs, waiting but time and meanes for iust reuendge, which offered it selfe to her in this manner.

Shee had, by *Fedimo* her husband) a yong daughter, of admirable beauty and vertuous qualities, named *Miraguarda*; and *Nicoreon* had a Brother, named *Leander*; youthfull, gallant, and somewhat dissolute in affection to women, which made her the more diligent, to procure liking in him towards her daughter, and easily shee prevailed therein, by the help of amorous enticing drinke, and other deuices, wherein she wanted no furtherance of her cunning Physitian. Beside, the witty instructions shee had giuen her daughter, for her carriage in the company of *Leander*; caught fire on the Tinder of his affection, in such violent manner; that (in all hast) he entreated his Brother to graunt his

*Nicoreon* desired further that shee should be tortured, but not let her dye.

Cruelly conquered by mild, patient, and constant suffrance.

An incomparable discretion in Aretaphila.

*Miraguarda*, daughter to Aretaphila, & *Leander* brother to *Nicoreon*.

his marriage with *Miraguarda*, wherto he as quickly gave consent, provided, that he could induce the good liking of *Aretaphila* therto, which was not long in obtaining (though excused with some few faint and modest doubts) because it was the onely mark she aimed at, to compass that which the further intended.

*Leander*, being married to his beloved *Miraguarda*, their mutuall affections so sweetly sympathized together, as he could neuer be satisfied with her lovely embracings, nor shee contented without his company. During the heate of this reciprocal fierie temper on both sides, *Miraguarda*, ingeniously instructed thereto by her mother (knowing she could create nothing of her *Leander*, that eyther hee durst or would deny her) advised him to the killing of her brother. And so futable were her witty remonstrances to his yielding foule (allegding the acte to be generous, the freeing of his country from tyranny, and a certaine assurance to himself, that in requitall of so blessed a benefit, the people could not choose but elect him their King, by whom they enjoyed their long desired deliuerance) that he liked the motion extraordinarily. Nor left shee off so, but plyed him still vnto the same purpose, that if hee did make deniall of the deede, the Cittizens (in their violent hatred to the Tyrant) would acte this Tragedy themselves, as therto they were all solemnly sworn; and then there could be no security of his own life.

So preuailing were these perswasions with *Leander*, that instantly he conspired against *Nicoreon*, perceiving that *Aretaphila* did not disallowe it; and imparting his intent to *Dannilist*, his familiar & very faithful friend: by his assistance he slew him, sleeping in an Arbor of his Garden, and thereby became Lorde of the Kingdom. The possession whereof made him so proud and powerfull, that, despising *Aretaphila* and her worthy counsell, the world might plainly perceiue, that hee was rather a murderer of his Brother, then a conspirator for his countries freedom, because he gouerned by iniustice and improuidence; albeit (afterward) he began to reuerence his mother in Lawe (somewhat more respectfully, though the people were still oppressed, by many extreme violences.

*Aretaphila* perceiving, that shee had not yet deliuered her country from tyranny; concluded to compass it by his death likewise. Heereupon, by secret intelligence, she wrought with *Anabius*, a warlike Prince, and a Native of *Lybia*, to rise in Armes against *Leander*, wherto he was very easily induced. Hee being at hand with a potent Army, *Aretaphila* conuincing with *Leander*, told him, that his Captaines were not equall in courage and strength, to those braue Warriours that came with *Anabius*; and therefore it would proue disadvantageous for him, to make hazard of his weake forces against him, being not certaine of his owne subiects, whom he had too much prouoked by his harsh vllage; and therefore farre vnfit to be trusted in trial of warre. Wherefore shee advised him, to labour by honest & plausible meanes, that a pacification might passe betwene them, promising to practise such meanes her selfe, that hee should haue a friendly imparlance with *Anabius*.

*Leander* liued well the Counsell of his mother in law, and praised her to proceed therein; whereupon, shee dealt for the day of their meeting. Preuailing so well (in the meane time) by faithfull Messengers to *Anabius*, that when *Leander* should come forth to confer with him: he either should kill him, or take him prisoner, promising a great sum of money for the performance thereof. *Leander* being fearful by nature (as commonly all Tyrants are) daily deferred the enterparlance: but his mothers pressing him with shame of base cowardise, and faint-hearted effiminacy, (thee promising to goe along with him in company) procured him to issue forth vnarmed. *Anabius* conning on to meete him with his traine, *Leander* made a timorous flay, saying; hee would not passe any further, vntill he had his guard about him. But *Aretaphila*, one while by faire speeches, another while by foule reproaches, calling him nothing but coward at euery word, still made him to walke on alog with her, and taking him by the arme, as to inspire him with courage, brought him forcibly to *Anabius*, and deliuered him vp as his prisoner, who safely there kept him, vntill the promised summe of money was sent him.

Afterward, shee returned backe to the Citie,

Another attempt of Aretaphila for the deliuerance of her country.

The death of Leander and Caluia his Mother.

Aretaphila made Prisoners of the Country.

Aretaphila contriue a meeting betwene Leander & Anabius.

Tyrants are fearful vnto themselves.

Aretaphila deliuered Leander prisoner to Anabius.

Read Caluia Rhodoginus in his military Discourses. Lib. 3. cap. 9.

More obeyed then they feared or expected.

City, there manifesting the manner of her successe, and how shee had deliuered her Country from the Tyrants power: Whereupon, the summe of money was collected and forthwith sent vnto *Anabius*. Then was *Leander* deliuered to *Aretaphila*, who instantly gaue him into the Magistrates power: so that by generall sentence, he was sowed vp in a sacke, and drowned in the Sea, after he had seen his Mother *Caluia* burned. All the Cittizens flocking before *Aretaphila*, humbled themselves on their knees, confessing the iust merit of her praise: because (with so great perill of her life) shee had saued her Country; enforcing her to vndergoe the Government, which shee did, and ruled graciously vntill shee had reduced the Citie to perfect peace. Then, resigning vp her Office into the Senates hands: shee entered a Monasterie of Sacred Virgines, where shee liued priuately, and peaceably passed the remainder and rest of her dayes.

## CHAP. X.

Of the Famous Philosopher Euxinus: And of a Letter sent by the Senate of the Athenians, to the Lacedemonians.

Betweene the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, a vetrie cruell warre was waged, about the difference of certaine Confines, and in the field of battle, the *Lacedemonians* being foyled and discomfited by the *Athenians*: the vanquished desired truce with the Victors, and for their easier attaining therto, they sent (as Ambassador) the renowned Philosopher *Euxinus*, who spake in so eloquent a style to the Senate, and onely in the praise of peace, deliuering such learned and pleasing allegations, as not only truce was granted to them, but also they freely gaue them those Confines, which they pretended was appertaining to the, and (by the chance of warre) hadde lost. Such power had the Orat[i]on, deliuered by *Euxinus*; and the Senat of *Athen*s back

to the, acquainted them with their minds in this maner.

The Senate and People of Athens, send health and peace to the Lacedemonians.

WE call the Goddes to Witness, that in the late passed battell betwene vs, Wee more grieued to see you so bloodily vanquished, then we ioyed in our owne fortune of victory: because the effects of Warre are such, that damage is certaine to the Conqueror, and benefit to the Conquered is doubtfull. Wee could heartily haue wished, that the demand by you now propounded, had bene before in like manner required: but such is the lot false both on you and vs, that you haue lost very much in this warre, and yet wee can boast of no benefit thereby. For the rule is most certaine, that whatsoever is appointed by the Gods, cannot be comprehended by humane iudgement, nor impeached by the power of man.

You require truce for three moneths, to the end, that in that time, an agreemēt may be concluded betwene vs. Wee returne you answer, that the Senate of *Athen*s neuer vsed to make truce, after they had begun a War: obseruing (as a most ancient Lawe) that either they accept of cruell warre, or else freely condiscend to perpetuall peace.

Wee labour and practise in the times of peace, to allure Wise-men into our Schooles, to helpe vs with their counsell in the times of Warre; and now they aduise vs, not to make a truce on suspected conditions: wherein wee thinke they counsell vs well, because a counterfeyte peace is more dangerous then an open waged warre.

The Philosopher *Euxinus* your Ambassador, hath spoken so eloquently in the Senate, that we hold it vnreasonable, to deny any thing by him named: and therefore it is a matter more honest, to grant him peace that requires it by kinde words, then him that rudely askes it with the Weapon. Wherefore we tel you, and now giue you to vnderstand, that our Senate (with a franke and free hart) granteth to you *Lacedemonians*, loyall peace,

The euents of warre are vncertaine to either side.

What heaven hath ordained, is not to bee disappointed.

Good words do the more then weapons can doe.

The instigation the onely means to be resorted on the Tyrant.

The persuasions of Miraguarda to Leander, to kill his Brother.

Leander is won to murder his Brother, assisted therein by his faithful friend Dannilist.

deliuering you from all suspition of war: And this wee doe, that the world may know, the *Athenians* are of so great spirit against the audacious, and so woorthie friends to such as are wise, that they both know how to chastise foolish Captaines, and how to be commanded by discrete Philosophers.

Well wot yee, that all our difference hath growne about possession of Townes seated on the bankes of the River *Milina*. By this letter we tell ye, and sweare there-to also by the immortall Gods, that wee freely renounce all right wee can pretend vnto them, on this condition: that (at our meeting) you shal giue vs your Ambassador *Euxinus*: for the happy *Athenians* do more affect a Philosopher in their school, then a whole Province for their Commonwealth. Yet *Lacedemonians* account it no acte of leuitie in vs, to change towns and territories, to bee governed by one onely man: because the Philosopher can teach vs how to liue well, whereas such Countreyes may giue vs occasion of dying ill. And in regard, that (of ancient enemies) we now declare our selues your true louing Friends: We not onely deliuer you from Warre, and send you Peace; but likewise will giue you Counsell how to conferre it; for the Physicke that preferueth health, is farre more excellent then that which expelleth diseases. And this is the remedy which wee giue you.

As ye desire, that your yong men shal exercise themselves to Armes, in like manner bee as diligent, that your Children may haue Learning in due time: For, as Warre is made with cruell weapons, so with sweete words is peace softly obtained. And thinke not (*Lacedemonians*) that wee heere to aduise yee without cause; for, in leaving the counsell of the Wise, and suffering ydenesse to encrease among the people: it engendred seditions and ciuill Varres, onely to make men murder one another. Nor would we haue ye thinke vs friends to busie prattlers; for our ancient Father *Socrates* appointed; that the first Lesson read to a Scholler in our Academy; was, that for the space of two yeeres, hee should not dare to speake a word; because it is a matter impossible, that any man can be wise in speaking, except he be admirably

patient in silence, and knoweth howe to hold his peace.

May it please you then, to permitte *Euxinus* to remaine with vs, and imagine, that if wee hope for benefite by his presence; you may rest assured, that from such counsell as he giues vs, you cannot receiue any damage. For, it is a very ancient law in *Athens*, that the Senate may neuer attempt any Warre, vntill our Philosophers haue first made examination, whether the cause bee iust or no. So wee cease, praying both your and our immortall Goddes, to preferre you and vs in perpetuall peace: for that onely is perpetuall, that stands confirmed by the will of the Gods.

## CHAP. XI.

*The true Module and Patterne of Government, to be obserued in any Commonwealth; deriued from the communitie among Bees, and how many wayes they may be examples to men.*



HE forme of a Commonwealth obserued amongst Bees, meethinkes is so proper and answerable vnto that of men: as it may be verily presumed, that GOD gaue them it by a Naturall instinct, and for an instruction vnto our manner of Gouvernement. This little Creature, is named by the Latines *Apis*, a deuiation from the Greeke, which significeth to bee without feet: not in regard that it hath no feete, but because they do ioyne so closely and aptly with the body, as if indeede it had none at all.

Many haue written of their properties and qualities; as *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, and many more: beside, I find in elder times, that *Hyliscus Tattius* was verie inquisitiue, to vnderstande the properties of these Creatures, and that he might render the vnder reasons of his knowledge; hee liued in Forests and solitarie places, where best he might attaine to his owne intent.

And

*Aristomachus* wrote diuerse bookes of the Bees qualities.

A kinde of religious reuerence obserued in Bees, before coming forth of their hives.

Men are not bound for themselves, but for their countrey also.

No more but one King in the very hieue for order of Government.

*Hyliscus Tattius* was a diligent learner into the properties of Bees.

Mutual loue and charity among the people, is no meane happytie.

And *Aristomachus* likewise, for the space of forty yeeres (without attending to any other exercise) gaue himselfe wholly to the same labour: and both of them wrote diuers Bookes very apt and worthy for all posterity.

The first and most notable thing, obserued in the writings of moderne men, is, that they haue noted an admirable kinde of Religion in these little Creatures: For, before they will issue forth of their Hives, they bow downe their heads forward in such humble manner, as if they were devoutly at meditation on their knees. Declaring therein (euen by Naturall instinct as it were) to vs, that we should not undertake, or beginne any thing, before wee haue first honoured God, and recommended our endeours to his gracious goodness, that they be begonne and ended in his name. Very respectiue are they, that by the toothe they gather from sweet Flowers, they may produce hony, beneficiall both for others and themselves; demonstrating thereby, that men should labour (by vertuous meanes) to performe good actions in their life time, auailable both for themselves and others; considering, it is a duty required in men, and for which they are born, not to labor for themselves, but also for their Countrey, and their Friends.

They are content to liue in their owne habitation, without intruding for dwelling in anothers house. As a notable example to vs, that (for the peace of the Commonwealth) every man should rest contented with his owne, without coueting or vsurping ought from any other.

Every Hieue hath his King, and both he and his attendants, doe (thun noyses, clamours, and windes. Which teacheth vs, that we ought to haue one chiefe Commander in one Commonwealth, by whom all the rest may be well gouerned: & that we should shunne the smoake of Ambition, in being greater one then another in the Commonwealth, to the end, that there may be good discipline. Also, we should shun from all windes of vanities, tumults, partialities, and enmities. Flight, labour, food, and fruite is common alike to euery one; to let vs vnderstand, the mutual loue and charity which ought to be among Cittizens, in being helpful one to another: and partaking likewise in o-

thers distresses. for by this meanes, mens mindes become linked together in such amity, that the Commonwealth flourisheth in peace and quietnesse, and is a goodly president to other estates.

These creatures liue without lubricities, although they engender more then any other. Which instructeth vs, that for the peace and repose of the people, men should haue care of childrens generation, to perpetuate their owne kind and the Common-wealth, without lusting after adulteries; but to liue chaste and temperate in pleasures carnall, the libertie whereof doth procure contentions, quarrels, and death.

They doe respect their King with such loue and obseruance, that they account it an honourable deede to die for him. And Sainr *Ambrose* saith thus: *They will not flye ab initio, until they first see, whether he will flye forth, or no: that they may keepe him company, in finding food, and other effects for common benefite.* Which may minister example vnto men, for honouring their Prince, to whom GOD hath giuen such Authoritie, to be assisted and inuited in those paines, which he taketh for the good of his people, hee being the principall of the Commonwealth.

They endeavour continually, to elect such a one for their King, as (in apurance) is most Noble, as also the mildest; not vying his sting against anie other, which onely is as a punishment for offenders. Adiuising vs hereby, to elect such for our Gouernors and Magistrates, as are of generous Nature, discrete, wise, and debonnaire. And these small creatures, are of such nature, that they who are of greatest bodie amongst them, are also (commonly) the most humane and gracious. Signifying nothing else to vs, but that he ought to be most milde and courteous, that is exalted vnto the highest dignity, as well in Nobilitie of blood, as in wealth and vertue: which things naturally beget enuy in others, and yet destroy themselves by humanitie, and conuerteth into loue. Most obedient are they to their King; and if any one haue declared disdaine, or disobedience, & the same bee discerned: hee neuer attendeth for other correction, but instantly slayeth himselfe with his sting. Whereby we are ad-

A worthy president of continency in life.

*Ambrosius* in Lib. de Cena Dom. cap. 9.

In what manner the Bees elect & make choise of their king.

A note for such as are highly aduanced.

Loue and fidelity to our superiours.

The occasion of the war between the two States.

A worthy estimation of Learning and learned men.

Honourable counsel giuen by the Athenians to the Lacedemonians.

A busy talker can neuer bee a Wiseman.

admonished, to be faithfull and loving to our Prince or Magistrate, and fearefull to offend, euen to death it selfe.

No Bee is slothful or idle in the Hiue; for some flye forth to combat against other in open field: others watch to seeke for food; others contemplate times, to foresee when stormes and raines will enſue; others compoſe the hony Combes; others lay aſide the waxe by it ſelfe, and thereof others make little Lodgers, caries and rounds, in very ſtraunge and wonderfull order. Neuertheleſſe, in ſo many and ſundry offices, no one intrudes into another's buſineſſe, or dare make any ſtealth or robbery from his companions: but by his owne labor and vertue, hee feedeth abroad on hearbes and flowers, and yet brings a part of his pains home, for generall good of the Commonwealt. Herein we haue a notable inſtruction, to abhor & baniſh out of our Cities, ſlothfull rogues and idle vagabonds, that will not liue by their owne labour as they ought to doe. Wherefore through ſuch debowmēt & negligence in men, all ſuch vices ariſe in Cities, as doe corrupt good manners, and ouerthrow order: for euery one ſhould liue vpon his owne endeuour, without vſurping ought of others; and what he hath ſuperfluous, is for generall aide of the Common-wealth, and to be miniſtred to others neceſſities.

Nature hath giuen them ſtings to defend themſelves, and offend ſuch as dare aſſaile them, or preſume into their city or hiue: and although they are not of any great coruſe, yet notwithstanding they haue vnconquerable corage & prudence. For with the gum of trees, they annoynt the ſuperficies of their hives, to the end, y<sup>e</sup> no beaſt or other enemy may enter in at any rift or chinke; and if the paſſage or iſſue be ouer large, they labor diligently to reſtrain and make it leſſe. By which example men are admoniſhed, to be ſtout and courageous for defence of their countrey, and wiſely to foreſee, that no Vices enter into their Common-wealth, that may infect, corrupt, or poiſon it.

By naturall inſtinct, they are enclined, that each one ſtaies on the firſt flower hee finds, and parts not thence away, vntill he haue taken his reſection and noriſhment: whereof he wil diſcharge himſelfe, before he ſeekes out any other. And much they

frequent the leaues and flowers of the Oliue tree, making there ſom long abiding; ſeruing vs as an example, what ſoberity wee ſhould vie in the courſe of our Life. When they feed on the flowers of the Almond tree, their hony is the more ſauoury and temperate; whereas contrary-wiſe, when they feed on bitter herbes or flowers it is far leſſe ſweet: notwithstanding, it is thinner, very mundificatiue, profitable for the opilations of the Liver, and good for the dropſie, as alſo to heale the biting of a mad dogge.

Such as haue made triall by experience of theſe creatures, doe iuſtifie, that when their king cannot fly, he is carried abroad by troops of them; and during the time y<sup>e</sup> he liueth ſo ſickly, the females are ſeparated from the males. But when he is dead, then they conuerſe together again: which declareth, what pity and piety wee owe to our Prince and countrey, and that men ſhould gladly ſupport and ſuffer for one another. The ſting of the female is ſharper then the males, & there are many males, that haue no ſtings at all. Hereby we may vnderſtand, that the tongues of women are more piercing then mens, & oft times cauſe very great inconueniencies in which reſpect, they ſhould be kept ſhort & tempered, that their lawfull liberty breed no blame and contention among neighbors. The beſt Bee is little, round, cloſely plump benoing in the miſt, and leaſt hairy. Som feed on flowers of the mountaines, others on them of Gardens and huſbanded places: the firſt whereof, are much leſſe then the other, as alſo more ſtrong and robuſt, to endure labor. Beſide, according to *Pliny* they are of far dreadfuller aſpect, abiding in the rifts of trees, or in ſonie ſmal vaults. And what fairer example can nature afford vs, then of their ſtrength and abilities? For, ſuch people as are not educated in delicacies, but in continual exerciſes of mind and body, are moſt profitable members for the Common-wealth. Cloſely they ply their worke in their hives, & feed on the ſuperabundance of their Combes, knowing by mere inſtinct of nature, that if they ſhould not do ſo, & giue vigilant attendance: Spiders wold get into the hiue, & there kill the. VVhen they haue but ſmal ſtore of hony, the moſt of them keeps the entrance, y<sup>e</sup> it may not be taken from them: vntill they are better provided. A worthy

preſi-

preſident to men, to baniſh all ſuperfluous things out of their Common-wealth, leaſt by the meanes of them, the venom of hatred may be bred among the, which may procure the death of one another. And when dearth or ſcarſitie happens in their Cities, vigilancy is needfully required, to preſerue ſuch ſtore as they haue; that it may not bee elſewhere transported, & ſo publike calamity enſue thereon.

There are a kind of Bees which labour not to produce hony, but eate that already made, and they are longer then the other: the good Bees haue continual war with them, to expell them out of their Commonwealt. Signifying to vs, that ſlothful perſons ſhould be excluded from other mens company: and ſuch as ſeek to feed by others ſweat. Their King neuer flies abroad, but he is attended round with a great company of Bees, and if it ſo happen, that they meet with another flight of Bees, that likewiſe haue their King with them, they leaue their owne, to accompany the new King. And if their owne King contend, to reduce them againe vnder his obedience; they kill him, and follow the other newly made choiſe of, and him they elect as their king. This exceſſe hapneth very ſeldom, & is one of the two imperfections which theſe creatures haue in their government: beſide, it is neceſſarie, that in euery kind there ſhould be ſome vice. If they chance to ſting hard, they put forth the whole length of their ſting; whereon themſelves die withall, becauſe their bowels iſſue out thereby.

Their Kings and Gouvernors ſting but ſeldome, although they are thereto provoked; for ſome ſay, that they haue no ſting at all. And *Pliny* is not certaine, whether they haue any or no: but notwithstanding, he is well aſſured that they ſting not: Neither care they that the king ſhould be ſo armed, provided, that he bee of good government, valiant, & maiſtical: which proueth, that Princes ought to be benign, milde, and patient: neuer to take any delight in cruelty, but rather to be gentle & mercifull. Such is the cleannelines of theſe creatures, that they cannot endure any foule or noiſom ſauour; & therefore when they returne to their Cittie or Caſtle (for ſuch they account their Hiue to be) they diſcharge their bellies in the aire, & many times (through bad ſmelles) they become

ſickly, and ſo ſoone as any one of them dyeth, the reſt hurle him out of the Hiue. They grow ſicke alſo thorow idlenes, and therefore they will not ſuffer any to bee ſlothfull among them: and the ſnell of blood ſiſh, ſuch as *Creniſes*, *Lobſters*, and *Crab-fiſh* is deadly to them. An excellent example for men to liue cleane & nearely, free from a vicious life, carefully reſpectiue both their ſoules and bodies.

The winde is very contrary and hurtfull for them; and therefore when it is great, ſtiſe and boyſterous, the hives ought to be carefully covered. *VVaspes* alſo they aſſaile in winter, as other creatures do, and in Summer, freſh aires are moſt fitting for them. It is very neceſſary to vſe diligence, when the hony is taken from the: becauſe, if ouermuch be taken away, they will labour little; and if more likewiſe be left then is conuenient, they will be the leſſe diligent in making more, & therefore a moderate and reaſonable quantity muſt remain, according to the number wherof they conſiſt. What worther example to men can there be then this declaring that in the commonwealth, euery thing ought to be moderately meaſured; becauſe ouer-great, pompous, and luxurious dyet, do but deſtroy famous families, abounding in al ſuperfluous things. And yet not to be too niggardly and ſparing in prouiſion needfully required. For as by the firſt children and ſeruaunts may become careleſſe and negligent; ſo by the latter, they may grow wretched and deſperate.

Another diligent care is required in the that make vſe of Bees, to witte, that when they heare their great ſwarming noiſe in the hiue, it is a ſignificatio that they wold be gone and leaue the hiue: but then if the hiue be gently ſprinkled ouer with ſweete wine, they will not ſtir abroad. Such as keeps them may eaſily take note hereof, becauſe ordinarily they make no other noiſe then when they are flying: VVherein we are inſtructed, that by ſweet language and kind behauiour, we may qualify ſterne anger in diſcontented brethren. *Ariſtote* further ſaith, he did well obſerue it by experience, that their feet before are ſhorter then them behind; which is ſo giuen them by nature, for their eaſier riſing from the ground. He ſaith moreover, that when the hony corrupteth in the hiue, it engendreth certaine wormes, which make

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webs

No idlenes amongſt the Bees, but all employed in ſeueral offices, & all for generall benefit.

A good admonition for Cities: & incorporate townes to auoid y<sup>e</sup> idle liues.

The weapons of defence for themſelves, & offending enemies to their State.

How they are naturally addicted in their diet and feeding, and what leaues and flowers doe moſt delight them.

Remedies for diſeaſes.

When the King of Bees ſiſh, & cannot flye.

A good inſtruction for Women.

Of ſcandall Bees, diſſenting from others.

Who are the ſittell members for the Common-wealth.

The danger of hatred and contention.

The idle Drones that make no hony.

A notable imperfection in the government of Bees, worthy obſeruation.

*Pliny* ſaith, that they haue no ſting at all.

Vertues well ſuited with the maiesty of a Prince.

The neate cleannelines of Bees, ex: ampling men to purity of life.

Their delight in winter and ſummer.

A cauteous for-taking the booty from them.

As lauidi prodigality is not to bee vſed, ſo penurious niggardiſe deſtreth reſtraint.

A note for-telling when Bees wold forſake their hiue.

*Ariſtot.* in Lib. Anim. 4. Cap. 14.



Wormes that  
weare spiders  
webbes in the  
hues.

webbes like vnto Spiders; whereby they weare sicke, and dye. A very apt example for men, to bee vigilant and respectiue of themselves, that the sweet daies and prosperitie in the world, doe not so corrupt their soules, as to beget the banefull worm of ambition, which is deadly. In moyste times of raines, they multiply greatly, by reason of the humidity: and contrariwise they decrease in the times of drought, thorow want of moisture. Also in Winter, their strength much faileth them, in regard of cold weather, snowes, and windes out of the North; which hindereth their fruitfulness, and therefore they keepe closely hidden. But when the Flowers of Beanes begin to sprout, they come abroad to labour: and the first worke they doe at home, is to builde their dwelling houses, next to engender, & then to yeeld honny.

Reasons of  
their multiply-  
ing & decrea-  
sing.

Three rampiers  
of defence  
to guard their  
hony combs

They make three feuerall rampiers before their Combes, as their garde and strength; the first cruft (being vtmost) they make bitter; the second (within) somewhat sweeter; and the third, thickest of all, because it ioyneth next to the Combes; & thus is the foundation of their defence. A good instruction for men, how to shape their building in this worlde, to vse diligence in their prouision, so soone as they can, especially of things necessary; then to marry, for encrease of children, and still to keepe employment in naturall exercises. When they flye forth vpon some vrgent occasions, and are preuented by night, so that they cannot returne home vnto their owne habitation; they sleepe topsie turvy, the vpside downe, because cold mists, fogs, and raines should not offend their wings, to hinder their flight home to their owne houses, or execution of their other enterprises and affaires.

Their flight  
broad, & hin-  
derance from  
returning  
home at night

The Sentinel  
to awake the  
in the morn-  
ing.

Sentinels they haue of their owne appointment, who make a noise at break of day, by which sound they all awake; and turning themselves on their feete, they make a noise againe to their Sentinels, as a thankfull signe of ioy: but then, vpon another found from the same Sentinels, they are all silent, as attending what instant charge is to be giuen them. Informing our iudgements, in times of warre to bee very vigilant; well prouided, and no way negligent. Excellent experience haue they, when raines and vnseasonable times will ensue, which they foresee by flying a-

broad in the Euenings, about their owne needfull occasions; and finding it to follow as they feared, they will not by any meanes boudge from home.

They haue (beside) a marvellous order among them; namely, that the youngest Bees flye abroad, and bring home the fooode; the elder sort biding at home, to dresse and prepare it. But that which is yet far more admirable is, that when the young ones arrive, laden with hearbes and flowers laboriously; some of the aged sort do meet them at the entrance, and help to ease them of their burthen. Moreover, such as come to home ouer-charged, seeke the sweetest aires to passe thorow, and where they are calmest: as fearing, least rude winds should make them let fall what they haue carefully gathered, or dry vpe their honey, and therefore they flye lower towards the ground: and such as can bring home no lading, are woont to carrie little stones or grawell, that by the weight of them, they may the better resist impetuous windes.

By this precedent example, yong men are admonished, that they ought to stirre and labour in the Commonwealth; & the more aged, to preferue the fruits of their paines. Yong men also, that do busie their braines in the blustering of ambition; should take a lower flight, and neerer to the ground, esteeming themselves to bee no more then men: considering vprightly in their soules, that whatsoever benefit ensueth by their paines to the Commonwealth, they stand bound thereto by obligation. Let no man therefore ouer-ween, or strue to ouercome or be aboue other, except his contention be honorable, & that his trauell may most aduance the good of the Commonwealth.

While thus these poore creatures are laboring abroad, their King abides at home, hauing a strong court of guard about him well armed with their stings, for the defence of his person. He goeth abroad but very seldom, and when it is his pleasure to goe forth, he is (in like manner) royally attended. But whē he wil haue his army abroad to any expedition; three daies before, loud summons is giuen for orderly preparatio. If any troop of them sverue from following him, they find their error, by smelling to the ground where the King hath past, & so pursue in that tract, vntill they ouertake him.

A wonderfull  
order naturall-  
ly obserued a-  
mong them,  
the young la-  
boring for the  
elder.

A notable ad-  
monition for  
the better fur-  
poring of the  
Common-  
wealth.

The King po-  
werfully de-  
fended by his  
Corps de  
Guard: & fly-  
ing abroad  
with his army.

Plin lib. II.  
cap. 17.

him. It is to be admired, how highly they are comforted in his presence: for if he be lost by their negligence, the army loofeth it selfe, and then they go to ioyne with another King. Pliny also reporteth, that whē their king dieth, they are so full of anguish and sorrow, that they will neither feed nor flye abroad for any prouision: so that if he be not taken away dead from before thē, they will also dye with griefe and hunger. Tutoring vs heerein, that if strifes & variances happen among vs, they should not last of any continuance: also howe the death of our Prince should be ikefom to vs, because little benefit cometh by changing Gouernours. Thus we perceiue, how many good examples may bee deriued from the Bees Commonwealth, not vterly vnneccessary for our imitation.

Kingsdome fil-  
dome gain by  
change of  
Princes.

## CHAP. XII.

*How sinfull and dangerous a thing it is, to desire reuelations from the dead, or knowledge of things belonging to future life.*

The absolute  
foundation of  
eternall life in  
the worlde to  
come.



Ike as God, who hath created vs without our selues, will not saue vs without our selues: euen so hath he giuen the ground worke of all meanes for our saluation, which is Faith, with hope of all those blessings, which (in the ancient Law) he hath promised, concerning the life to come, which also hee hath reuealed by his owne sonne, and are not to bee obtained without beleefe and hope in him. But humane frailty, or to speake more properly, Faith in man is so weak, that when the glorie which God hath ordained for that life is preached to him, he answeres, he beleeueth it: But yet notwithstanding (saith he) it is a matter of no meane mortuall, that of so many men as haue dyed; not so much as one man is returned back, to tell vs the secrets of that other life.

The chiefest  
note of incre-  
duly in man.

The very greatest signe of incredulity, that can be in the heart of man (in mine opinion) is this earnest desire, to wish from God a reuelation of the life to come. For seeing that faith consisteth in beleefe, and

to hope in such things as are not apparant if they were reuealed to vs: why then faith remaineth no more, and so the singulare meanes of saluation (should be taken from vs I say moreouer, that by such manner of reuelation, not onely should faith bee destroyed, but also it would bee an occasion in vs, whereby to runne into great error against God, as wee may easily prouoe by this argument.

Admit the case, that our father, mother, or brother were raised, and returned again into this world, euen in the same flesh as they parted from vs: and to the end, wee might the more confidently credit them, to be the very same persons, they did eat, drinke, & conuerse with vs (as our blessed Saurior of the world did with his Apostles, to auoid all scruple of doubt, that they were not shadowes or phantasmes) they reuealing to vs, matters belonging to that concealed life: no doubt need to be made but wee would listen, and verily beleuee whatsoever they said to bee true. If this were so, all were but man, hauing a bodie and a soule, and we beleuee him, whom we credit to be but a man, who is a liar by nature. Hereon then it followeth, that in giuing faith to him, we shal shew our selues rather to beleuee a man, naturally a Liar; then God, who is the fouraigine truth indeed, and cannot lie, but hath oftentimes repeated to vs, what rewarde is prepared for the good, and what punishment for the wicked.

I thinke then, there is no man, but he wil confesse it a grieuous sinne, if hee should lend faith to a reuelation, desired by a reached man, to beleuee the creature, rather then the Creator. Let no man then couet that which may redound to his own damnation; considering, what God hath bestowed vpon him, and also what is denied for his saluation, when hee may helpe to worke it with feare and trembling. If all are tyed to this conclusion, so much the more it belongeth to a Christian, whom our Saurior hath taught to beleuee, whatsoever hee hath reuealed in the Scripture, And faith in the Parable of the Glutton; that to know heavenly things, wee haue the Lawe and the Prophets to instruct vs sufficiently.

An argument  
to approue  
the instabili-  
ty of the mat-  
ter alledged  
of reuelations  
by the dead.

God onely is  
true, & al men  
liars.

The creature  
ought not to  
be beleued, but  
the Creator  
onely.



## CHAP. XIII.

*Of a Disputation made in Antioche, in the presence of King Ptolomy, by seuen severall Ambassadors, to know, which of their kingdomes had the best Lawes and Customes.*



King Ptolomy being at Antioche, Ambassadors from the Romanes, Carthaginians, Sicilians, Rhodians, Athenians, Lacedemonians, & Sicyonians, came thither vpon severall occasions to him. And sitting at supper with the King, a disputation chaunced to be moued, concerning the condition of their Countries and Common-weales, which of them was best policied, and provided of good Lawes and commendable Customes. The dispute was long debated & maintained among them, being defended with good and sufficient reasons. Whereuppon, King Ptolomy, being desirous to be resolu'd in the truth, commanded each man to speake the customes in their kingdomes: whereby might best be discerned, which of the Prouinces merited most to be commended.

The Ambassador for the Romanes first began, and answered in this manner. We hold our Temples in great and reuerent respect; wee are obedient to our Gouvernours; and greuously we punish wicked and lewd liuers.

He for Carthage next spake, saying. In the Common-wealth of Carthage, our Noblemen fight for vs; our Plebeians & Mechanicks labour for vs; and our Philosophers instruct vs.

He for the Sicilians, said. In our Common-wealth, Iustice is intirely kept; our Negotiations are truly managed, and all liue equally together.

He for the Rhodians, said. In our Common-wealth, our olde men are honest; our young men bashfully modest, and our women liue solitarily, vsing but few words.

The Athenian Ambassador said. In

our Common-wealth, we neuer consent, that rich men shall be partiall, poore men idle, nor our Gouvernours ignorant.

He for the Lacedemonians, said. In our Common-wealth, enuy cannot reigne, because we are all equally, nor auarice, because all our goods are in common; nor idleness, because all labour.

In our common-wealth (said the Ambassador for the Sicyonians) wee permit none to voyage forth abroad, because at his returning home, hee shal not teach & instruct vs in matters of nouelties; neither do we suffer Physitians, who may kill our healthfull men; nor do we allow Orators, because we couet not quarrelling causes.

When King Ptolomy had heard all the seuen Ambassadors, he highly commended all their kingdomes; affirming, that they were all well and iustly gouerned. That each of them had good Customes, worthily deseruing commendation: and that it was hard for him to iudge, which of them was best ruled and ordered. So the Ambassadors taking their leaue of the King, returned home vnto their severall countries, very ioyfull and contented, that the king had dealt with them so graciously in iudgement.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Of a very proud and sumptuous Temple (dedicated to Venus) in the City of Corinth, in the service whereof, were five hundred Ladies: And of the answer of an Abbessse to a great Lord.*



In Corinth, the principall City of Achaia, liued a tyrant, famous for wealth & vicious life, surnamed Hieron, who caused a sumptuous Temple to be built in the midst of the City, in the manner of a Monastery, & dedicated it to the Goddesse Venus. In this abominable Temple, were more then 100. young Ladies & Gentlewomen of Asia, whom their fathers there offered to the Goddesse Venus, and to her service: so that such of them as were most wan-

Sparta or Lacedemon.

Sicyonia.

The answer of King Ptolomy to the Ambassadors.

The a gunnet moued to the Ambassadors by the King, for a resolution on them.

For the Romanes.

Carthage.

Sicily.

Rhodes.

Athen.

## Chap. 15. Of Venus Temple in Corinth.

A wicked custome obserued in this detestable Temple.

Unmarried wives or widows might offer in this Temple, but Virgins onely.

Euteriles too good for so few a kinde of life.

Monasteries of lewd Nuns in Iappon, and their abominable qualities.

A part of Greece containing Attica, Boetia, Megaris, Aetholia, and Phocis.

ton and lasciuious, were held in greatest estimation, & reputed to be most holie and religious. It was not lawfull for any of them to go out of the Temple; but each one might there sinne, and please her selfe with such as shee best liked; and as often as shee would: so that all their Religion consisted not in being honest and virtuous maydens, but they had power to doe what they pleased.

Among them was an other Lawe also, that if any of them had a mind to marrie, shee must gaine or winne her dowrie, by the infamy of her body, which was permitted that she might so doe. Moreover, that beside her husband, she might haue an amorous friend: for, in being dedicated to the goddesse of Loue, they intended, not to loose the name of Wanton and Amorous. And no married wife or widow, might offer in this Temple, but onely virgins. And such as were so vnhappy, or wretched in fortune, to come and offer their Oblations there: before a yeare was expired, became a she diuell in this hellish sanctuarie; and, of a chaste virgin, a shamelesse and lasciuious strumpet.

All such as had admittance there, were expert in reading, writing, singing, playing on instruments, and dancing. VVherby men were allured thither extraordinarily, and it was no shame for them to be scene there.

The like Temples are (at this day to be scene) in the Portugall Indies, in the Prouinces of Iappon, where there are aboute eight hundred Monasteries, the least of which hath more then thirtie Nuns in it, called there Bonzes; whereof there are two sorts: one clothed in blacke, the other in lighter colours.

It is a common fame in those Countries, that these Bonzes doe feede on a certayne hearbe, to auoyde conceiuing with childe: but if conception can not be prevented, then they eate another hearbe, to destroy the infant conceived. They instruct yong maydens in reading, and such is the foolishnesse of the people, to credit verily, that they can deliuer the soules of their deceased parents from Hell; and therefore (in that respect) they are greatly honoured and reuerenced.

We our selues in these dayes (almost monstrous and miserable) neede not tra-

uaile so farre off, to find out Monasteries, where Religious women or Nunnes (if wee may rearme them Religious) leadeth their liues as lewdly and dissolutely, whereof themselves make no other concealement, but that all comers and goers, finde there exceeding kinde wellcome. Which ensueth by ouer-much libertie & ydleness, or else, by being placed there by their parents, contrary to their owne liking. But the good and virtuously disposed (whereof there are many) are not comprehended amongst these deboshed women: And as for the voluptuous and immodest; they regarde not who knows their loosenesse, and may well say of them selues, as an Abbessse did, of whom Nicholas Boyerus maketh mention in his Decisions. She had fortie Nunnes vnder her charge, and there belonged to that Monastery twenty Priests.

It came to passe, that a Prince, whose predecessours had founded that Monastery, passing that way, and visiting the Religious companies: found all (else where) in good order, except the number of Priests, and these Nunnes, whose number he thought not well ordain'd; whereupon hee sayde to the Abbessse. Truly Madam, me thinkes, that in stead of forty Nunnes, fortie Priests had bene better appoynted, and twenty Nunnes onlie had bene sufficient. My Lord (quoth she) perhaps the order is not so ill contriued, as you imagine it to be, neither is it to be condemned: for, of the fortie Nuns heere appointed, twenty are for the twentie Priests; and the other twenty serue for all comers and goers.

## CHAP. XV.

*Of the Oracle of Apollo in the Isle of Delphos, the Originall thereof, and vpon what occasion it came.*



The most renowned Oracle long since in Asia, was that of Apollo in the Isle of Delphos, whither resorted infinite persons, and from all parts of the world: offering there great gifts, and consulting on especial matters, because

Monasteries of Nuns neuer home, iust as lewdly.

Nicholas Boyerus in li. de Decis. Dist. 17.

The conference betwene a Prince & the Lady Abbess.

A City and People of Scythia, by Per-nassus.

because more answers were returned thence, then from all other Oracles. At the first, there was a deepe, crooked, winding caue or ditch, out of which issued a winde, that blew extremely at the mouth or entrance; thereon was feared a young Virgine, dedicated to *Apollo*, that gave answer to all things demanded of her. This winde was the diuell, who blew into her eares; and before the Temple was builded in *Delphos*, a she-Goat descending downe into that caue or ditch, became suddenly filled with a diuine Spirit, daunsing, skipping and leaping for ioy, as the like had neuer bin seene before. Whereat the Goate-heard wondering, followed her downe into the caue, and beggan to fore-tell of things to come. Many more beffide made prooffe in the same maner; so that whosoever would know what was to ensue, most put his head into the entrance of the caue.

But in the end, this could not be doone without danger, and losse of many persons; whereupon a Temple was erected to *Apollo* the Diuiner, and the Priest named *Pythia*, who made choice of a Virgine, to be plac'd on the *Tripos*: whereof *Lactantius* the Grammarian speaketh thus, interpreting this Verse of *Achilles* Statius, in his first Booke of his *Thebais*.

*Salua praecepsides Tripodum.*

*Tripos* (saith he) species est lauribus radibus, Apollini consecrata, propter vim diuinationis. *Lymbichus*, in his booke of the *Aegyptian* Mysteries, saith; *Sylla*, in *Delphos* duobus modis suscipiebat Deum, vel per spiritum quendam tamen uenientem, qui erumpet ab ubi ex ore atri cuiusdam, vel sedem in aeyro super sedem anciam, habentem tres aut quatuor pedes, & pro diessam. The Virgine that was the Organe of *Apollo*, sitting on the *Tripos*, held a Rod in her hand, and was crowned with a greene Chaplet of Laurell.

Many other Oracles there were in diuers other places. *Liber* was the Oracle of the *Sicilians*; *Ceres*, that of the *Rhodians*; *Diana*, of the *Ephesians*; *Berecynthia*, of the *Romans*; *Belus*, of the *Raetians*; *Zanys*, of the *Numidians*; *Venus*, of the *Thebais* and *Cyprians*; and many others; in whom poore abused Idolaters repofed all their confidence, rendering to them their Vowes and Sacrifices, albeit utterly in vaine. For, the answers of those Oracles,

were nothing else but ydle imaginations, and mere fables proceeding from the diuell, the father of lies. And by good right were such abuses and superstitions condemned by them that had knowledge of our true eternall God; as *Dauid*, *Baruch*, and other holy men, who detested such Idolls and Images of the Gentiles, made of golde, siluer, stone, wood, and other matter, and by the hand of man.

## CHAP. XVI.

What care our Elders had in ancient times, concerning the performance of their Sacrifices.



Nauncient custome (good and commendable) hath euermore bene, not onlie on the behaile of Christians, but also amongst the

*Ethnickes*: in acknowledging the benefite they receiued from God; not by wordes alone, but also by effects and exterior Sacrifices. So that there is no Nation so barbarous, but hath confessed his God, by some outward signe. And the Roman Senate did alwayes holde Religion in veneration, that so often as they met together (as *Parro* reporteth.) *Although they had affaires of great importance, and which required haiste diligence: yet the first thing that they propounded to themselves (before decision of any doubts) was religious humiliation to their gods.*

At all times, and whensoever the Roman Consuls or Emperours should go forth to warre, they neuer would prepare for the field, till they had first sacrificed to their gods, saying; *All felicitie and prosperitie proceeded from them.* And *Marcus Aurelius* saith; *They helde it for an infallible rule, that there can be nothing perfect among mortall men, except it bee perfected by God.* *Lycurgus*, the ancient Law-maker of the *Lacedemonians*, among other Lawes, ordain'd; *That no man should be so bolde to secke for fauor from a Prince, except he were knowne to serue the Gods diligently.* Nor do I alledge these examples, as intending to confirme my saying by Pagans and Idolaters: but onely to make vs blith with shame, by seeing how far they exceeded vs in pietie and religion.

For,

For, if wee would reade Histories, we should finde, that Gentiles and Pagans sought carefully, to recouer all their necessities from the gods.

In the time of *Quintus Fabius* and *Publius Decius*, they warring against the *Sannites* and *Hetrurians*, the Roman Matrons performed wonderfull things, neuer ceasing day and night, in offering great Sacrifices to the gods, saying: *If they were once appeased, they needed not to stand in feare of their enemies.*

But leaue we Idolaters, and let vs seeke what the ancient children of God did, who at all times, and whensoever they were afflicted, had their recourse to Sacrifices, when they would expresse their thankfulness to Almighty God, for benefites receiued. *Noah*, after hee came forth of the Ark, erected an Altare, sacrificed thereon, and the sacrifice was so acceptable to God, that he promised him, neuer more to drowne the world agayne.

Good *Isaac*, being gone from the house of *Laban*, to giue thanks to God, built an Altare, which hee consecrated to God. The children of *Israel*, being afflicted in the wilderness, sayd; *Let vs go on for three dayes, and afterward wee will sacrifice vnto our God.*

We reade in *Esdra*s, that after the children of *Israel* were returned, to re-edifie their Temple, that they might sacrifice to God; they were so carefull, that building with one hand, they helde their weapons in the other, to defend them from their enemies.

In *Leuiticus*, mention is made of innumerable Sacrifices, whereby God pardoned offences committed. Hereupon *Daniel* being in the captiuitie of *Babylon*, and seeing the Sacrifices to be forsaken, sayd; *In these times, there is heere neither Prince, Governour, nor Prophet, nor Holocaust, nor Sacrifice, nor Oblation, nor Incense, nor place to offer our First-fruits on before thee: Reueine therefore vs, with our soules broken, and our spirits cast downe.* *Elias* also, lamented grievously, because the Altars were ouerthrowne, and in his earnest zeale to God, vnable to suffer such ruine, desired to die. For without all doubt, nothing is more miserable, then when the seruice of Almighty God is despised, and where it faileth, a punishment from God surely followeth.

*Aaron* sonnes, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, were consumed with fire from heauen, before all the people; because they offered not the Lawe ordained for the Sacrifices. King *Balthazar*, prophaning the vessels of gold and siluer, dedicated to the Temples seruice, to serue his wiues & concubines for drinking therein at his Table: diuinely sawe a Hand writing on the wall, foretelling his neere approaching ruine; so that he was taken by his enemies, and slayne the same instant. *Achab*, hauing prophaned the holy place, erected a Temple to the Idoll *Baal*: but afterwards, going against the *Syrians*, he was slayne with an Arrow shot from a bowe.

The Records of Histories doe also tell vs, that *Pompey*, hauing made a Stable of Gods Temple, after hee had robbed, ransacked, & spoiled *Ierusalem*, became thereby so abominable to GOD, that thence forward hee was most vnfortunate. And although hee had before vanquished two and twentie Kings, yet at the last, himselfe was miserably overcome. The sonne of *Darius* was so proude and presumptuous, that hee would not onely abuse men, but euen the gods also, and sent foure thousand men to beate downe the Temple of *Apollo*: but to great a hayle and tempest fell from Heauen, that destroyed them euery man. For this cause, the good Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, writing a Letter to the King of *Trinacria*, reprooued him greatly, because he had beaten downe a moiety of the temple, to enlarge his house. *Thou thinkest* (quoth he) *that the stones and mortar, wherewith the Temple was built, to be of small value: it is very true: but the Gods to whom they are dedicated, are most mightie. I wish therefore if thou would haue peace with the Romanes, (hauing scandalized Rome, and grieved the Senate) that thou shouldst take as much of thy house to enlarge the Temple, as thou hast taken from it, and build it a great deal higher, and wider then it was; and then thou shalt be happy, in taking nothing from the house of the Gods, but rather that they possesse part of thine.*

The *Athenians*, who were alwayes conquered by the *Lacedemonians*, in many wars which they haue had together: complained to their God, because they had exceeded in their Sacrifices to him, farre beyond those of the *Lacedemonians*. But the Oracle of *Iupiter* made them answer thus:

Leuit. 10. 1.

Dan. 5. 1.

3 Reg. 22. 33

Pompey made a Stable of Gods Temple and the punishment therefore inflicted on him afterward.

\* The Idole of Sicily.

The words in the Letter of Marcus Aurelius to the King of Trinacria.

The administration of the Ladies & Marriages of Rome.

Examples of the children of God.

Gen. 8. 1, 10. 1.

Gen. 31. 54.

Exod. 15. 12.

1 Elders. 4. 3

Leuit. 5. 7.

Dan. 3. 9.

3 Reg. 19. 14.

1 Elders. 4. 3

1 Elders. 4. 3

The contempt of gods seruice multiplies needs draw downe vengeance.

In what manner answer was giuen before the Temples erection.

The reason for building the Temple.

Excerpt from Stat. lib. Thebais.

Transcription from Lib. Egypt. Myst.

\* One of the names giuen to Bacchus, Cible, brother of the Gods.

The Oracle  
of Jupiter an-  
swering the  
Athenians.

1 Peter 5, 3.

thus. *The humble and sincere Sacrifices of the Lacedemonians, are more agreeable to the Gods, then all the exterior pompe of the Athenians.* In which respect, we holde it as a Catholique maxime, That God giueth care to the prayers of the humble, and reproveth those of the presumptuous. *Deus enim superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.* For God resisteth the prowde, and giueth grace to the humble; so sayth Saint Peter.

## CHAP. XVII.

¶ Of diuers and sundry opinions of the Philosophers, concerning the state of the soule in the body of Man; And a contrarie coniecture of the Platonists.



*Plato and Democritus say, That the state of the Soule is in the head. Straton the Philosopher limiteth it; Betweene the eyebrows. Erasistratus within the skinnie or filme of the Braine. Heraclitus placeth it, in the outward agitation. Mofchion giues it place, throughout all the body. Xenocrates, in the crowne of the head. Parmenides, Epicurus, the Stoicks and Egyptians, lodge it wholly in the heart: as the like doth Orpheus. Xerxes, King of Persia, thought it to be in the eares. Empedocles, in the heape or pile of the blond. Philo the Iew, in his Booke of Allegories of the Lawe, saith thus. The reasonable facultie or part of the soule, is in the head; the irascible, in the heart, and the concupiscible, in the groin, or lower part of the belly.*

But we Christians, hold it to be in the heart, whence proceedeth good and euill cogitations. Saint Augustine in his booke concerning the knowledge of true Life, writeth thus; *The Soule is dispersed throughout all the body, and keepeth wholly in euery part thereof.* Very true it is (sayth he also) that it yeeldeth far greater effects and actions, in some one place, then other: either by the will, which in that place sendeth out his strength; or else by those instruments, proper and commodious for action.

The Platonists say, That the Soule descendeth by Cancer, and mounteth agayne by Capricorne; and I thinke, that from hence they ground this coniecture. Because Cancer is the house of the Moone, the vertue

whereof governeth ouer the vegetable parts, it viuiifieth the body; And Capricorne is the house of Saturne, which presideth for contemplation, whereto the Soule being freed from the body it may walke at libertie.

## CHAP. XVIII.

¶ How men ought to shunne and auoyde Curiofitie; And what penalties and punishments were appointed by our Ancients, for curious people.



*THE Athenians had a Lawe,* which was well obserued among them; whereby euery man was forbidden (of what degree or qualitie foecer he were) that hee should not dare, to enquire of any stranger, newly arrived in their Citie: from whence he came, what hee was, nor what he fought for; vnder penalty for him that demanded such questions, to be well whipt with rodde, and banished his Countrey. The end for which our graue Ancients made such Lawes, was, to keepe men from the vice of curiofitie; which is alwayes ouer-ready, to pricke into other mens affaires, and be regardless of their owne.

Plutarch, Aulus Gellius and Pliny doe thinke, that they can neuer sufficiently commend Marcus Portius the Romaine, because no man did euer heare him, to enquire what newes were at Rome; nor how the people liued in their houses. His talke alwayes was, of such things as hee knew was profitable for the Common-wealth, or else fitted such demands as required necessary answer. Plato, writing of Dionysius the Syracusan, speaketh thus: *The curious man, that would know the life and actions of another man; is more friend to his enemies, then to himselfe.* For, hee will quickly bestirre his tongue, in talking of his enemy, and what harme hee knoweth by him; but neuer cares what foule offences himselfe hath committed.

A King of Sparta requested Pindarus to tell him, what was the most difficult thing for a man to doe? Whereunto Pindarus thus replied; *Nothing is more easie for a man, then to reprove an other; nor more difficult*

The Athenians Law against curious Questionists.

The great wisdom of Marcus Portius the Romaine.

Plato in his dialogues.

The answer of the Poet Pindarus.

selfe, then to endure reprehension in himselfe.

Penethes, who among the Thebanes was a Philosopher much renowned, could neuer be numbered among the curious, nor condemned with the malicious. He hauing liued as a Philosopher, for the space of thirtie yeares, in the Academies of Thebes; being blamed by some, because hee did not reprehend the finnes which hee sawe committed, answered: *When I know that I have no sinne in my selfe, then will I beginne to reprove sinne in other.*

Plato departing from Sicilie, for his returne to Greece, and taking his leaue of Dionysius, the King spake thus vnto him. Alter thou comest among the Philosophers of Greece: O how ill wilt thou speak of me, and of my tyranny? Plato answered; Doubt not (Dionysius) what I shall speake of thee in the hearing of Philosophers: for their manners are so vertuous, and themselves so employed in their studies; that they haue no time to heare idle talke. Moreouer he sayd; Know, O Dionysius, if thou beest ignorant, that such is the height of our Philosophie, as to perswade and counsell men, Then euery one should iudge himselfe, and not to busie his brains, to defame or reprove the liues of other.

Philippides, who was the first inuenter of Comedies, being a great friend to king Lyfimachus; the King conuersing with him vpon a day, sayd; What dost thou desire of me (O Philippides) and I will freely graunt it thee, whatsoeuer thou requirest? The greatest grace (quoth Philippides, that thou canst giue me, is, neuer to acquaint mee with any of thy secrets. O wife and worthy answer! read by many, and vnderstood of few: For, if this Philosopher would not know the secrets of a King, much lesse would hee vnderstand them of his neighbours.

## CHAP. XIX.

¶ Of the three Conquests of England, by the Saxons, Danes and Normans; occasioned by the finnes, either of the Princes, or of the People, or of both.

If wee consider the three diuerse Conquests of England, since it receyued the

Christian faith, and the state thereof at the same time, together with the iudgement and testimony of the grauest Authors that haue written thereof; we shall easily see, that the same haue proceeded of no other cause, but by the finnes of the Princes, or of the People, or of both. For, although the infirmite of man is such, as there neuer wanteth matter for Gods Iustice to punish in Common-wealths (by reason whereof, we see, that in all Countries, the people are scourged more or lesse from time to time, not onely particularly euery one in his owne person, with misaduentures, sicknesse, losse of goods, death of children, and such like, but also generally, with plagues, famine, inundations and warres) yet the subuersion of Common-wealths neuer chanceth, but for some great excess of sinne, eyther in the Prince, or in the People, or in both: And commonly, after many warnings & admonitions giuen by gentle and sweete corrections. Such being the longanimity and patience of Almighty God, that he layeth the Axe at the foote of the tree, long before he cutteth it downe, and trieth all means to cure the soares of his seruants, by lenities and fomentations, rather then by cauterisings and incisions, or by cutting off the infected member, which hee neuer doth, but when there is no other remedy.

This course (we see) hee helde with his owne people, for, though hee often chastised them with famine, pestilence, inundations of enemies, and ciuile wars: yet (after a while) hee euer restored them to tranquillitie, plentie and peace, vntill they prouoed so incorrigible; that the Prophet Ieremi in the second chapter, and the thirtieth verse, lamented, in the person of God, that all his Fatherly corrections were lost vpon them, saying; *Frustra percussisti filios vestros: I haue beaten and chastised your children in vaine.* And againe, the aforesayd Prophet in the fifth chapter and in the third verse, saith to Almighty God; *Percussisti eos, &c.* Thou hast beaten them (O Lord) and they haue not becene forie; thou hast consumed them, and they haue refused to receiue correction. As who would say, there is no other remedy left, but reprobation, subuersion, and vtter extirpation of them. And therefore Almighty God gaue

The causes of the three conquests of England by the Saxons, Danes and Normans.

Great excess of sinne in Prince, people, or both.

The proceedings of Almighty God towards his owne people, like to the course hee held with the Britains.

Variety of coniectures diuersly deliuered.

Philo Iudeus in lib. Alleg. lib. cap. 9.

Opinion of Christians.

Augustine in lib. de ciuitate cap. 33.

The opinion of the Platonists concerning the siting of Cancer and Capricorne.

gave them over into the hands of their enemies; first, the tenn Tribes in *Samarria*, as in the fourth booke of the *Kings* the seuenteenth chapter and eightene verse, which were all taken with their King *Hosea*, and translated into *Syria*. And afterward, the other two Tribes in *Juda*, were carried into captiuitie by *Nabuchodonosor* king of *Babylon*, where they remained three score and ten yeares. And though they were afterwards restored to their Countrey, and their Temple re-edified; yet at length they were (for their extreme ingratitude, and peruerse obstinacie) vterly ruined.

The patience which God vied towards the Brittaines before their Conquest.

The like proceeding Almighty God vied with *England*, in the time of the *Brittaines*, after they receyued the Christian Faith; for he chastised them, sometimes with death and famine, sometimes with pestilence, and other-whiles with incursions of their enemies, and with ciuill warres amongst themselves: so long as the same sufficed to reduce them vnto repentance, and amendment of their sinfull liues, as sometimes it did; which their famous Countrey-man *Beda*, and ancient *Gildas* called, the *Sage*, doe testifie: Declaring, that the *Brittaines*, being partly driuen by famine, and partly by inuasion of *Scottes*, and *Pictes*, eyther to abandon the Countrey, or to hide themselves in the Mountaines, Woods, and *Cauces*; crated helpe and succour of the *Romaines*, writing vnto them that lamentable Epistle, whereof *Gildas* maketh mention; in the which they say: Our barbarous enemies doe driue vs to the *Sea*, and the *Sea* doth driue vs backe to them agayne: so that of two kindes of death we haue our choice; that is to say, Whether we will haue our throates cut, or else be drowned. Thus wrote they to the *Romaines*.

The Britains destitute of humane help, had recourse to the diuine, and obtained it.

But being not succoured by them, by reason of their great warres at the same time with *Attila*, they beganne to haue recourse to the mercie of God, and to relie wholly vpon his helpe (as the foresayd Authors haue reported) and so (with his assistance) assailed their enemies out of the *Cauces* and Woods where they lay hidden, and not onely gaue vnto them great ouerthrowes, but also droue them out of the Countrey; and shortly after had pluch plenty of corne, fruite, and all

*Beda testif. lib. 1. c. 14. Gildas de excid. Britan.*

kinde of victualles, that the like had neuer beene seene, nor heard of before in many ages. Whereuppon followed the effect, which *Moses* noted and lamented in the children of *Israel*, *Deuteronomie* the one and thirtie chapter and the three and twentieth verse: *Incrassatus est dilectus* (sayeth hee) *& recalcitrauit*: The beloued people of God was made fatte, and then they beganne to kicke: that is to say, (as hee expoundeth it euen presently after) *Incrassatus, impinguatus, dilatatus, dereliquit Deum factorem suum*. Being become faire and fatte, they forsooke their God and Creator; so fell it out with the *Brittaines*.

*Deut. 32. 15.*

*Ibid.* The Brittaines by prosperity became uncontent and vngatefull to God.

*Beda testif. lib. 1. c. 14.*

The vices & sinnes of the Brittaines.

*Ibid.*

New inuasions of the Brittaines by the Picts and Scots.

*Ibid.*

The Britains called the Saxons for their defense, which by Gods iustice, turned to their ouerthrowing the end.

*Ibid. cap. 15.*

*Ibid. cap. 16.*

For, they proued so vngratefull for Gods great mercy towards them, that (as the foresaid Authors doe affirme) they fell into the extremitie of all mischiefe and wickednesse. *Non solum secularis viri, &c.* Not onely Secular men, but also the Ecclesiasticall; giuing themselves wholly to drunkennesse, to animosities and contention, enuy, cruelty, hatred of truth, love of lies, and all vice. Wherevpon our Lord scourged them with such a pestilent mortalitie, that (within but a while) there were not men enow aliue (as these Authors testifie) to burie the dead.

And when that sufficed not to reuoke them from their vicious liues; *Non multo post* (saith *Beda*) *acrior gentem peccatricem ultio diu sceleris secuta est*. Shortly after, a sharper punishment of such detestable wickednesse followed vpon that sinfull people. For the *Pictes* and *Scots* beganne againe to make such irruptions vpon them, that (not being able to withstand them) they were forced to call in the *Saxons* to assist them. *Quod Domini nutu* (saith *Beda*) *dispositum esse constat, &c.* Which it is manifest was done by Gods disposition, to the end that their wickednes might receiue due punishment. For, within a while, the *Saxons* did confederate themselves with their enemies, and picking quarrells against them, destroyed all the Countrey with fire and sword, burning vp houses, villages, and townes, and killing all sort of people: insomuch, that many fledde into forraigne Countreys, and others hid themselves amongst the hilles, mountaines and wooddes, vntill acknowledging the iust iudgement of Almighty God vpon them, they called to him

him for mercie. *Vnanimis consensu auxilium celeste precante*; Craving helpe from Heauen with vniforme consent, where-with Gods mercie was moued to giue them *Ambrosius Aurelianus* for their captain, and diuerse notable victories, by his meanes. And especially at *Blackmore* in *Yorkeeshire* (for so was called *Mons Badonicus*, as saith *Polydore Virgil* in his third booke) where they made such great slaughter of them: as that (for some certayne yeares) they did not further molest them.

For, beeing (as *Gildas* in his booke *De Excid. Britann.* reporteth) mindefull of their former calamities, and of afflictions laid on them for their sinnes: all sort of men spirituall and temporall, as well the Princes as their subiects, did euerie one their dutie in his vocation. *At illi* (saith *Gildas*) *decidentibus, &c.* But they being dead, and another Age succeeding, ignorant of the miseries past, and corrupted with present ease and pleasure; All truth and iustice was so subuerted: that there appeared not so much as anie light thereof, in all the foresaid states of men; *Exceptis paucis, & vnde paucis*, Excepting a few, and those very few. For, the kings (saith he) were Tyrants, the Iudges most wicked and corrupt; the Priests negligent of their dutie. *Raro sacrificantes, & nunquam puro corde inter altaria stantes*; Seldome sacrificing, and neuer comming to the Altar with a pure heart. Ignorant, impudent, simoniack, lasciuious; and all sort of Lay men loaden with wickednesse, with murder, parricides, pride, adulteries, swearing, periuries, blasphemies, and all kindes of iniquitie.

The collapse of the Brittaines into their former vices.

The vices of the Clergie and Laytie in Britaine.

The horrible times of the Princes of Britaine, before the conquest thereof by the Saxons.

And now to shew some particularities of this, and how iustly the vengeance of Almighty GOD was powred out vpon the whole Kingdome: The same Authour, in the place before cited, toucheth briefly the liues of some of the Kings and Princes, which liued in his time: as of *Constantinus*, *Aurelius*, *Conanus*, *Vortiporius*, *Cuneglasius* and *Maglocunus*, taxing them with tyrannie, periurie, sacrilegious murders, and parricides (committed euen before holy Altars) adulteries, horrible incests, breach of vowes, of religion and chastitie, yea, and two of them with beastly Sodomie.

For the which enormities, and the ge-

nerall corruption and wickednesse of the whole Kingdome, hee threatneth, or rather prophesieth vnto them, vtter ruine and destruction; which (shortly after) worthily fell vpon them, as the *Brittish* Chronicles by *Geoffrey of Monmouth* in the twelfth booke of his Historie and the fiftenth chapter, also acknowledgeth: For hee sayth, That King *Cadwallader* (who was the last of the *Brittaines* race) vied these wordes, as hee fledde by Sea into *France*, with the reliques of the *Brittaines* nation; *Va nobis peccatoribus ob immaniam scelera nostra, &c.* Woe bee to vs sinners, for our grievous sins, wherewith we neuer ceased to offend God, while we had time of repentance; and therefore now the punishment of God fallles vpon vs, which roots vs out of our native soile. Thus said *K. Cadwallader*, and more to that purpose.

King Cadwallader flying into France, acknowledged Gods iustice vpon himselfe and his people for their sins.

Afterward hapned the inuasion of the *Danes*, who first by piracies, & after by open wars, cruelly infested & troubled the realme at sundry times, for the space of almost 200. yeares. But the good king *Alured*, or *Alfred*, Founder of the famous Vniuersity of *Oxford*, recovered all formerly lost, & droue the *Danes* out of *England*: except such as were content to become Christians, to whom he gaue the kingdomes of *Northumberland*, and of the *East-Angles*, who, during his time, neuer moued warre. And they of the *Easterne* parts, stirring afterward against his sonne, called *Edward*, were by him vterly ouerthrowne; as also the other in *Northumberland*, in like manner, and vpon the like occasion, were subdued by his Grandchilde *Aelfsane*, who made *England* a Monarchie, which so remained and flourished without further infestation of the *Danes*, during the reigne of four kings, the successors of *Aelfsane*; to wit, his two brethren, *Edmond* and *Eldred* (who succeeded one another) and the two sons of *Edmond*, called *Edwin* and *Edgar*, which *Edgar* was (for his excellent vertues, and prosperous reigne) called *Honor & delicia Anglorum*. The honour and delight of *England*: or, as *Ingulphus* tearmeth him, *Honor & Regem*: The Honour and Rofe of Kings.

The conquest of the English by the Danes.

King Alured expelled all the Danes that would not become Christians. *Poli. Virg. hist. lib. 2. cap. 8.* Ingulph. hist. Angl.

Of whom it is written, that in his time, all Ecclesiasticall Orders flourished, learned and vertuous men were highly esteemed, all ciuill and forraigne warres ceased, and he was called the King of *Albion*, be-

The mercie of God to the posteritie of the good King Alured, to the 4. Generation, *Gul. Malmes. lib. 2. cap. 8.* Ingulph. hist. Anglorum.

ing no lesse powerfull by Sea, then by Land. No yeare of his reigne passed, wherein hee built not a Monasterie, or else did some great and notable good to his Countrey: And such were his vertues, and great fame for felicity, that there came principall men from out of all the Countreies adioyning, to seee, and be acquainted with him.

Now, whereas the *Danes* returned againe into *England*, shortly after *Edgar*, in the reigne of his sonne *Etheldred*; and not onely molested it with incursions (as they were wont) but also conquered and possessed it for a time: it may well be presumed, that they were but the instruments of Gods iustice therein; and that this conquest made by the *Danes*, proceeded of the sinnes, partly of the famous King *Edgar* (though hee were dead before) and partly of his wife *Alfreda*; and lastly, of their sonne *Etheldred*, in whose time the Countrey was conquered. For, although King *Edgar* excelled in all pietie and vertue in his latter dayes; yet he did an acte in his youth, whereof it may be thought, that his children and posteritie payed the penaltie.

This I say, for that after the death of *Alfreda* his wife (by whom hee had King *Edward* the Martyr) hee fell in loue with *Alfreda*, wife to a Noble man called *Ethelwoolfe*, whom (with her consent) he caused to be killed, to the end he might marry her. How grievous this sinne was in the sight of Almighty GOD, and how iustly punished in his posteritie, wee may well iudge by the like offence of King *David*, who, to the end he might marry *Bathsheba*, procured the death of *Urias* her husband, for the which, the Prophet *Nathan*, in the second booke of the *Kings*, chapter twelue, verse ten, told him from Almighty God; that the sword should neuer depart from his house; and that his sonne in the Cradle, should die therefore. Beside, Almighty God permitted (for punishment of that sinne) that all his other children (except *Salomon*) died most unfortunately. For *Amnon*, hauing deflowered his sister *Tamar*, was killed by his brother *Acholon*; and *Adonias* by *Salomon*; and lastly, *Abolon* rebelling and fighting against his owne father King *David*, was miserably slaine, hanging on a tree by the haire of the head. And therefore no mar-

uell, that the like sinne of King *Edgar*, was also severely punished in his children.

To this purpose, it is to be noted, that his marriage prooued most vnfortunate, not only to the fruit that proceeded thereof, and the whole Realme (as shall be declared hereafter) but also to King *Edward*, his sonne by his former wife, who shortly after was killed, by the meanes of *Alfreda* his stepmother, for the aduancement of her sonne *Etheldred*. Wherein I cannot but note (by the way) the feruencie of Gods Iustice in punishing sinne, seeing the sayd young Prince, being very holy and innocent of life, could not escape the temporall punishment, due to his Fathers offence.

But to proceede, such was the common opinion of the innocencie and holiness of this young King *Edward*, and enormitie of the sinne committed by *Alfreda*, in the murder of him: that the conceit of most men at that time was (as *William* of *Malmesburie* witnesseth) that the Conquest of *England* by the *Danes*, was a punishment of God for the same; which we may be presumed, especially, if we adde thereunto the offence, not onely of his father (whereof I haue already spoken) but also of his brother *Etheldred*, for whose cause hee was murdered; and in whose time that Conquest hapned. For it may be thought most consonant to the Iustice of Almighty God, that *Etheldred* (being the sonne of the wicked *Alfreda*, and fruit of the cursed marriage; yea, and withall, most wicked of himselfe) should beare the penaltie as well of his owne, as of both his parents sinnes: As partly was fore-told at his coronation, by *Dunstan* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, saying: That for his Mothers sin in the murder of King *Edward*, both hee and his children should bee severely punished, and his Kingdome transferred to strangers.

And if wee doe consider the manner of his life, and the nature and qualitie of his offences; we shall find them to be the very same, which the Scriptures ascribe to be the cause of the translation of Kingdoms from one nation to another, whereof Ecclesiasticus saith: *Regnum de gente in gentem transfertur*, &c. Kingdoms are transferred from one nation to another, because of iniustice, iniuries, calumniationes and diuers deceits. In which kinde of sinnes

sinnes King *Etheldred* greatly exceeded; for he had his eares lo open, and shewed such fauour to all kind of accusers and calumniators; that (as *Polydore Virgil* saith) *No mans life was in securitie*. Besides, on euery light occasion, spoyld & banished the richest and wealthiest of his subiects, becoming also addicted to all kinde of riot and dissolusion. And therefore *William* of *Malmesburie* writeth of him briefly thus: *Eius vita cursus saeuus in principio, miser in medio, turpis in exitu*: The course of his life was cruell in the beginning, miserable in the middle, and shamefull in the end.

Furthermore, he was so cowardly and base minded, that hee was no lesse contemptible to strangers abroad, then hateful to his owne subiects at home. Whereupon, the *Danes* tooke courage to enter *England* againe, who made him graunt them a yearly tribute, wherewith they were content for a time; and after turning thither agayne, forced him to flee into *Normandie*, and to leaue his kingdome to *Sveno* their King, who exercised all kind of cruelty vpon the *English*, and enioyed the Kingdome as long as hee liued. Which was not past five yeares. After whose death, *Etheldred* recovered it againe, and possessed it two yeares, whilest *Canutus* sonne to *Sveno* was held busied at home, with a rebellion of the people of *Normandie*.

In which meane while, *Etheldred* returned like the dogge to his olde vomite of cruelty and iniustice, especially against the *Danes* (who had bene for some yeares planted and marrowed in *England*) causing many of them to be killed with cruell torments. And amongst others, *Sigifredus* and *Morgandus*, two of the noblest of them) were fallie accused of fained crimes, and put to death for the same. Besides, Prince *Edmund* sonne to *Etheldred*, rauished the wife of *Sigifred*, being a woman no lesse admirable for her beautie, then commendable for her chastitie. All which when *Canutus* vnderstood, being moued with desire, as well to reuenge these iniuries done to his Countrey men, as also to recouer the Kingdome of *England*, conquered by his father: hee passed ouer thither with an Armie, and put all to fire and sword, whereupon *Etheldred* dyed with sorrow.

And although his sonne, surnamed *Ironside* (after diuers conflicts, and a combate fought hand to hand with *Canutus*) possessed the one half of *England* by composition: yet within a yeare, *Canutus* enioyed the whole by the sodaine death of *Edmund*, slaine vpon a priuy as he was eating himselfe; and so he remayned absolute King thereof as long as hee did liue, which was about some twentie yeares after.

Herein neuertheless it is to be noted, how the mercie of Almighty God concurred with his Iustice, and moderated the rigour thereof; for that (of his infinite bounty) he determined by this conquest, as it seemed, rather to chastise, correct and redresse *England*, then to ruine and oppress it. And therefore, after he had somewhat satisfied the feruencie of his iustice, not onely vpon the Realme, by the five yeares cruell reigne of *Sveno* (who ransacked and spoyled all sorts of men, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall) but also vpon the persons of *Etheldred*, and his sonne *Edmund*: hee gaue them *Canutus*, sonne to *Sveno*, for their King, who, although he was a stranger, yet gouerned with all clemencie and good example of life, doing continually actes of pietie, making good Lawes and wholesome, easing the people of taxes and impositions, and deserring well of all estates, by the meanes whereof *England* flourished (in his time) in peace and much plenty. Of whom I can not forbear (this occasion being offered) to expresse and declare heere (by the way) a notable acte, which I with all Princes would well weigh and consider, in the height of their prosperity and greatest fortune.

It chanced once, as he was walking at *Southampton*, by the Sea side, some of his noble men flattered him, and extolled (as boue measure) his great power, calling him the most mightie and potent King of all Kings, commanding absolutely ouer men, land & sea. Whereupon, to correct their flatterie, and to shew mans infirmities done to his Countrey men, as also to recouer the Kingdome of *England*, conquered by his father: hee passed ouer thither with an Armie, and put all to fire and sword, whereupon *Etheldred* dyed with sorrow.

Edmond Ironside, Son to King Etheldred. Canutus king of England.

The mercy of God towards the English, in turning their conquests to their comfort

The great vertue and piety of King Canutus,

Polyd. Virg. Ang. Hist. 7. in fine.

A memorable acte of King Canutus.

The Danes returned againe into England, and conquered it. Polyd. Virg. Ang. lib. 7.

Polyd. Virg. Hist. Ang. lib. 6. What the offence was of King Edgar, and his wife Alfreda his wife.

a Reg. 12, 10

a Reg. 13, 10  
a Reg. 14, 10  
a Reg. 15, 10

The feruencie of Gods Iustice in punishing sinne.

William of Malmesburie witnesseth that the Conquest of England by the Danes, was a punishment of God for the same.

Dunstan foretold the conquest of England, and the punishment of King Edward, both hee and his children should bee severely punished, and his Kingdome transferred to strangers.

Ecclesiasticus saith: Regnum de gente in gentem transfertur, &c. Kingdoms are transferred from one nation to another, because of iniustice, iniuries, calumniationes and diuers deceits.

Polyd. Virg. Ang. lib. 7.

King Etheldred expelled out of England by Sveno King of the Danes, who reigned there five yeares.

King Etheldred after the death of Sveno, recovered England againe, and possessed it two yeares, whilest Canutus sonne to Sveno was held busied at home, with a rebellion of the people of Normandie.

Edmund.

Canutus, son to Sveno, invaded England.

Heir of the  
King of  
England  
U. 6.

Lo my Lords, you call me King of Kings, and a Lord of Land and Sea; though I cannot command one of these little waues: Therefore know yee, that the King of Kings, and hee that commandeth Land and Sea, is the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, by whose will and providence all things were governed. And having thus saide, hee returned to Winchester, and tooke the Crowne which he vsed to weare vpon his head, and put it (with his owne hands) vpon an Image of CHRIST crucified, which was in the Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paule, and would neuer after weare any crowne so long as he liued.

Though this may seeme a digression from my matter, yet I thought good to recount it heere, as well for the raritie of the example; as also that it may appeare, how mercifully God dealt with the people of England, to giue them such a King, by whose pietie their Conquest turned to comfort. And this merie appeared much more afterward, when it pleased his diuine Maiestie so sweetly to dispose, that after the death of Canutus, and his two sonnes Haraldus and Hardicanutus, or (as Polydore calles him) Canutus, which two reigned but sixe yeares: the Crowne returned agayne to English blood; yea, and to so excellent a Prince, as was King Edward the Confessor, who reigned in all tranquillity, peace and felicitie about three and twenty yeares.

Now, although learning, religion, and vertue had flourished many yeres among the English, yet a little before the coming of the Normans, the same was vtterly destroyed and decayed. For (sayth William of Malmesbury, who liued in the same age) the Priests were so careless, that they could scarce pronounce truly, the very words of the Sacraments and diuine service. And such was the ignorance generally of all men, that a Grammarian was helde for a wonder; Religious men were wholly giuen to delicacie and kept no rules of Religion; the Noblemen and Gentlemen gaue themselves to gluttony and lechituousnesse; there was no respect of Religion, nor care of Iustice: infomuch that the common people serued for no other then as a prey to the Nobility, who spoyled and rancked them at their pleasure. It was a common custome when men had got their maid-seruants with childe, ey-

ther to send them to the Stewes, or to sell them for Slaues. Drunkennesse, and all the vices which commonly doe accompany the same, or follow thereon, were generally throughout the whole Realme; This reporteth William of Malmesburie in substance.

Allo holy King Edward himselfe, declaring a Vision which happened to him, sayd, That the Magistrates, as well spirituall as temporall, were no better then ministers of the diuell, that God was euery where dishonoured, Lawes contemned, truth trodden under foote, pity and mercy banished, crueltye hidde for a space time and entertainment. And therefore (sayd he) the wickednesse of the English is now compleate and growne to the height, and the reuenge and punishment thereof is shortly to follow.

This was proued true by the euent, which in a yere after, when William Duke of Normandie, called the Conquerour, came into England, whom God made the instrument and minister of his Iustice, to chastise them. For, being admitted and crowned King (prelently after the bloody battell, wherein king Harald and twentie thousand men were slaine) hee beganne to tyrannize vpon all estates: hee spoyled the Nobilitie of their lands, goods, dignities and offices, to giue the same to the Normans. He oppressed the people with infinite and intollerable taxes and impositions; hee depriued Cities, Bishoppricks and Monasteries of their immunities and priuileges, forcing them to redeeme them of him againe for great summes of money. Hee tooke from Churches and Religious houses, not onely such money as they had in store, but also the holy vessells, dedicated to Gods seruice. He abolished the olde Lawes, and ordayned new, causing them to be written in the Norman tongue, which the English vnderstood not: wherevpon there grew great confusion in the exercise thereof in all sortes of Actions and Pleas, as well criminall as ciuile, and many men wrongfully lost their lands, and goodes, and many their liues, and a gate was (at that time) opened to all iniquitie.

Furthermore, he was not content onlie to spoyle the English of their wealth, but also depriued them of their pleasures, taking from very many Noble men and Gentlemen

And in the  
King Edward  
words of this  
death, concern-  
ing the  
lines of the  
English, & the  
Conquest, follow  
in punishment  
thereof.

And in the  
King Edward  
words of this  
death, concern-  
ing the  
lines of the  
English, & the  
Conquest, follow  
in punishment  
thereof.

The tyranny  
of William  
the Conquer-  
our vpon all  
estates.

Olde Lawes  
abolished, and  
new ordained  
in the Nor-  
man tongue.

The English  
depoyled of  
their wealth  
and pleasures.  
Polydore Virg.  
lib. 2.

The extreme  
cruelty of  
William the  
Conqueror.

The English  
had not one  
day of ease,  
during the  
reigne of  
William the  
Conqueror.

The cruelty  
and avarice  
of King Wil-  
liam Rufus,  
sonne to the  
Conqueror.  
Polydore Virg.  
lib. 2.

The Prophan-  
ess of King  
Edward the  
Confessor.

The confu-  
sion of this  
Chapter, con-  
cerning the  
3. conquests  
of England,  
and the cau-  
ses thereof.

Gentlemen, their Parkes and Chales for his owne vse; but also ouerthrowing houses, Churches, Villages and whole Parishes, to make Forrests. Infomuch, that (as Polydore Virgil reporteth) to make the Chale, which now is called New Forrest, hee dispeopled and made desert all the Countrey betwixt Salisbury and the Sea side, for thirtie miles space. And when diuers of his Nobilitie (by reason of his tyrannie) rebelled against him: he tooke occasion therevpon, to vse all kinde of ferocious and crueltie, not onely vpon their persons, when they fell into his hands; but also vpon whole Countreies and Prouinces, which hee so spoyled and rancked, that they lay waste for some yeares after. Finally, his gouernement, during the time of his reigne, seemed to ayme at nothing else, but to extirpate and extinguish the race and name of the English.

Where to if we adde the frequent wars in England in his time, partly by rebellion of his Subjects, and partly by inuasion of Strangers; wee shall finde, that England had not one yere, no, not one day of ease and repose, during the one and twentie yeares of his reigne. Which calamitie also continued, or rather encreased for thirteene yeres after his death, by the succession of his sonne William Rufus, who farre exceeded his father in crueltie, avarice, oppression of his Subjects, and contempt of God and man: by reason whereof, hee was so hated of the people, that when his death was knowne (which was so sodaine, and exemplary, for he was killed by chance with an Arrow, as he was hunting) the people were so transported with ioy, that they went euery where to the Churches, to giue God thanks therefore, as for the happiest newes that euer came to England, in hope, that the last day of his life, would be the first of their libertie. If therefore we consider all this, we shall evidently see, how true the prophecy of holy king Edward proued, when he said; That England should be giuen (for a time) into the hands of euill and wicked spirits, for the sins of the Nobilitie, Clergie and People.

Heere then I conclude, that whereas the first Conquest seemes to haue proceeded, of the sins as well of the People, as of the Princes; and the second, of the offences, rather of the Princes, then of the Peo-

ple; the last was (as good King Edward testified) in punishment of the peoples sins, rather then of the Princes. Vnder which we may see the sympathy in the body politique, no lesse then in the naturall body, betwixt the head and the members in the participation for sinne, or reward for vertue. Which may serue for a motiue to all Princes and Magistrates, to haue especiall care, to auoyde the offence of God, not onely by their owne liues, but also by punishing and reforming their Subjects, lest negligence in eyther may draw GODS wrath vpon both, to the destruction of the whole Common-wealth.

## CHAP. XX.

The Battell of Gaza, fought betwene Syonabasha, Generall for Selym the great Turke; And Gazelles, Lieutenant of Tomyrboyo, the Soldane, or Sultane of Egypt. 1516.

After the death of Campson, Selym intending to inuade Egypt, sent before (from Damascus) his Generall Syonabasha into Indes, with fiftene thousand horse, and a very strong power of Harquebutters, selected out of the Ianizaries and Alapases, only to suruey that Region, and to open a passage way to Gaza; which indeed was very molestuous & troublesome, in regard of the potent Arabes. The city is leate on the sea-coast, and in the confines of Egypt, neighboring vpon the hote sandy deserts; a very hard and painefull passage, for such as iourney to the remotest Egypt, and to the City of Cayro. The people of Gaza, being destitute of warlike garissons of souldiers, to stead them in extremite of armes, entertained Syonabasha at the very first view, although in craftie and diffebling manner, giuing him many thankfull gratulations, for vouchsafing to free them from the Mamelukes intollerable flauerie; in requittall of which benefite, they promised to continue loyall and seruiceable to Selym and his successors for ever.

Now, while Syonabasha lay encamped, within an Arrow reach from the City, in expectation of Selyms coming, and practising his best meanes of vnderstanding the course of the Region and Countrey, that should allow them passage into

M m m 3 Egypt.

An admoni-  
tion to Princes  
& Magistrates

Collected out  
of Paulus Jo-  
uius.

The situati-  
on of the City  
of Gaza.

Syonabasha  
deceitfully  
welcomed  
by the Citi-  
zens of Gaza

Galilei M. Jm.  
de g. lib. 12. u.  
a. 1516.  
Polydore Virg. lib.  
2. Hen. Hunting.  
lib. 6. Roger Hoved.  
Annales. p. 1.

Galilei M. Jm.  
de g. lib. 12. u.  
a. 1516.

The en-  
viousnes  
of the Clergy  
Nobility, and  
people of  
England, at  
the time of  
the conquest  
thereof by  
the Normans.



Egypt; endeavouring beside, to compass friendship with the Arabian Commanders, and suborning certaine Spies, that went to *Cayro*, to vndermine the counsels of the *Mamlukes* and *Tomunbeyo*, whome (vpon *Campsons* death) they hadde made choise of to be their Sultane: the inhabitants of *Gaza* (being naturally extreme enemies of the present Turkish Armie) gaue *Tomunbeyo* intelligence of *Synanbasbas* coming; aduertising him withall, that this power of Turkes might easily be oppressed and destroyed, before *Selim* could arrive with his supplies: onely by sending a strong power of *Mamlukes*, vnder conduct of some skillfull Leaders, to venture vpon them at an expeditious advantage, projected in this manner. A time (in the dead of night) being concluded on, betwene themselves and the Citizens, the *Mamlukes* should make a foudaine inuasion on the sleeping Turkes, and they likewise (at the same instant) would ysse forth of the City, and ioyning with them, make vnauoidable spoile & hauock of the enemies Campe.

This aduise is allowed and embraced, betwene *Tomunbeyo* and the *Mamlukes*; and *Gazelles* sent with six thousand horse or *Mamlukes*, and a strong Armie of the *Arabs*. Scarcely was hee departed from *Cayro*, but (by certaine Syrian Spies) *Synanbasba* had aduertisement thereof, and that (not staying for any carriages) they would be there within two dayes. Now, as these newes preferred the Turkish Army, so was it of no meane moment, for compassing the intire victory of the whol warres. And although *Synanbasba* had no intelligence at all of the *Gazans* falsehood, yet (being a man of great wisdom and providence) suspecting what Treacheries might circument him, and fearing least hee might meddle with two enemies at once: resolved to meet the *Mamlukes* by the way, and so try the fortune of fight. So, dislodging after the second watch, he silently marched away out of the Cities fight, reaching fiftene miles on the way towards *Cayro*; arriuing neere to a small village, which had the benefit of a plentiful Spring there arising, and therefore was the reason of Travellers vsual lodging there.

It fortunated, that *Synanbasba* purposed to stay in that Village, and *Gazelles* had

the like intention of breathing there some few houres, to refresh both his men and horses, that he might the sooner galloppe to *Gaza* in the night time: when, euen at one instant (as it were) both the Generals received intelligence (on either side) by their vantage-couriers, that a mighty dust was raised, and the enemy neere approached. *Gazelles* became much perplexed in mind at this strange and vnlookt for accident; perceiuing apparantly, that staying of his purposed intent, hee was also vnable to match the enemy, if he should encounter with him, because his horses were halfe spent and weary. Yet had he no diffinay in courage, although he was compelled (vpon such a foudaine) to deniue what instantly might be done, for generall safety of the Army. Whereupon, he aduised euerie man to make ready his weapon; and to consider, that what could not be performed by stealth and ambush, according to a precedent intention, required now courageous resolution, and must be dispatched by manly valour.

On the other side, *Synanbasba* hauing his men sooner set in order, then *Gazelles* could doe, hauing formerly aduertised them, what was to be done on the fighes encounter; cheered all the ranks with honourable speeches. And the issue of his Oration, was, That flight must vterly be forgot, because all places round about the would be thus vp, and inuious to them, except they were victors. Moreover, of one thing to perswade themselves especially, that no man should perish that day, but he whom heauen had destinated vnto death, by the most certaine lawes of Fate; and that with equall perill, the Valiant should finde safety in midst of the enemies swords, and also the fearfull, death in their very safest flight, through the power of inuincible lot.

The Harquebusers were in the wings, & were extended forth in length with a single array, and no man standing nere to another, for handling their Harquebusses the more freely, and to compass the enemy: but the Pikes were placed in the very midst, to sustaine the impression of the *Mamlukes*. But *Gazelles* approaching, sent the Arabian troopes before, to disturbe the Wings; and he himself (with a square battaile) charged the middle regiment of the Turkes. The fight was very cruel, and long

One instant happened to both the Generals, of flying at one and the same place.

The resolve of *Gazelles* in this unexpected distress.

*Synanbasba* his encouraging speeches to his soldiers.

The managing of the fight, vnder battaile with great facility on Synanbasbas side.

## CHAP. XXI.

Of three severall Battails, fought in the years 1516. and 1517. betwene Selym the Great Turke and Tomunbeyo, the great Sultan of Egypt.



*S*elym hauing received intelligence, that *Synanbasba* had surprized *Gaza*, overthrowne *Gazelles*, and had receiued a fresh supply of men by Sea, from *Constantinople*, for his owne further seruice he marched with all his Army towards *Gaza*, and (within eight dayes more) recovered so farre as \* *Cayro*, reputed to be the Sultanes cheefe seat, *Synanbasba* still marching a daies iourney before him.

About the distance of fixe miles from the City, there was a smal village, named *Rhodania*, whereto *Tomunbeyo* (the newe made Sultane) had conueyed all his provision and furniture of great Ordnance, hauing made also ditches, crosse thwarting the plaine fieldes, and high wayes: which ditches were covered ouer with light earth, and small sticke, artificially shadowing them. But himselfe, with his *Mamlukes* (who were about twelue thousand) and a great number of Arabian horsemen, fitted for the intent, kept in a place better beleeping: that when the Turkes Army should drawe neere, they might be there entrapt and beaten downe by the vndiscoverable Ordnance, ere they could come to reach the Egyptians with their Harquebusses; and then this stratagem hauing round engirt them, hee had the advantage of immediate fight, they being vterly disioyned, and fallen into the snare prepared for them.

So cunningly and proudly were these matters ordered, and perfected with such answerable opportunity, that not a man in the Army could imagine, or vge any doubt of the dayes victory. And questionlesse, no meane disaster had mette with the Turkes: but that the giddie headed Goddesse Fortune, ouer-friendly to *Selym*, and cruelly vnkinde to *Tomunbeyo*,

Collected out of Paulus Iovius.

\* A City in Egypt, not farre from the Nile Delta.

A cunning ambushado, prepared by Tomunbeyo, to entrapt his enemy.

In stratagems of warre neuer so artificially ordered, Fortune still will be a stickler.

*Synanbasba* releued his army, being on the point of flight.

Victory inclined vnto the Turkes, Fortunes turning on *Gazelles*, and his forces.

*Synanbasba* could not greatly boast of this Victory, following a great losse.



as had not the worthy paines of the *Mamlukes*, bin treacherously disappointed) onely through the meanes of a few perfidious Varlets, plainly had appeared.

As in all Armies there neuer wantes Villaines, so in the Sultanes were foure *Mamlukes*, borne *Albanijes*, who stiffly stomacked, that *Tomumbejo* (by suffrages of the contrary faction) was advanced to the dignity royall. And they, either impelled by lewd disposition, or adducted by hope of rewarde, and more bountifull respect, foreseeing their owne side to fall on wracke, and wisedome aduising, to seeke for new and more assured Friends: fled to *Synanbasha*, as to their chiefe Turkish Capitaine and Countriman. By these horsemen *Synanbasha*, and (soon after) *Selym*, understood all the counsels & intents of the enemy, and what an Ambuscado *Tomumbejo* had prepared for them, with singular subtilty and dexterious Art, vnavoidable from falling into, except they forooke the high and direct way. Whereupon, being guided by these Fugitiues, they fetched a great compasse about on the left hand, and (before breake of day) recovered their old wonted way, hauing their battels ranged, their Ordinance ready mounted, to auoyde the least delay of fight, and so shewed themselves at the enemies rewarde, and neuer coming neere the front of their Campe.

When *Tomumbejo* saw this, he coniectured by his enemies march, that (by his owne mens treason) his provided ambush was discouered. And albeit his mind was afflicted with marchesse greefe, to see so painfull an employment of his men, and so full of expectation, to be in a moment vtterly defeated: yet notwithstanding, he being a man of vnconquerable courage, called all his senses and valour to sodaine counsell, and summoning his Capitaines about him, gaue present order for those things which were to be done. And now was *Tomumbejo* in so narrow a strait and necessity, that all things, and at one instant, must receiue order from him. Hee was to giue the signall to his Soldiers, for mounting on horse-backe, vsing their weapons, turning the course of his camp, ranging his battailes, encouraging his men, and conueying his Ordinance to contrary quarters, as the occasion required. All which things, as one Capitaine could not

performe alone, but very hardly and confusedly, so must they neede be effected as rawly, peruerfly, and to halffes, by manie indiscreet vnder takers.

But that which most hindered speedie performance, was the huddling of men together, for removing the Ordinance from place to place, (they being ill-fauoured huge pieces, made of Iron, and sette in great stockes of Wood, with Iron ringes, after the rude and nauall forme of Workmanship, vfed in elder times: and so, by reason of their excessiue waight, could not be carried from their places, but by the draught of many beastes; besides, great heauing with iron Crowes and Leauers, requiring greuous labour of men. And the other great Field-peeces, mounted on carriages with wheeles, being drawne by the wiselesse and hasty multitude, with great clamor of such as haled and shoued them through all parts of the Campe: the tumultuous passage of them, disordered men mounted on their horses, and the Souldiers repairing to their ensignes: yet two maine helps equalled these hindring difficulties; namely, the chearefulnessse of the soldiers, and the singular constancy of them all, almost beyond the compasse of mans beleefe: because they had not conceiued so much as a thought of feare, nor faile in their hopefull hearts, as it commonly happeneth in sodain aduersé chances, whereby old tryed soldiers do manie times forget their ancient valour. For, being twice before vanquished in battel, yet they refused the greater confidence and courage: perswading themselves, that not valour or skill in fight, but onely fortune fayled them.

Nowe, when *Tomumbejo* had set his men in good order, and the soldiers (with earnest desire of fight) requested the signall: he commanded the multitude of the *Arabians*, to bring their winges about on the reere of the enemy, and to beginne the fight first, that the Turkish horsemen might be troubled and disordered with a doubtfull danger of fight, before himselfe would issue forth with his selected troops. Strait way he commanded the great Ordinance (which by this time was brought about, and directed against the enemies) to bee shot off. And immediately the Turkes did the like; who had once discharged their smaller and greater peeces, when they

The best capacity of a General, or Commander, is well tried in warre.

Many inconveniences happen thorough want of discrete and orderly Military discipline.

A great comfort to a General, when his Soldiers contain their chearefull disposition.

*Tomumbejo* prepareth his troops to give the enemies battell.

they were a iust distance off, and quickly re-charging them, had brought the within an Arrowes shoote of the *Egyptians* Ordinance, fighting a long time on either side, onely with discharging their Ordinance, while the Armies approached neerer. In which contention, almost all the *Egyptians* Gunners were slain, and most of their Artillery dismounted from their wheeles, beeing broken in peeces by violence of the enemies bullets.

The Turke had very skilfull Gunners in his Campe, whom he had allured (by his great rewarde, and rich entertainment) out of *Italy* and *Germany*, and especially many out of the *Jewes* rable, who beeing expelled by the piety of King *Ferdinand* out of the *Spaines*; brought afterwarde such rare and vnused deadly Artes into all the East, to spee our men withall. The Capitaine or cheefe man of all these Gunners, was one *James*, borne at *Reggio* in *Lombardie*, a man of extraordinary skill in those Artes, who being enticed by Turkish giftes: had (a little before) forsaken the seruice of Christ, and reuolued vnto *Mahomet*s superstition. The fight beeing brought (on both sides) to handy strokes, the *Mamlukes* raised a cruel and horrible cry, and in three quarters, charged the Turkes with great valour: For *Selym* (keeping his old order) so marched, that hee approached in the forme of a Crescent. The Capitaine of the *Asians* in the right Wing, was *Mustapha*, and *Innubasha* of the *Europeans* in the left: but himselfe gouerned the middle battell, wherein was the squadron of the *Ianizaries*, with a great multitude of Ordinance.

But *Synanbasha* being made General of the ficke, had chosen for himselfe a band of the valiantest men, taken and pickt out of all the companies, to serue for all vncertaine euent of the battaile. Where hee added (out of *Selym*s squadron) fiftie hundred foote of extraordinary valor and swiftnesse, that hee being ready in all places of the battaile, and for all chaunces (were they neuer so sodaine) might succour that part of his fellowes, which was most pressed by the enemy. So that almost at one time, when *Tomumbejo* had stood in the middle battaile against *Selym*, and the wings of the *Mamlukes*, had encountered the Turkish with equall Front, and the *Arabians* had fought valiantly at

their backs, as they had beene commanded; foure fights were very furiously and hotly attached at one time, and in diuerse distinct places.

They that were present at this battell, do report, that thorough the cries of the Soldiers, the noise of Drums and Trumpets, the thundering of the Artillery, the clouds of dust, and clashing of Weapons, all mens minds were so amazed and confounded, that they, being all on both sides alike blinded with furie, rushed on with such deperate madnesse, that neyther could the voices and watch wordes bee heard or knowne one from another, nor the Ensignes scene, nor commandes of Capitaines be regarded; but euen (by mutual error) they flew a great number both of their owne fellowes, and also of their enemies, without any respect at all. For neuer before that day, had any armies encountered together, enflamed with greater spleene and hatred; nor euer had two such mighty Emperors, more constantly and feruently declared their valour both of body and minde; nor with lesse care of life and safety. For, when both of them plainly perceiued, that with like daunger of themselves and their Armies, they had set their liues and Empires vpon present ruine: they also well understood, that there would be no other hope lesse to eyther of them, but that which victorie it selfe should bring with it.

Now *Gazeller* enflamed with desire of honor and reitenge, to returne the *Europeans* a foile equall to that which hee had receiued at *Gaza*, charging *Innubasha* with great violence, had ouer-run the foremost and resisting troopes; had beaten downe the *Guidons*: and the *Arabes* pursuing on hard at his heeles, had made the vanquishing companies (euen those of the *Thracians*, *Thessalians*, and *Macedons*) to turne their backs, which neuer any enemy had done before.

Then *Synanbasha*, beeing readie for all occasions of victorie, flew vpon the side of the enemy, with a fresh and powerfull company of his men, re-enforcing the battell, which was much declined & foully scattered. But anon after, *Synanbasha*, who had discontinued the manifest victory of the enemy, by exercising a supreme acte of prowesse, was slain, fighting verie valiantly before his men, after that the

houre fightes at one time in foure distinct places.

Credible reports concerning this dreadfull battell.

The mad and desperate fury of both the Armies, as the liud was neuer heard of.

The courage of *Gazeller* in hope of following his enemy.

*Synanbasha* slaine fighting valiantly before his men.

Maml.

Foure trecherous *Mamlukes* defeated *Tomumbejo*s hope of the ambush.

Prevention of perill is no means helpe in accidents of Armes.

A discrete that would trouble the braine of the best soldier in the world.

*Mamlukes* (vnder their fierce Captayne *Bido*) had turned themselves proudly on their new enemy. And his horsemen striving to take vp their dead captaines body from the ground, were (a great number of them) slaine and put to flight by *Gazelles*, who had spread abroad his troupes, that hauing the more spacious roome, they might the more freely vse their swords; in which kinde of fight the *Mamlukes* doe most excell. And also that noble band of *Ianzaries*, being enclosed, were ouer-runne & slaine; after that they (being forsaaken of the horsemen) had long time resisted very valiantly.

In another quarter, *Musapha* giuing a vehement charge with all his horse, vpon the left wing of the *Egyptians* (wherin commaunded the most renowned captaines *Hylus Diadarius* and *Giapall Orcomas*) very sharply vtged them. A litle before they had receiued a notable detriment, by the Ordinance, which (by chaunce) was shot fro *Selyms* middle battell thwart the field; which *Musapha* perceiving, and being desirous to trample on olde ignominy, they being once disordered, constrained them fiercely, & bringing in his troupes freshly vpon them, brake thorow ouer-ranne and beat them downe. And being remarkeable all the battell ouer, both by his Armes and voyce: adhorted the *Asians* to consider, that their ancient martiall honor, they lately lost at the battell of *Alepo*, must be recovered now by height of manhood, or (at vitermost) by an honourable death.

At the same time also, *Tomumbeyo*, hauing broken through the middle regiment of horse, was come to the foot, and being a mighty man both in body and strength, performed infinite actions of worth with his Cemitarie: the *Arabians* likewise enclosed the outer-wings of the *Turkes*, forcing them (in many places) to fight with double front. And *Selym* aduanced forward his foote-squadron, which was his onely and assured helpe in this extremitie, whose charge, neither the fierce barded horse, nor the victors men could abide: because most part of his Souldiers being harquebussiers, and being impaled with pikes, did much mischiefe, for their immouable force, being closed into the array of one body, bare downe all that they encountered. Yet they fought with variable euert on both sides, from the fourth houre

of the day, till Sun-set, neither was there any part of eyther Armie, but suffered sundry alterations, Fortune being some while prosperous, and then againe aduersed. For, both the vanquished & victors, becoming maddened with mutuall & implacable rage, fought with obdinate & inordinate hearts; the *Mamlukes* disdainig, that victorie should be taken from them, by men (of whom) they had slaine so many: and the *Turkes* chafing, that they whom they had before foiled in two seuerall battells, should make so long resistance against them. In somuch, that their bodies, wearied and tired with wounds, and their armes faintly languishing, yet supported onely by furie & pertinacy of heart, seemed able to haue maintained another daies murdering, but that dark snit vp the violence of so great a slaughter.

*Tomumbeyo*, who (no doubt) was vanquished, distrustig the entire losse of the field, first commanded retreat to be sounded, that his men, who now could not match the other Squadron, might seeme not to haue bin beaten backe, but onely to be led backe: which he conceived to be of no meane moment, both for the establishing of his souldiers, & maintenance of his owne authority. As one that being deceived in his first hope, might promise himselfe (as men in misery commonly do) more prosperous successe afterward, provided, that he fainted not in corage. Whereupon, perseruig those few powers left him, he intended a fresh reparation of warre. The battell being broken off by the nights countermad, the *Turkes* being victors, won the enimies tents and Ordinance, pursued the *Mamlukes* still very late in the night, albeit (almost in manner of flight) they marched towards *Cayro*.

In the flight were taken *Diadarius*, who could make no speed, by reason of his grievous wounds, and with him *Bidon*, hauing one of his knees broke with a falcon-shot, which also slue his horse. But the next day, *Selym* caused them both to be slaine, either in regard they could not be healed, or as thinking them to be acceptable sacrifices for appeasing *Synanbasba*; for whose losse hee greatly lamented. Now albeit the *Turkes* had nobly vanquished, yet was their strength mightily empayed, and by the means of these fortunate battells, wherein the 4. part of them was spent with sicknesse

Variable and fluctuating alike in both the Armies, from the 4. houre of the day till Sun-set.

Retreat was first sounded in the Campe of *Tomumbeyo*.

The hope of *Tomumbeyo* for better success in a second battell.

*Diadarius* and *Bidon* taken and slaine by *Selym* commaund.

sicknesse and wounds, and a great number of their Horses vtterly foyled, especially through the tediousnesse of this daies seruice.

These were maine motiues, to hinder *Selym* in his wonted course of expedition, because (as yet) he was ignorant, what deuotion the *Egyptian* inhabitants of *Cayro* bare towards him; neither did rumour afford him any intelligence, where *Tomumbeyo* had bestowed himselfe, or what hee further intended. For, till he had deliberately considered on all these occasions, he would not adventure the safety of his owne person, and perill of his whole Armie, to the mercy of innumerable Citizens, and in the greatest Cittie of the world. Wherefore, abiding foure dayes space in his old Campe at *Rhodania*, causing the wounded to be cured, and his slaine souldiers to be buried: but the bodies of his enemies, he left to be deuoured by Birds and Beasts. And then dislodging chence, and marching towards *Cayro*; he encamped on a plain, between old *Cayro* and *Bulach*: for the City of *Cayro* is diuided into three Townes; old *Cayro*, new *Cayro*, and *Bulach*, for their more commodious seruice of warre.

*Selym* refresheth his weary Army four daies at *Rhodania*.

The valiant corage of *Tomumbeyo*, notwithstanding all his grievous miseries & losses.



*Omumbeyo*, being all this while nothing bruised, notwithstanding so many lamentable losses and disasters; still assembled together the *Mamlukes* from all parts, and pitched his Campe in a most commodious place, between new *Cayro* and the riuer *Niles*, wherein he had eight thousand *Ethiopian* slaues or bondmen, which kinde of men he had not (till then) made any vse of, in regard of an ancient Rebellion by them committed. Beside, setting open the old Armory, he gaue armor and weapons to the *Mamlukes* sonnes, and to *Moors* which were their retainers, as also to the *Iewes* and *Arabians*, preparing for farre

sharper warre against the *Turkes*, then formerly had bene. But afterward, hauing intended a sodaine camifado vpon the Turkish Campe, and the same againe vnicely discovered to the *Turkes* (who being readily prepared for it, repelled (though with some losse) his foremost ranks; he by the aduice of all his Captaines, entred the City of *Cayro*.

The motiue heere to was, because the *Mamlukes* (hauing bene foyled in all precedent battailes) considered with themselves, that they must now make warre after some other manner of way: & in that regard, aduised him to fortifie the Cittie, placing strong Courts of guard in the most conuenient parts thereof, to hinder euery way their enemies entrance. And being in this lamentable condition, that they must needs fight for their houses, wiues, and children; they helde it highly honourable, and answerable to the glorie of their ancient valour, to dye fighting in their fight, and euen before their owne doores.

Heereupon, each *Mamluke* going to his own house, furnished all his household, and the very toppe of his house with all kinde of weapons: instantly also entreating the *Egyptians* in each ward & streete to take Armes against the common cruell enemy, not suffering themselves to be slaine, and their wiues and children carried away as slaues. For (quoth they) if the sauage and insatiate enemy do winne the victory, as accidents of warre are alwayes doubtfull: no spare will be made, no not of such as beare themselves but indifferently, leaning in help to neither side; because victory swelles with such insolent licence, as he respects not any man. But such as (without doubtful staggering) run desperately to assist his fortune, when war stands vpon vncertaine successe.

Most of the *Egyptians* that were rich and wealthy, as they did well foresee, that alteration in the State and Empire would be very hurtfull, and bring great losse and hinderance to their wealth and Traffike: so, in deuotion and helpe, they were not failing to the *Mamlukes*. As on the contrary, most of the poorer Citizens, and no meane multitude of the worse sort (who, being voide of danger, do euermore gaine by others losses) remembering all the villanies and extreme oppressions, which they had

His proiects and intentions alwayes were unfortunately discovered.

The *Mamlukes* resolved to dye in the fight of their wiues & children.

Victorie admitted more speed of persons.

The baser sort make their best benefit by fishing in troubled streames.

Heyliss Diadarius and Giapall Orcomas, two famous Captaines of the *Egyptians*.

The vndoubtedly spirit of *Tomumbeyo* in the thick of the charge.

had suffered (for the space almost of three hundred yeares) vnder the *Mamlukes*, in very wofull and wretched slavery, they kept themselves within doores, awaying for the fights successe: iocondly hoping, that the time was now come, for punishing their proud oppressors, and that reuenge would be sought by the blond of strangers; the issue sorting so, that they eyes should be satisfied, with a pleasing & long expected spectacle.

In the meane time, *Tomumbeyo* with most indulgent care and labour, fortified the gates, and all the waies of the Cities entrance, appointing Captaines for euery street. In euery market place, Court, and assembly of people, he made very witty and perswasive Orations, permitting no idle loytering in the workes: and finally (which is saide to be the hardest matter in distresse and danger) he carried an vnappalled countenance, deliuering signes of extraordinary hope and valour no way to be daunted. But the *Mamlukes*, ouer and aboue necessity (which in extremitie makes men mad and desperate; yea, kindleth courage in errant Cowards) being stirred vp by emulation: did speedily and courageously execute the duties and offices of worthy Captaines; for euerie one of them, as his wit and inuention best instructed him, made trenches thwart the moit passable streetes, laying also great Logges of Timber crosse vpon them. Others, made priuy pits and holes, with sharpe-pointed stakes surely fastened in them, whereon the enemies vnawarily falling, might gore and split themselves. Others likewise fitted the houses and Windows of euery turning streete, with such plenty of shot as their store and ability afforded; and all these things were performed with such expedition, as no man (not the very *Mamlukes*) made it nice, or strained courtisie, to take the pickaxe & spade, or to do any seruile seruicable Worke: whereby it appeared, that nothing could be thought deuised, but it was as expeditiously effected.

The buisie employment of the *Mamlukes* against their enemies, without any curiosity, or forme of taking paines,

The great City of Cayro was not enclosed with wals.

Now, although the City (being verie great and old) had no wals to enclose it; yet there were Gates, and but certayne wayes for entering into it, one whereof was a direct and very broad street, leading from the East gate to the Castle, and into the middelt of the City. The rest of the

wayes wer but very narrow streets or passages, somewhat vnshightly and disgracefull, where no Ordnance could be drawn, nor an aranged battell meete with his oppositie. Into this maine way or streete had *Tomumbeyo* especially brought a power, because he well perceiued, that their enemy would couet entrance, in regarde of the spacious admittance. But the other quarters of the City further off, hee kept with small guards: yet the inner & middle part, where the Castle stood, was guarded with a sufficient power, for the better supply of all other places, where the enemies cry, or their owne fellows perill might call their assistance. For the Citie, being the greatest of all other, with so final a power, could not be defended round about, namely, wayes lying open into it in euery place.

When *Selym* had received certaint intelligence, that *Tomumbeyo* was entred *Cayro*, and all the *Mamlukes* (gathering their strength into one maine head) would try the utmost fortune of warre: hee marched with his Army neerer to the Citie. All the way he encouraged his troopes, to consider with themselves aduisely, that now they must intend an entire conquest of those Enemies, whom they had already so often vanquished; and to take a little the more paines, that their victorious rewards, might be answerable vnto their braue endeavour, for which they had formerly coueted with immoderate desires. So pausing a while, and commanding a Trumpet to summon general silence, thus againe he proceeded.

### A brieue Oration of Selym, to his Souldiers.

*Friends, and Fellowes in Armes, let mee intreat you to remember, that there remaineth now but a few wretched men, with a few naked Kings, who, being lately spent with wounds and feare, were not able to endure the field, but flying thence cowardly, haue verily determined, to expect at home (in the sight of their wiues and children) the supreme and last cast of a miserable life.*

*Moreover the Egyptians (of their owne accord) haue sent for me: for they deadly ha-*

One maine or chiefe streete in the City, all the rest but slender passages.

*Selym* arrie marcheth on toward great *Cayro*.

He encourageth them by their late receyued good successe.

ting the *Mamlukes* very name: doe with greedy desire expect their destruction, and promise to fight from their owne houses, vnto to destroy the race of those wicked savage men. Neuertheless, the absolute victory of the whole war, consisteth in vnter vanquishing the remnants of the defeated, & thoroughly affrighted Army; because they cannot be accounted as overcome, that are yet hopefull in Armes, and possesse the seat of the Empire, euen the greatest Citie thereof.

The entrance of *Selym* into *Cayro* at Bassel gate, and manner of his further proceeding.

The souldiers foules were on fire with desire of spoile, and being all readily ranked, wanted but the signal for irruption. While *Selym* entring at Bassel gate, sent in his horse troopes at many places at once: but the Ianizaries entred at the broader passage, where the horse (on eyther side) meeting together, a cruell & bloody fight began in the turning streets, and narrow lanes. The foar, haling out their Falcons and Culuerings before them in the front; flanked all the streetes with them as they went along, making them naked of anie defendants. But when they came to the munitions and trenches, labouring to remove the logges and beames, which were great hinderances vnto their passage: the *Mamlukes* gaue them very valiant resistance, and either side shewed such rare courage and valour: as neuer (in our memory) did men encounter more fiercely & bloodily. For both the *Mamlukes* and Turkes stode on their highest tearmes of manhood, vying all their cunning flights & policies of war, in this one deadly dangerous fight; neither part being ignorant, that this was the last hope of life and Emphyre, Fortune equally and indifferently presenting them with honorable rewards for the Conqueror, and shamefull disgrace for the vanquished.

The great harm done by the ambushed trenches and downfalls.

Mighty slaughter was made at the munitions, by reason that the Turkes rashly running vpon the couered trenches, pits, and downfalls, were ouerthrown on heaps one vpon another, the hindmost thrusting them on that were before; others, being gored & spited on sharpe pointed stakes: vpon which aduantage, the *Mamlukes* wiues and children (with man-like hardiness) hurled and tumbled down tiles and great stones on them thus ouerthrowne beneath, beating out the braines of verie many. On the contrary side, the Turkes

with their Harquebusses, fetcht off such as they saw in the windowes, & on the houes, breaking open the doores where any harmfull thing was throwne downe, and fighting in those houses with diuerse euenes. Also the Egyptians, beholding fortune now on the one side, and then againe turned to the other, assayed both sides alike as equal enemies, leaning where the lot of victory was likeliest to happen, that they might appeare onely to haue assisted that part, and thought vnter enemy to the other.

A cunning crafty manner of fighting in the Egyptians

Many encounters happened in diuers quarters at once, and according to their confused running in the streets, now this company, then that, lighting vpon fresh and new troopes of enemies: & they that constrained the victors in the Front, were often intercluded by the aduerser part, and beaten downe in the Rere. It was a wofull sight to beholde, the distances betweene house and house, ouer-flowing with reeking blood, which ranne out of the slaine mens bodies, as there they lay mangled & dismembred on heapes: that the Dust, which rose like a thicke mist or dark cloud before, was now laide therewith, and not to be seene at all. Notwithstanding, the ayre was meely darkened with the smoake of the Ordnance and lesser Artillerie, as also clouds of Arrowes shot from their bowes: and so great was the cry and clamour among the souldiers, the clattering of weapons, and thundering of the Cannons, that the very earth seemed to groan and tremble, and the houses were rent & torne in peeces. They fought continually two dayes and two nights, with doubtfull fortune, and slender apparence of aduantage on either side: but only that the *Mamlukes* (being few in number, and not able to endure labour and watching) had retreated themselves by little and little, into the inner parts of the City, vnterly forsaking the foremost munitions.

The extremity of a thicke rising dust alayed by the blood of slaine mens bodies.

They fought two dayes and two nights continually.

The third day, when the *Mamlukes* were in the very pitch of perill of losing their whole estate, and all that they had, (which case usually augmenteth supreme enterprizes) chearing vp the hearts and endeouours of all men, they renewed the fight with such surpassing valor, that they droue the Turkes a great way backe, and intercepted certaine of their Faulcons. Which accident, made *Selym* to despair

N n n of

Selym despairing of victory, committed to let the houses on fire.

of victory, so that hee commanded to set the houses on fire in all places: iust wrath against the Egyptians, compelling him to that cruell proclamation, because (in his very sight, and but a little before) *Innubys* was greuously wounded in the head, by a great stone thrown down from a window.

Now were the houses on a flaming fire, now was nothing heard but wayling and weeping of the suppliant entreating Egyptians: and now the Turkes fighting somewhat faintly, expected that retreat should be founded: when sodainly newes was brought by many men together, that in another quarter, the *Mamlukes* being beaten from their stand, and defeated by enforcing *Mustapha*, repoled theyr latest refuge in flight. For *Mustapha* thorough the intimation of certaine Egyptians, and fugitive *Mamlukes*, came to a very large streete, where the *Mamlukes* had placed their horses ready bridled and saddled; intending, that if any ill hap befell the, their recourse might bee thither, where taking their horses, they might escape to places of further determination. He got all those horses, and led them away, hauing chased their guides within a part of the citie, nothing suspected, which was very weak, & defended by none but boyes and horsekeepers.

Which accident (as commonly it happeneth in serious and v unexpected chances) did wonderfully weaken their valour and resolution, wherefore when they wer thus defeated in their hope of flight, and they so roundly about, that the fight could be maintained by no other helpe or comfort, but only meere manhood: being as men vanquished by their own confession, they turned their backs. Many making hast to *Nilus* with *Tomumbeyo* (who had in vaine tried all Art of valiancie, wisdom, and policy, to auoide the foile in this battaile) passing ouer the river by boats, went into the Region of *Seietica*. Another multitude hid themselves in the Egyptians houses, and in most shamefull lurking denes. But about 1500. of the valiantest *Mamlukes*, fled vnto the greatest Temple of the Citie; where after they had long time defended themselves, as out of a castle, because they would not yeeld but vpon honorable termes: at length, being confounded with thirst, wearines, wounds

and the Ordnance violently playing still vpon them, they submitted themselves to the will and pleasure of the Conquerour. Part of them were presently slaine before the Temple, by the angry souldiers of *Selym*, he politickly winking thereat; & another part (some few dayes after) were carried downe the riuier to *Alexandria*.

The victory thus standing for *Selym*, he sent two bands to quench the fires, and proclamations were made thorough all parts of the Citie, that all the *Mamlukes* which would come in and yeelde themselves, and within the limitation of twelve houres space, should be secured from any further harme. But all such as were found after that time, should dye for their refusal, and large rewards were promised to all the Egyptians, that could disclose the lurking *Mamlukes*. Contrarywise, such as hid or concealed any of them, were presently put to be spitted vpon stakes, & selling their wiues and children as slaues, to burn their houses to the ground. Vpon the same of this Proclamation, a great number of them came abroad, who were instantly put in yrons, & afterwards all most cruellly slaine in prison; because they were said to haue practised an escape. But diuers, who would not violate the rites of faith and friendship by betraying their friends, being accused by their neighbors, suffered losse of life, dying very constantly for their friends.

After this, the souldiers encreasing their fury, vpon the pride of this victory, searching all places; drew violently out all such as were hidden, and presently slewe them, spoiling also the Egyptians houses where they were found, leauing no place shut or concealed from them. And the very same day it hapned, that *Gazelles* came to *Cayro*; who had bene sent (a little before) into *Thebus*, to leuy Arabians, & to hire aides. But seeing the cate to bee quite changed, and that he was able to do no good either by his person or aduice; hee came with three Arabian Captaines, and many horse with them, and yeeked himselfe to *Selym*; who entertained him and all his traine very honourably, euery man according to his degree and merit.

CHAP.

The victorie favouring Selym, although hee had then his followers to quench the flames.

A cruell manner of the Mamlukes in prison, after that they had yielded them selves.

The coming of Gazelles to Cayro, & his submission to Selym.

## CHAP. XXII.

Of the third and last Battell fought at Nilus, betwene *Tomumbeyo* and *Selym*, with the ill successe and disgracefull death of *Tomumbeyo*, and hard fate of his *Mamlukes*.



Called also Pentapolis, of the five Cities, Beroe, Arsinoe, Ptoemias, Apollonia, & Cyrene.

The proud insolence of the Turkes, vpon the Citizens, made them very contemptible.

The coming of Albuohmar to Selym, although hee had then the intentions of *Tomumbeyo*.

**B**UT *Tomumbeyo*, being fled (as ye haue heard) ouer the Riuier of *Nilus*, into that region which is called *Seietica*, lying towards *Cyrenai*, although with so many disastrous mishaps he had formerly bin vanquished, yet still hee made a couragious reparation of the war. For, there was come to him a potent supply of *Mamlukes* fro *Alexandria*, being sent for by letters out of the Cittie Garrisons, and many more also followed him in flight. Beside, the *Arabians* of *Africa* repaired to him, and the *Moors* likewise which were inhabitants of that country, promising him their vttermost fauour and helpe. Nay more, diuers Egyptians of *Cayro*, whose houses and people had bin spoiled and dishonest, by the couetous and luxurious Turkes, gaue faith also, that they would raise a tumult and insurrection, if he would speedily come thither in the dead of night; whereby might be compassed, that such Turkes as were lodged in the Citie houses, might sodainly be destroyed by inuasion of all the people together. For the Citizens, hauing suffered by them all abhominable and enemy-like parts, could no longer endure the injuries of such proude and malapart oppressors. Further they alledged, that the Turkes, being (before) a potent army, were now reduced to a contemptible number: for, a great part of them were slaine in the battels at *Rhodania* and *Cayro*, and well-neere all the rest were spent with woundes and sickness.

While *Tomumbeyo* was thus busied about his needfull preparations, *Albuohmar* the very great mar (for authority, lands, & riches) in all *Seietica*, came to *Selym*: eyther to prevent the mischief of imminent warre, to the no meane peril of his coun-

tre, or else to win the victors fauour by Treason: and acquainted him not only with the new collected powers of *Tomumbeyo*, but also with the practises concluded among the Citizens of *Cayro*. Which when *Selym* vnderstood, he caused stricke and strong watch and ward, to bee planted in all parts of the Citie; commanding also, that the suspected Citizens should be kept in the Castle, which (vpon the Garrisons forsaking it) very easily hee surprized. Furthermore, in diuers places along the riuier of *Nilus*, he ordered a great number of vesselles, well furnished with Ordnance and souldiers, to defend the further course of the riuier.

Neuerthelesse, considering aduisedly with himselfe, how perillously he had often fought with most valiant enemies, and how difficult it would be for him to intercept *Tomumbeyo*, who (by sight) still into waste and vknowne Regions prolonged the Vwarre, still getting fresh and new supplies. Considering also, that his owne power was so small, and so far from succour, as it might easily bee oppressed in that mighty Citie, by huge multitudes of men of vncertaine Faith. Vpon these discrete considerations, hee desired rather to conclude the Vwarre by some honest composition, then by forcible further contending, to entangle himselfe in new dangers.

And so much the rather, because hee had intelligence by them of *Seietica*, that fresh Companies of Horse were leuyed from all partes by the *Mamlukes*, which had fledde into diuers Regions: and the Naue likewise, which was sent into the streights of the Red Sea, in the Arabian Gulfe against the *Portugals*, stood now vpon the hopefull expectation at *Porte Suezia*.

In the Nauy were about three thousand *Mamlukes*, and *Amyrasser*, and *Ray Salomon*, all very expert Captaines: and a great number of brasse Peeces: whereby it appeared, that *Tomumbeyo* might gather ability, to repaire his former received injuries, and so returne againe to the Citie, being sent for thither by his friends.

But the maine motiue of all, was his care of the *Persian* affairs, lest *Hunbraco* (a whom he had sent before to the mountaine *Taurus*) should not prouue able to match the *Persian* power, whereby hee

N n n 2 should

Selyms prouision to withstand *Tomumbeyo*.

Selyms serious deliberation concerning his owne dangerous condition.

Fresh companies of Horse leuyed by the *Mamlukes*.

The cheefe matter that moved *Selym* to seek composition with *Tomumbeyo*.

The effect of the charge given to the Ambassadors.

The Ambassadors barbarously murdered.

A bridge builded over *Nilus* by *Selym*.

*Tomumbeyo* distrusted the Provincials continuance to him.

should be excluded out of the lesser *Asia* and *Syria*, before the Fleet from *Constantinople* could come to *Alexandria*, with new supply of Victuals and souldiers. Hereupon, he sent very honorable men of the Cleargy, and likewise certaine Egyptians of great estimation amongst them, as Ambassadors from him vnto *Tomumbeyo*. The effect of their Commission was briefly thus. To counsell him for a cessation from Armes, and now (at length) to acknowledge the Victors great fortune, engaging their faith to him, that if (in suppliant manner) he would come to *Selym*; by humanity and fauour of the Conqueror, he should quietly enjoy the kingdom, which he was not able to hold by power. But if hee would proceede and continue Warre, carelessly forgetting his owne weakenesse: then, when warres fortune was thoroughly found and determined; according to his iust desert, he should expect no condition of dignity or life, at displeased *Selyms* hands. These Ambassadors being come into *Seiectica*, were (with frantick and barbarous cruelty) all slaine by certaine *Mamlukes*, before they had any audience.

Which proud and cruell deede, brake off all further patience in *Selym*, who was a man by nature (though not otherwise moued) extraordinarily vehement and fierce. Immediately he proclaimed a voyage into *Seiectica* against *Tomumbeyo*, commanding victuals and other prouision for it. Moreouer, he gathered Boats from all parts, causing a sure and a very broad bridge to be built ouer *Nilus* river: as allowing it neyther answerable vnto his dignitie, nor suiting with the vrgent occasion, to make his passage ouer with Boats.

When *Tomumbeyo* had intelligence by his Spies, as also from the Citizens of *Cayro*, that such an intention was prepared against him, and so strong a Bridge made ouer *Nilus*; hee (doubting the vnfaitfulness of the Provincials, whose hearts he feared to be revolted from him, by the treacherous departure of *Albuchmar*) determined to try the selfe-same fortune of battell, which had so oftentimes deceived his hopes. For, he being inferior in all things, could not now lengthen out the war, nor make expectation of his enemy: neither did he hold it good for him,

to fly againe with losse of his dignity, and thorough farther wildernesses of hazardous aduenture, and dangerous successe.

Wherefore, consulting with his Captaines & Commanders, concerning this last attempt, which he and his *Mamlukes* were to make, by breake of day he departed fro *Seiectica*, accompanied with 4000. horse, and twice so many Moores and Arabes foot, continuing trauel night & day till they came to *Nilus*, that (by a bolde and sodaine aduenture) he might deceyue the Turkes, who (as he vnderstood) suspected no such forwardnes, in weake, vanquished, & more then halfe dismayed men, whereas celerity would forfall any fame of his vnluck for comming; so to destroy part of the Turkish power, which first had aduentured ouer the river, before they could receive succour by their following Fellowes. Nor did the space of time beguile his opinion, because the hours (being truly accounted) made iust agreement with his speedy march thither, and even as hee formerly coniectured so fel it out, that the vaw-ward of the *Asians* had alreadye past the River. But the Muletters and boyes of *Selyms* Camp, seeking for the pleasantest places for pitching their Tents, rauaging ouer fare, were the first that descried the dust of the approaching enemy: whereof *Mustapha* being certified, the alarm was presently given.

This rumour so danted all hearts with feare, both of them that had alreadye passed the river, and theirs also which stood ready to follow after them: that *Tomumbeyo* charging the *Asians* with incomparable valour, while they were making themselves ready, and resorting vnto their Enginies, slew them in the Front, that durst endure the shocke of the assailants, dispersed the rest, and forced them to flight: and all the vanguard was wel-neere ouer-run, and trodden downe, beside the disorder of the rest: before *Mustapha* (albeit hee fought fearelesse in the van, & very cheerfully encouraged his souldiers) was able to retaine them that fledde, or to repayre the other in array. For, in this sodaine and vnexpected chance, euery place was full of the peoples confused huddlings together, slaughter, flight, and feare: and all along the river-banke both aboue and below the newe made Bridge, were diuers companies of men discerned, looking ru-

His departure from *Seiectica*, to prevent the intention of the enemy, by a sodaine and vnexpected stratagem.

The discovery of *Tomumbeyo* were nere approaching.

Sodaine accidents in Armes may doe a bold reuolued Leader, especially when the troops fall into disorderd confusion.

The Bridge was spacious and large for passage.

*Selim* maketh a notable supply by the help of his Janizaries sent ouer in small Boats.

The Tartares pulled the Riuer Nilus with their horses.

fully behind them, and crying out to their fellowes for succour. Many also being enforced (by the vrging troope of the Enemy) to the very brink of the banke, fell headlong downe into the river; and many also perished at the end or heade of the bridge, by reason they could not passe ouer it, being hindered by them that were continually sent from the further side; beside, many that would haue ascended the bridge, being impeached by fear, & thrust backe by their owne fellowes, were drowned in the river.

The bridge was so broad, that 4. horse in rank might well passe ouer together, & a great number sent ouer in an houres space. But because the Ordinance was to be drawne ouer, fewer horse were sent, then either the greatnesse of the danger, or sodainnesse of such a chance did vrgently require. Nor was there any helpe in the Ordinance, which could not speedily be drawne ouer, or shot off from the higher banke to the other against the Enemy, without great danger to themselves, by reason that their owne men stood in the way. In the meane time, *Selym* who ranne downe to the rivers side, at the beginning of this hurly burly, filled small boates with Janizaries Harquebusers, & sent them ouer to succour their distressed fellowes; commending the horse also to make what hast they could ouer the bridge, the nimble Marriners vsing their best pains, in often passing and returning with fresh supplies; so that within a short space they had conveyed ouer many bands of Janizaries, whose comming confirmed the disorderd *Asians*, and now boldly they endured the enemies violence.

Also *Canglas*, son to a Tartar king, encouraging his troopes of Tartares to take the river with their horses; attained to the further bank of the river, to the admiration of all men, and losing but fewe of his men: for the Tartares hauing learned to swim ouer the violent and mightie River of *Tanis* and *Volga* with their horses, were the more apt for passage heere. At the same instant also, *Tomumbeyo* foreseeing, that the speedy victory consisted therein, endeoured with his thickest troopes, to win the head of the bridge, that pulling away the forme of boats, and cutting in sunder the cables, which fastened the rest together, & to the banke: the whole bridge

being so let loose at liberty, might be carried away with the streames violence, & all the Turkes that were vpon it. This caused a very dangerous conflict, for the chosen and best armed *Mamlukes* constraining the front, fought with singular valor. And on the other side, *Mustapha* perceiving the present perill, brought vp the colours, and all the valiantest of his souldiers, to make good that place: so that both sides contended with such surpassing manhood as the weightinesse of the case required. For, the *Mamlukes* saw manifestly, that if they could winne that place, they should (with very short worke) ouerthrow all the enemies former victories: and the Turkes as plainly perceived, that except they kept and preserved the bridge, the safety of themselves, the whole estate of the army, yea & the ruine of their Emperour, lay now at the stake, and all brought to vtter despair.

Hereupon, *Mustapha* so preuailed by his Harquebusers, & troopes of Greek horse, which in sundry companies had passed the bridge: that the enemies were repulsed & forced to retire a great way backe. Now *Tomumbeyo* that he might giue some respite to his *Mamlukes* to breathe themselves a while, being not able to fight fiercely, because their horse were spent and tired, & that after a fresh repairing of their strength he might aduenture the extreme & latest fortune of the battell, encouraged the Moores and Arabians to maintaine the fight, vntill the *Mamlukes* had breathed a little. Which when they had valiantly performed, and the *Mamlukes* (hauing somewhat comforted their own bodies & horses) making good their place, the battell was againe renewed with such rigour on their behalfe, that *Selym* (distrusting the victory) doubted not to ascend the bridge, and runne to succour his men, although his friends earnestly labored him to the contrary.

His coming (which brought fresh hope into his Souldiers hearts, they coueting to win reward and praise, by doing some seruicable action in their Emperours fight) repressed all the enemies best endeavour, and were forced vnto flight, only through the valiance of the Janizaries. Pursued were they ouer all the Fieldes, by those Horse which had bene at the fight, & likewise by the Tartares, who gaunted them very generously

A worthy policy devised by *Tomumbeyo*, to cut away the bridle of boats.

The maine sime on eyther side, in their hope & expectation.

*Tomumbeyo* encourageth the Moores & Arabes to maintaine the fight.

The Janizaries put the foe to flight, and win the honour of the day.

with their Arrowes. But afterward, *Mu-Haphis*, *Cayerbey*, and *Gazelles*, were sent with a company of fresh and swift horſe, to follow them that fled, and not to ſuffer *Tomumbeyo* to eſcape: who the third day after, was found by certaine Peazants, ſtanding in a Mariſh vppe to the waſte in Water, among Bull-ruſhes and Reedes; and they (for feare of death) deliuered him to the Captaines, who brought him to *Selym*, who would not vouchſafe to ſee him.

After he had cauſed him to bee a long time in vaine tormented, to diſcloſe the treaſures of *Campſon*; at laſt he gaue command, that he ſhould be carried about all the famous ſtreets of the City, riding on a vile Camels backe, and in poore ragged Garments, with his hands bound behind him; and then to bee hanged vp with an halter, for the murdering (as hee pretended) of his Ambaſſadors, although the Noble Prince was altogether guiltleſſe thereof. The like fate alſo befell to all the *Mamlukes* that were in priſon, or could be taken. After the ſhamefull death of *Tomumbeyo*, who was executed the thirteenth day of April, Anno 1517. all the whole Empire of the Soldan yeelded, and likewiſe all the Princes that had bene tributaries to the Soldan, euen vnto the dominions of *Preſtre Iohn*.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Of the firſt inuention of wearing Ringes: to what end it was. And of many ancient and admirable things, tending vnto the ſame purpoſe.



Mong all other Jewels and Ornamentes, inuented by the ſpirit and induſtry, or rather by the vanity of man, to embellish & beautify himſelfe withall: there is not any comparable to that of Ringes. bee it for riches, or curioſity in workmanſhip. For, ouer and beſide that they are made in a round and circular figure, which is the moſt perfect of all other: they are beſide ſo ſubiect

and light, that they may be worne on the leaſt finger of the hand. Neuertheleſſe, they are alwayes made of the very richeſt metall of all, and accompanied with ſtones, the moſt precious and exquisite that are to be had, and vaſe to bee the only eſteemed things in the world. Be- hold then, what meanes the ambition of men found out, to weare a ring vpon one finger, valewing in price the worth of a City: for, it is not vnknowne, there are ſome ſuch precious ſtones, that are eſteemed as a world of Gold, and yet notwithstanding, they hinder not the hand from the vſe of any exerciſe whatſoeuer. And albeit that Ringes haue ſerued, and yet do, to ſome other more neceſſary ends & effects, then thoſe before related: yet the very principall point which brought them into vſe, was to glad and delight the eye, and to deliuer an outward teſtimonie of Nobility, and ſhew the perſons eſtimation. But becauſe they are now grown very common, and yet much eſteemed, I will ſet downe certaine ancient Hiſtories, incident to our preſent purpoſe, not greatly irkſome to read or heare.

In the firſt place, it is not reſolutely determined, who was the prime inuenter of Ringes: and yet ſome do ſay, that the firſt Ringes knowne to be worne, was in the remembrance of *Prometheus*, who (as the Poets faigned) being chained to a rocke by the appointment of *Iupiter*, was deliuered by *Hercules*, with the permiſſion of *Iupiter*; with this condition neuertheleſſe, that in perpetual memory of his imprifonment, the ſaide *Prometheus* ſhould be obliged, to weare inceſſantly a ring of gold, enchaſed with a ſtone of the rocke whereto hee was priſoner; and thereby ſome hold, that the vſe of ringes tooke thence the firſt beginning. *Pliny* and many other authors reputed this diſcourſe for a fable, as al Chriſtians ought to do: and becauſe it is a leaſing, and friuolouſly feigned, I meane to inſiſt thereon no further.

Concerning mine owne opinion, I am of the mind, that the inuention of Ringes came not by one man only, but from many, and in diuers times; conſidering, it neuer was any note of great cunning, to take the fingers bigneſſe by a thred, and with that meaſure to make a Ring of Golde or Iron: ſuch as anciently were worne by the very cheefeſt Lordes of *Lacedaemon* and

Ringes made of the pureſt and richeſt metall of all other.

The principall end that did bring Ringes into vſe.

Ringes were outward notes of riches and Nobility.

Concerning the inuention of Ringes.

*Prometheus* deliuered ſo the rocke by *Hercules*.

Ringes neuer the inuention of one man only.

and *Rome*, before they gaue themſelues ouer to the ſuperfluities and diſſolutions, which afterwards reigned in all things. And vndoubtedly, the cuſtome and ceremony continued long time among the *Romaines*, that the Ring of Honour, which the husband ſent to his ſpouſe on the marriage day, was made of yron. *Plinie* diſcourſing on the antiquitie of Ringes, ſaith, That they were not in vſe in the war time betweene the *Greekes* and *Troians*: conſidering that *Homer* (who wrote thereof very amply) maketh no mention at all of Ringes, much leſſe, that they ſealed then with Ringes. And yet notwithstanding, he ſpeaketh ſufficiently of Chains and Bracelets, which were at that time worne, and of the manner of cloſing and ſealing Letters: ſo that if Ringes had then bin in vſe, *Homer* would neuer haue let it ſleepe in ſilence.

But the good olde man *Plinie*, cannot over-reach vs with his idle arguments and coniectures; for we read in *Genefis*, that *Joſeph* (who liued aboute five hundred and fifty yeares before the warres of *Troy*) hauing expounded the dreame of *Pharaoh*, King of *Aegypt*, was by the layde Prince made Superintendent ouer his kingdom, and for his ſafer poſſeſſion in that eſtate, he tooke off his Ring from his hand, and put it vpon *Joſeph*'s hand. And ſurely, kings did not onely weare Ringes in thoſe times, becauſe we read that *Thamar*, deſiring to haue iſſue by the race of *Iudah* her father in lawe (who was brother to *Joſeph*) had his company, vnder colour of being a common whoore, and received as preſents from him, his Staffe and his Ring. In *Mofes* time, which was more then foure hundred yeares before *Troy* warres, we find Ringes to be then in vſe; for we read that they were comprehended in the ornaments, which *Aaron* the High-Prieſt ſhould weare, and they of his poſteritie afterward, as alſo it was auouched by *Joſephus*.

Wherby appeareth plainly, that the vſe of Ringes was much more ancient, then *Plinie* reporteth them in his Coniectures: but as he was a Pagan, and ignorant in ſacred writings, ſo it is no maruell, if theſe things went beyond his knowledge. According as himſelfe apparently manifeſteth, ſpeaking of them of his owne Countrey: for hee ſaith, the vſe of Ringes were

anciently ſo rare in *Rome*, & ſpecially ſuch as were of gold; that there was no ancient Statue to beſeen ringed, except thoſe of the Kings, *Numa*, and *Seruius Tullius*, for all other Statues were without Ringes. Hee ſaith moreover, that (ordinarily) no other Ringes were worne in *Rome*, but of yron, and that the cuſtome of the *Romaines* was, to giue Ringes of gold (by way of prerogatiue) to Ambaſſadours, which they ſent to any King, or to ſome ſtrange Nation. And yet notwithstanding, they that entred *Rome* triumphantly, wore no other Ringes then of yron, although crownes of gold were allowed for their heads, & long time did this cuſtome continue.

Afterward, when the *Romaines* became more braue and ſumptuous, yet did they expreſly prohibit in *Rome*, to all mechanical perſons, and men of meane condition, to weare Ringes of golde: except they were ranched with the Souldiers, or *Romain* Cauallerie, which was a third eſtate, betweene the Order of the Senators, and the common popularitie; as now adayes is our Nobilitie. Whereuppon, Ringes were ſo priuileged, that in giuing licence to any one to weare a ring of gold, it was as much as to ennoble him, and to paſſe him for a Gentleman. For, as *Plinie*, *Dion*, and many other haue left in their writings, the *Roman* Knights were known, and thoſe of the Military Order, amongſt the common people, and diſtinguiſhed from them by Ringes, which they wore on their fingers: euen as euidently as Senators were knowne by their long Purple Roabes, embroidered with large headed nailes. For this cauſe, the Poet *Horace* attributed Ringes to the Cauallerie, beſtowing on them the name of Knights, or Gentlemen.

This priuilege then of wearing Ringes of golde, might not be granted, but to ſuch as had accompliſhed ſome high enterpriſe, or that were men of power, and worthily deſerued. And ſurely, this prerogatiue was ſo affected generally, that *Iulius Caſar*, coueting to embolden his Souldiours by remunerations and promiſes: after a long Oration made to them, hee would lift vp his finger, in ſigne, that they ſhould enioy whatſoeuer he promiſed. And all his Army conceiuing, that by this ſigne, hee would permit them to weare Ringes of golde, which intimated aſmuch,

The marriage Ring of Honour vied among the *Romaines*.

Ringes not in vſe at the waſe of *Troy*.

Gen. 41. 42. *Plinie* reproved by greater authority.

Gen. 38. 18.

Exod. 28. 36.

*Moſes* lib. 4. cap. 5.

*Plinie* lib. 7. cap. 18.

Statues of kings wearing Ringes.

Triumphers in *Rome*, wore Iron Ringes, but Crownes of gold.

No Mechanick or mean priſoners to weare Ringes of gold in *Rome*.

*Dion* in lib. 9. ſupra.

*Equeſter* order.

Who onely were allowed to weare rings of gold.

*Caſar* encouraging ſigne to his Souldiers.

*Tomumbeyo* taken and brought to *Selym*.

How baſely *Selym* vied *Tomumbeyo*, and afterward hanged him.

All the Sultanes Empire yeelded to *Selym*.

Ringes inuented by the vanity of man.



asmuch, as that they should all be knights, were the more sprightly encouraged, and serued him with most chearful dispositiō.

Very true it is, that in the time of the Emperours, this preheminece was giuen to many that deserued it not, as wee may see in *Iuuenall* and *Suetonius*, as also in the Commentaries or Chronicles of *Iulius Caesar*, and of *Pitellius*. Neuertheless, the Ediēt, whereby it was inhibited to Mechanickes to weare Rings of golde, was not in force at the second warre against the *Carthaginians*, and the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* which happened at *Cannas*: for, according as *Pliny* and *Titus Liuius* doe report, three bushells of Ringd (belonging to the *Romaines* slaine in the battell of *Cannas*) were found among the slaughtered bodies. In like manner, as *Cicero* alleaded in his fifth pleading against *Verres*, he vsed these very words; *When a General of the Romaine Army, obtained any victorie, hee ordinarily gaue a Ring to his Secretarie, as a reward for his faithfulness.* Many other things were also in custome then, which wee will heereafter more at large discusse: after we haue proceeded by Examples and Histories, to what end Rings were worne in elder times, and in what manner.

First then, our reuerend predeceffours vsed to weare their Rings, on the next finger to the least vpon the left hand, according as it was obserued by the Statues of *Numa*, and *Seruius Tullius*, Romain kings; because that finger was called *Digitus Anularis*, The Ring finger. And certainly (as *Plinie* saith in his seauenth Booke and eighteenth chapter) the Ring worne vpon the left hand, was a meere expression of modesty: the *Romaines* imagining, that it was a matter ouer-curious and superfluous, to weare any Rings at all: and therefore, to make the lesfer shew of them, they did euer weare them on the left hand. Nor can we say (according to *Plinie*) that this was done to any other end, but because the left hand was more at liberty then the right in the manning of Armes, it seruing then, but as a defence to the bodie, in carrying onely Shields and Targets, as Souldiers vsed them to doe, the right hand hauing no such ease.

Neuertheless, some do say, that Rings were worne on the left hand, for the more safetie and assurance, considering that it

is the hand least employed; and that the Ring-finger was elected for the same respect: For it is least set to labour of all the fingers, as *Macrobius* saith. Pursuing the same case, and alleging *Pliny* for the point, he addeth these words; *There is a veine or nerue, comming from the heart, which taketh his ending in the Ring-finger for which cause and reason, that finger deserueth to be crowned with golde.* *Aulus Gellius* also is of the same opinion. Others affirme, that Rings are worne vpon that finger, for physicke, or physically: and that the vertue of precious stones enchaifed in them, doe penetrate to the heart, by means of the fore-named veine. *Macrobius*, grounding his conceit vpon the *Pythagorian* numbers, whereof the *Egyptians* made vse; allegeth many other reasons concerning Rings, which I passe the lightlier ouer, as seeming to bee matters of small importance. Wee will resolute then on the last opinion, appearing to bee the most receivable: although we see rings to be worne indifferently, vpon all the fingers that are on the hand.

*Macrobius* doth auouch, that the most principall cause of inuening or finding rings, was to serue as Seales: for in former times, euerie man caused to be engrauen in Stones so enchaifed in Rings, what did best please his owne minde and affection, and wherewith to seale vp his Letters.

This was then the reason of bringing Rings in vse, although now-adayes they are that way least employed: and assuredly, men (in elder dayes) were so curious for well keeping their Rings and Signers, that they would seale with them verie seldom. Which I thinke not to be so vsed amongst the *Romaines*, because they were so heare-handed, as not onely they sealed their Letters with their Signers, but also sealed therewith their Chests, Coffers, Ambries, Cub-boords and purfles, that kept the householde keyes; yea, and sealed their Cellers, wherein were their stored wines, for feare lest they should be stolen away from them; and *Marcus Tullius Cicero* himselfe saith, that his mother did the same.

Now concerning the vse of sealing with Rings, it is very ancient, according as we may reade in many Examples and Histories, especially in the sacred Scriptures, where

A veine in the ring-finger comming from the heart.

Rings worne on Digiti anulari only for physickes regard of the veine leading to the heart.

Rings deuised for the sealing of Letters at the first.

The gripple-nerue of the Romaines in sealing vp all things.

The antiquity of sealing with rings.

Reg 21.8.

Dan 6. 17.

Iouenall

The famous Seale-ring of Polyocrates. Cicero de finib. lib. 4. m. 6. m. 10. Plutarch in lib. 4. de studiis in lib. 4. titulus in 19.

The history of Polyocrates and his voluntary falling into misfortune.

where it is said, That *Queene Isebel*, wife to *Achab King of Samaria*, sealed with the Kings Ring, the Commaund whereby the sent to haue *Naboth* put to death: and yet notwithstanding, this was fiftene hundred years before the foundation of the Cittie of *Rome*.

Moreouer, when the Prophet *Daniel* (by the Kings commaundement) was put into the Denne of Lions; the stone which closed the mouth of the sayde denne, was sealed with the Kings Ring, and the rings of all the Princes in the kingdom: whereby appeareth, that Rings serued them to seale withall, as now they are vsed in any Kingdom, when the King confirmeth any especiall priuilege.

And in these venerable elder times, Stones were enchaifed and fixed in Rings, vpon which stones were cut and engrauen diuers formes and figures, deuised onely to seale withall. Heereupon did the Poet write:

*I knew the Letter, and the faithfull stone.*

Asmuch to say, as hee knew the partie from whence the Letter came, by the figure engrauen vpon the stone in the ring, implying, that he knew the Seale. In regard wherof, when men made their rings, they studied to exceede one another in riches and costlinesse, especially Kings and other great Lords; witness the so much renowned Seale-ring of *Polyocrates* a Tyrant in the Isle of *Samos*. And although many did suspect the narration of that Seale, as a matter meereley fabulous: yet notwithstanding, *Cicero*, *Plinie*, *Strabo* and *Herodotus*, doe holde it for a true historie, affirming it to be an Emerald engrauen, wherewith this Prince vsed to seale his Mistresses and Patents, as briefly wee will say somewhat of the discourse.

This Prince, hauing long time liued in great prosperitie, neuer finding Fortune any way contrary to him, knowing also in others her instabilitie to be such, as it was impossible for a man to passe through the courtes of this life, without experimenting her variable traueses; was willing to fall into a voluntary misfortune, as hoping (by that means) to satisfie whatsoever Fortune could inflict vpon him. Heereupon, taking the Ring which he so highly esteemed, he threw it into the very deepest place of the Sea, to haue the lesse hope for euer finding it againe; which yet he did,

as *Herodotus* maintaineth, by the aduice of *Amasis* King of *Aegypt*, and his confederate. It hapned, that within some few dayes after, a Fisher-man presented him with a fish caught in the Sea, which was very great, and much remarkable. As the Cooke belonging to *Polyocrates* was in dressing the same fish, he found in the bowels thereof, the Ring which his Lord had throwne into the Seagun accident verie admirable, and fortunate to *Polyocrates*. When King *Amasis* heard thereof, hee departed from the league of friendship which hee had long continued with *Polyocrates*, sending him expresse word by his Ambassadors; that it was impossible for a man to be so fortunate, but ere long he must fall into farre greater misfortune, euen to the pitying of his best friends. As it hapned to him in short time after: For, King *Darius* making war against him, was taken in the said war by *Orandus*, Lieutenant generall to *Darius*, who caused him to be hanged and strangled. This came thus to passe, two hundred & thirty yeres before the foundation of the Cittie of *Rome*.

*Plinie* sayth, that the Stone enchaifed in this costly Ring, was a Cornalline: yet *Herodotus* affirmeth it to be an Emerald; but there appeareth some defect heerein, because *Plinie* sayth, *How was it possible in those times, that an Emerald could be engrauen?* In brieft, it was an ordinarie matter among Princes, to seale Letters with their Rings. As we may obserue by *Alexander the Great*, who (according as *Quintus Curtius*, and many more belide doe auouch) being willing to acquaint *Hephestion*, his choice fauourite, with a secret which he had set downe in a Letter, shewing it to him, he tooke the Ring from his finger, and ser it to *Hephestion* lippes, as a signe of sealing them vp with silence.

*Suetonius* sayth, that *Octavius* the Emperour vsed the forme of a \* *Sphinx* in his Seale; whereupon the Poets fained, that the *Sphinx* was a monster like to a \* *Harpyia*, which demanded many doubtfull questions of passengers, ouerthrowing and also killing such, as could not resolute their Riddles. Whereupon the *Romaines* emblazoning the Seale of *Octavius*, vsed as a commō saying; that his *Sphinx* might raise some such doubtfull cause, as would be very difficult to resolute. And this made

Such accidents do not happen to many men, let them make triall neuer so often.

The fortunat man is alwaies waited on by misfortune.

*Plinie* in lib. 37. cap. 10.

An ordinary thing for Princes to seale with their Rings.

\* A beast like to an Ape or Monkey.

\* The monstrous and rauenous birds Aello, Oryxte and Celane.

*Octavius*

Rings giuen to such as deserued them not, onely in the Emperours times.

3 bushells of rings found in the field at Cannas.

On what finger our graue elders vsed to weare their rings, & their reason for so doing.

The left hand more at ease then the right



Doubtfull  
figures in  
Signet Rings.

A signet ring  
caused the  
long war be-  
tweene Mari-  
us and Sulla.

\* Grandfather  
to Cato.

Mens figures  
engrauen in  
Rings, as in  
the time of  
the Romaine  
Emperors.

Rings onely  
described for  
brauerie, and  
the eyes con-  
temnent.

Iudith 10.

*Offianus* to alter his Scale, engraving therein the Image of *Alexander* the great.

*Mecenas*, a great fauourite of the sayde *Offianus*, had a Frogge engrauen in his Scale, and although that creature is naturally very timorous: yet notwithstanding, the Romaines greatly feared the Frog of *Mecenas*, because by vertue of the Mandations sent vnder that Scale, they payed great subsidies and tributes. *Pompey* the Great had a Lion in his Signet.

In briefe, Signets were so much respected, as it is well remembered, that the Signet Ring of *Silla*, moued that most cruell warre, which happened betweene him and *Marius*. In that Ring was engrauen the Image of *Bocchus*, King of *Carthay* or *Mauritania*, whom *Silla* tooke with king *Iugurthe*; which was so highly displeasing to *Marius*, to whom *Silla* was Lieutenant; as hee tooke occasion thereby, to enter open Armes against him. *Plinie* also saith, that the Sociall warre, which the Romaines waged against their confederates, was moued by the meanes of a Signet, which procured the enmitie betweene \* *Druis* and *Scipio*.

But passing from these particular Signets of diuers Princes, we are to obserue, that the Romaines caused their owne proper figures to be engrauen in their Rings. As is well deliuered by *Plautus*, who introduceth a Bowde in one of his Comedies, that by the impression of a Ring, knew the iests and countenance of a souldier her friend. Neuerthelesse, when the Emperours reigned in *Rome*, such as then were pleasing to them, carried their Images engrauen in their Signets. It may then be helde for certaine, that (almost) from the beginning of the world (by that which hath already bene said) Rings were in vse to bee worne, euen as now adayes they are in many Countries, where Armes and other deuices, are ordinarily carried in Rings.

We may conclude then, that Rings were made (at the first) for brauerie. and onely to giue delight to the eye; as also for some other reasons, whereof wee shall speake hereafter. And vndoubtedly, the custome of wearing Rings hath bene of long continuance; for, beaide the Histories and Examples before related, wee reade of that courageous woman *Iudith*, who hauing sworne the death of *Holo-*

*phernes*, shee put off her mourning garments, and to execute her intention, shee clothed herselfe with goodly habites, enriching hir comely person with Bracelets, Rings and eare-rings. The Romaines likewise wore Iewelles, and Rings on all fingers of the hand, except on the middle finger, which is the greatest about all the other, and which they holde to bee infamous; for a reason, whereof I purpose not now to speake.

*Plinie* saith, that after the victory which *Pompey* obtrayned in *Asia*, the Romaines greatly inured themselues to wear rings; and brauerie grew then into such request, that in Winter they vied to wear bigger rings: but those appoynted for Summer, were much more light, subtiler and ingeniously made. Also, they named their Rings according to the fingers whereon they wore them, as is affirmed by *Iulius Pelagius*. *Plinie* saith, that the second finger, or that whereon the Romaines beganne to wear their rings, next vnto the Ring-finger, was the first finger, which is nearest to the pulle; and then afterwards they wore them on the little finger. Moreover he saith, that many (in his time) wore three Rings on each finger: neuerthelesse, such as were most dainty and curious, would wear but one Ring onely vpon the whole hand.

From hence it ensued, that euery Nation beganne to seeke very diligently for stones that were of greatest price and value; onely to serue in Rings as Signets, and thereon to engraue their deuices. Notwithstanding, among the stones of choicest esteeme, that of *Pyrrhus* (who waged warre against the Romaines) in ancient times was accounted to be most excellent. For, in that precious stone, (without any helpe, inuention or arte of man) was naturally discerned, the figures of nine goddesses, and a yong naked child standing by them: so that they were censured, by graue opinion, to bee the portraits of the nine Muses, and of *Apollo*. A matter very strange, and somewhat difficult to be credited: neuerthelesse, many Authors (worthy belife) doe auaunt it for a true historie, especially *Plinie*. And questionles, according to the iudgement of Philosophers, this might happen thus naturally, by the great and immeasurable heate of matter consiting in the sayde stone;

All fingers  
rings except  
the middle  
finger.

Rings for  
Winter and  
for Summer.

Plinie 17.  
capit.

Rich stones  
sought for by  
all Nations to  
make Signets.

The rare pre-  
cious stone  
belonging to  
King Pyrrhus.

Plinie lib. 10.  
capit.

stone; or else by some correspondencie, or celestiall influence, with the Stars and Planets, euen as a woman may produce a monster, wholly different from humane kind, and by the selfe same influences.

*Albertus Magnus* saith, that he sawe at *Colleen*, in the chappell of the three Kings, a Stone, wherein was naturally figured and discerned two mens heads, placed vpon a Serpent. *Leonardus Camillus*, in his Mirrour of precious Stones sayth, that this may be so, naturally, affirming moreover, to haue seene seauen trees, all of one forme, naturally portrayed in a Stone. And not to tie my selfe to other mens testimonies, I haue obserued in Columns of Marble and Iasper, men naturally figured, and many other shapcs beside, very remarkable, both for the diuersitie of colours, and singulartie of shadows naturally thereto belonging. And therefore, seeing so manie credible persons haue written, concerning the precious Ring-stone of King *Pyrrhus*: it might very well be, that the Nine Muses were therein naturally figured, and appearing to the life.

Now, for that which is reported, as touching the Ring of *Giges*, King of *Lydia*, (which *Plinie* attributeth to King *Midax*) it seemes a matter strange and incredible. This Ring had such a property, that being on the finger, and turned to the in-side of the hand, the wearer went inuisible; but turning it to the out-side, then he was visible againe, and to be seene of all men as before; all which was made so publickely knowne, that men tooke it offensively, when they were demanded, if they had seene *Giges* Ring, or no. *Plato* the diuine Philosopher sayth in his Booke of Common-wealth, that by reason of a certaine tempest and earthquake, the ground opened, and a great deepe gulfe was publickely discerned. *Giges*, being then a Sheepeheard, but a man of bolde spirit, descended downe into the gulfe, and found there a great horffe, which was of Brasse, and hollow; within which horffe was a dead body, of a Giant-like and prodigious stature. He looking considerably on the huge body, espied a Ring vpon his finger, which he tooke off, and hauing put it vpon his owne, found himselfe suddenly returned to his fellows: where they (as then) were keeping Cattell.

It came to passe, that *Giges* (acciden-

tally) turned the stone in the Ring toward the palme of his hand; and then heard his companions talking of him, as if hee was absent from their company: whereupon, being wise and ingenious, hee presently conceived, that this proceeded from some hidden vertue in the Ring. So, finding it to be true; and trulling to the secret vertue thereof, he went to the Court of *Candaules* King of *Lydia*, where hee prenyaued so fortunately, that he obtained the loue of the Queene. Afterward, hauing slaine the King, by meanes of his wife, he possessed himselfe of the kingdome, and so became King of *Lydia*. *Cicero* taketh this narration of *Plato*, no otherwise then as a morall Fable, applied by him to colour what he sayd. *Philostrophus*, discoursing of Serpents and dragons in the *Indians* saith, That in certaine Stones, the heads of Serpents and Dragons are to be seene, naturally figured; and that this may be proved by the Ring of *Giges*. Seeing then, that so many famous Writers make mention of *Giges* Ring, we may well allow it to be a true Historie, and no Fable.

How *Giges*  
found out the  
inuisibility of  
the Rings.

In what man-  
ner *Giges*  
became king  
of *Lydia*.

Philostrophus  
discourfing of  
stones in in-  
dia.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Of the properties and vertues, secretly concealed in precious Stones: And whence the vertue proceedeth, which is sayd to be in Magick Rings.



Touching the before remembered Ring of *Giges*, albeit I will not resolutely affirme, that it had (indeede) any such propertie (as elsewhere in other places, according as hath bene obserued by experience, and as may be gathered by the writings of diuers credible authors, concerning precious stones, hauing wonderfull and vnspokeable qualities and vertues; yet notwithstanding, making no such strange reckoning of that ring, Magicians haue promised to execute far greater matters, then the ring of *Giges* was able to do. Therefore, if that which is written of *Giges* be true, I am of the mind, that he did it by the Art of Magick, rather then any other vertue else: as all they doe, that

The Author  
refuseth to  
iustifie the  
hidden vertue  
of *Giges* ring.

Magickall mat-  
ters perfor-  
med by Astro-  
logie.

More vertues  
reputed to be  
in precious  
stones, then  
the Author  
creditteth.

Of the Di-  
amond, and  
his properties

The Ame-  
thyst.

The Rubie.

The Carbu-  
cle.

The Corall.

The Cryfall.

The Iacinth.

that compasse all their intentions, by the power of Astrologie, obseruing times, as also the aspects and influences of Starres and Planets, whereunto they ascribe peculiar rules, whereof we purpose to speake somewhat.

But, returning to the vertues and properties of precious stones; It is very certayne, that our graue Ancients did place such stones in their Rings, and wore them vpon their fingers, onely to be sensible of their properties. Neuerthelesse, although they should be indued with great vertues, yet I am perswaded, that their qualities are not so precious, as proclamation is made of them. Wherefore, not to stand on deciphering their vertues particularly, I will direct my Readers to such Bookes, where their natures are at large described, contenting my selfe, to speake of some few, as they haue beene (in some measure) related to me.

First then, it is saide of the Diamond, that it is very singular against forcerie, charmes and enchaunments, naturally strengthening the heart by his vertues; but especially against illusions of phantasies and spirits, which terrifie by sodaine affrightings. Also I reade, that it is exceeding good for women with child, for the conseruation of their fruit. The Amethyst serueth as a counter-poyson, and likewise is a defensatiue against drunkenesse. The Balais or Ruby, restraineth the inordinate appetites of the flesh, and is a soueraigne help to the health of any body. The Carbuncle is very preseruatiue against pestilentiall and infecting ayres, and asswaging luxurious or carnall desires, doth greatly comfort and delight the heart. The Corall containeth in it diuers especiall properties; for it stencheth or stayeth bleeding; it is a preseruatiue against gally visions, and dreadfull dreames; it is likewise very chearefull to the heart and vitall spirits. As concerning the Cryfall, it is soueraigne against such persons or things, as can enchaunt or charme by their looks or sight; and it also is a restriction and defence, from dreaming of offensive matters. The Iacinth, is cordiall and comfortable to the heart, in like manner as the Corall is; and is also a soueraigne preseruatiue against the pestilence.

It is credibly reported and written, that wearing an Emeraulde on the finger, it

maketh the partie chaste and continent, as hating and despising the lusts of the flesh. And some holde it for certaine, that it be worn on the finger of a Maide, that hath lost her virgin honour, it will break immediately. It is also greatly available against euill spirits, against tempests, and against the falling sickenes. The Cornaline moderateth all wanton appetites, and glads the heart wonderfully: this stone is the best of all other to scale withall, because waxe will neuer cleaue vnto it. The Topaze doth appease the passions of the mind, asswageth the imperuous tempests of chollier and phrensies, quite ouerthroweth the melancholy humour; and finally, it purifieth the blood. Behold what feuerall vertues remayne in the fore-remembered Stones.

Many other there are, of great and extraordinary vertue, which I let passe the lightier, referring the Reader to *Aristotle* (although the booke of Stones, and bearing his name, was none of his worke, by plaine appearance) and to *Albertus Magnus*, in his Treatise of Minerales matters; to the Poet *Marbodius*, in his Booke of precious Stones; to *Serapion*, in his Booke of Simples; to *Isidorus*, in his first Booke of Etymologies; to *Bartholomew* the Englishman, in his Tract of the Properties of naturall things; and (about all) to *Leonardus Camillus*, in his Mirrour or Glasse of precious Stones. *Plinie* also hath written of them in many places; likewise *Vincencius*, and many other, whom I spare to name for breuities sake.

But I pray you, let vs bestow a little consideration, on the perspicacitie and ready apprehension of mans spirit, in finding out the manner and meanes to set and enchaune precious Stones in Rings, thereby to enioy their proprietie and vertues. Nay, there were some that conueighed poison into their rings, to compasse their owne speedy death, if any misfortune did throw them into any dangerous disaster: notwithstanding it ensued from the insinuation of the diuell, inducing diuers ancient Pagans to despair, as may be obserued in sundry olde Histories. Especially renowned *Hannibal*, who vially carried poyson in his Ring, whereof he dyed in *Bythinia*, because he would not fall into the hands of *Titus Flaminius* (Ambassador from the Romaines) his capitall enemies;

The Emerald  
called the  
Stone of Cha-  
stity.

The Corna-  
line or Cor-  
nace.

The Topaze

Affects and  
influences of  
the stars en-  
chained in  
rings, and  
greatly trust-  
ed vnto.

Magickal rings  
made vnder  
the obserua-  
tion of Starres  
and Planets.

The ingenui-  
ty of men, by  
enchaining  
precious  
stones in  
Rings.

Poysons put  
into diuers  
Rings in ei-  
der times.

The ring of  
*Hannibal*,  
bearing poy-  
son in it.

he hauing slaine (before) the father of *Flaminius* in Italy: to whom *Prusias* King of *Bythinia*, would haue deliuered *Hannibal*, thereby to winne grace with the *Romanes*. *Plinie* sayth, that the great *Athenian* Orator *Demosthenes*, imitated the very same example.

*Heliogabalus*, a very vile conditioned prince, ordinarily carried poyson in his Ring, and to the same end: albeit as *Lampridius* sayth, in reporting his life, he deserted not so honourable a death, as in poysoning. *Plinie* speaks of this matter, and manner of carrying poysons in rings, to bee an ordinary obseruation, and very common in his time.

Moreover, those ancient fore-goers did singularly obserue the aspects, & influences of Starres, as well by forging them into their rings, as also by engraving them in stones, when they were to be enchained, by those meanes to giue them vertue: a most wicked, vile & vnworthy action, not meet to be remembered among Christians. And assuredly there are many Authours, which discourse on those Images & Characters, made by obseruation of Astronomical Constellations, and which made promise of mountaine and meruailes by those meanes. Affirming, that ouer and beside the naturall vertue of the stone; it attained to a new strength and quality, by the Image engrauen thereon, as also by the alliance and propinquity, which it had with the metall wherein it was placed. And they would maintayne, that those Planets and Starres gaue influence, and communicated their vertue to those rings, forged in that ceremonious manner; euen as to the things subiect to their influences; and so by this meane, the naturall vertue of those stones, was fortified by the Magickal vertue thus attained vnto.

In this manner, they baptized (by the name of naturall Magicke) this colligation or connexion, which they performed by hearbs, metalls, perfumes and characters, and which they vnited or combined together in one ring, saying: That rings composed in that manner, were soueraigne against the Apoplexie or dead palie, and anguish in the sides. Some there were made proper to reioyce the heart, to heale and mitigate the rage and fury of a madman, and also that they serued as preseruatiues against poyson, and for many other

diseases; as to conferre a man, euen for the encreasing of his naturall strength. In briefe, they attributed many admirable proprietie to these Rings, wherein breuitie constraineth me to be silent. Notwithstanding, whosoever desireth to be better informed, may make his recourse to the Mirrour of precious Stones, set downe by *Leonardus Camillus*, and to *Gornelius Agrippa*, in his Booke of Secret Philosophie; to *Albertus Magnus*; and *Tabithus*, a Philosopher highly renowned, discoursing on this Argument; as the like doth *Iustinus*, *Soferinus* and diuers others. Neuerthelesse, I doe not greatly rely on what they haue sayd; because I neuer expetimented the vertue of Magickal Rings.

True it is, that such as make profession hereof, do say and vouch, That by obseruing the Constellations, requisite as well for forging the metall, as for engraving the stone enchained in the Ring, and vnder the Planet named *Mars*; that ring doth fortifie the heart, and hath the reuerent vertue, working many other great effects, almost incredible. Likewise, such Rings as are made vnder the influence of *Mercurie*, doe adorne the speaking of a man; and maketh him a singular Orator, as also apt to deale in merchandise. And so the like may bee sayde of such, as are made vnder the obseruation of other Planets.

Others engrave in their Rings, the characters belonging to the signes of the *Zodiacke*, and according to their triplicities, saying: that they of the first triplicity, are namely, *Aries*, *Leo* and *Sagittarius*, doe serue for colic diseases, for Feauers occasioned by phlegme, and for dead Palies. Also the characters appertaining to the second and ayrie triplicity, as *Gemini*, *Libra* and *Aquarius*; are singular against corruption and putrifaction of the blood. And so doe they say of other triplicities of the signes, according to their Elementarie qualitie. And indeed, this obseruation is very ancient, and was practised a long time amongst the oldest Philosophers, as well *Chaldeans*, and *Aegyptians*, as the *Iewes*.

Some also affirme, that the seauen fortunate Rings, which King *Zircas* gaue to *Apollonius Thymanus* (according as *Philostrophus* sayth) were of the same temper.

Helps for  
further in-  
formation to  
such as are  
desirous.

Rings to be  
made vnder  
each seuerall  
Planet, and  
their secret  
infused ver-  
tues.

Characters of  
the Zodiacke  
engrauen in  
rings, & their  
vertues.

Of rings wear-  
med, reu-  
nate rings.

Iarchas was  
cheefe of  
the Indian  
Philosophers.

A man lived  
130. yeares  
by vertue of  
a Ring.

Aristophanes in  
Plato.

Erasmus Ro-  
tterdamus,  
concerning  
Magical rings

Clauius de  
Salicorum.

Diseases cu-  
red by images  
engrauen vpon  
stones.

Farther affirming, that the sayd Prince did daily wear a Ring, answerable to the Planet that day reigning: by the which meanes, he preferred himselfe for an hundred yeares, being alwayes as in the floure of his age. The grand-father to this King *Iarchas*, liued an hundred and thirty yeres, by vertue of the afore-sayd Rings, being continually in manly verdure. And hereupon, the *Greekes* made great vse of these Magicall and sophisticated Rings, as may be seene in the Comedies of *Aristophanes*, where hee bringeth in a man-Bawde, personally contesting against *Dicem*, who had threatened him, and these are his words: *I care not for all the threatnings that can be used against me, hauing this Ring vpon my finger, which his Mistresse sold for a Drachma. And shewing the Ring, he proceeded thus: With this Ring I wil keep my selfe from his teeth, and from his barking.*

*Erasmus*, speaking of these Magical Rings, hath these words: *Some daily vse to wear Rings, wherein are certayne characters engrauen, vnder obseruation of constellations and aspects of Starres, and firmly holde, that they serue for diseases in the sides, and are proper (also) for diuerse infirmities. Others, imagining this to be true, do counterfeite these Rings, but all is merely abuse. For, to giue them such vertues; the course of the Starres must be diligently obserued, and the constellations when they are made. Notwithstanding, many regard not the influences of the Starres at all; but onely respect the nature of the stone enchaisted in the Ring, and the character there engrauen. This may be seene in the Bookes of the wings of *Rogierius*, and in the writings of *Leonardus Camillus*, as also of *Tetellus* and *Caclius*, in those bookes which are attributed to *Salomon* for their credite, and which amply doe discourse thereon. For, according as *Tetellus* sayth, a Iaspur stone enchaisted in a Ring, hauing the Image of a Maiden engrauen thereon: preferueth the wearer from ill spirits, and from water. If a Lembe be engrauen thereon, the Ring defendeth from the Apoplexie, and cureth also the feauer quartane. A Cornalline also, hauing the shape of a man figured thereon, holding in his hand some goodly and respectable thing; doth stench the fluxe of blood. In brieue, they speake of so manie matters, pleasant to heare, and very hard to be credited: as I can say nothing in the*

case; but let such as please, make their own experience of them.

But returning againe to Rings & Signets, in *Spaine* they serue in all contracts, instead of full determination: also in matter of marriage, the two parties giue rings to each other, as a signall and confirmation of the mutuall promise, which they haue made one to another. In like manner, when religious women doe vndertake the veile; in signe of their profession, Rings are giuen them, as well from the religious house, as from their Parents, in testimony of this true and chaste marriage. There is yet another poynt, concerning this case in question, and though of small importance, yet it doth diuers needfull seruices. Many will change their Rings from one finger to another, for better remembering some occasion to be performed, which otherwise might remayne forgotten. Wherefore, if we consider well the vse of rings, they are not so much to be blamed as *Pliny* and some others doe: For, (in all times) men of vertue and honour haue vsed them. Hereto we may add, that God created golde and precious stones, for the seruice of man, and to maintaine him in health; enduing them with such sundrie properties, to the end they might be the more commodious for men. Finally, Rings are particularly attributed vnto Bishops, in signe of dignitie.

## CHAP. XXV.

When e is came as the first, that the name of Gentleman was giuen, as wel to Knights, as to the sonnes of Presidents & Counsellors. What Armes the ancient Romans carried: And whence came the inuention of emblazoning Armes first in Escutcheons.



HE custome ordinarily obserued in *France*, *Italy* and *Spain*, is to call him a Gentleman, that is a Knight extracted of a noble house, especially such a one, as is a Gentleman by name and Arms. Also, when a King sends a man of noble house in Embassie, he stileth him so in his Patent, by these words: *I send you a Gentleman of my house*. Kings and Princes, as well in these dayes, as in times past, vsed to haue (ordinarily) in their Courts, men of learning, and Knights, who

What vse is made of rings and signets in *Spaine*.

Rings necessarily vsed for remembrance, and haue bin respected by men of honour and vertue.

Customes for the stile of a Gentleman.

Knights and Gentlemen of the kings house.

Gentleman signifieth Nobleman.

Whence the name Gentle or Gentle came attle first.

Cicero in Trop.

Bookes of logical inuention.

Batius in Topickes.

Cicero de Cl. Or. lib. 2. de laud. or.

Batius in his 3. degrees of Romane duties.

The name of Gentleman among the Romans.

who were named Gentlemen of the kings house, or Gentlemen seruants. And these Gentlemen were descended of great houses in the Kingdome, as well Schollers as Soulieders, and they remained continually in the Court, attending on the King in times of peace and warre. Wherefore, the name of Gentleman, signifies as much as Nobleman, and extracted of a noble lineage. Neuerthelesse, it appeareth not much differing from our purpose, to say somewhat, concerning whence came the name of Gentleman, or of Gentilitie together, with the custome of bearing Arms in Escutcheons.

As touching the first point, the name of Gentle came from the *Latines*, who called such men Gentles or Gentiles, as were of one and the same race, and of one selfe same name; being at libertie, and of free condition from all Antiquitie; and those houses also were tearmed Ancient Gentiles, even as now adayes we call them houses of Noble race, houses of Gentlemen. Which *Cicero* well witnesseth, in his *Topickes*, speaking thus: *We call them Gentiles, that are of one name, and who from all times haue bene of free condition: so that no part or parcell of their race, was euer seruant or slave, and much lesse, degraded from honour, and of the Romaine Burgeship*. And *Batius* also sayth in his *Topickes*, we call ancient Gentiles, all such as are issued of one ancient house and race, franke and free: as were the *Scipios*, the family of *Brutus*, & other noble houses of *Rome*. *Cicero* likewise taketh this name of Gentle, for one that is of our race, and that beareth the same name and Armes as we doe.

The learned *Budeus*, speaking of deuoirs or duties of parentage, obserued among the *Romaines*, sayth: *They were three in number: Dutie of consanguinitie, Dutie of blood and lineage in direct line, And duty of Gentilitie, as much to say, as when a man is descended of the same name & Armes*. The title then of Gentle or Gentility was and should be attributed onely to Noble houses. And therefore the name of Gentleman among the *Romaines*, valued as much as a Nobleman among the *Castilians* and *French*. And assuredly, the *Romaine* Gentlemen did (ordinarily) shew the Images and Deuices of their predecessors, that had illustrated their memorie by their worthy deedes: and this repre-

sentation of Nobility, was highly esteemed among the *Romaines*, even as yet to this day, are ancient *Armes*, and *Penons* and *Standards*, belonging to the predecessors of Gentlemen, who would not forget any thing of Antiquitie (concerning their lineage) in funeral orations, made at the obsequies of their parents, thereby to haue the man accounted so much the more Noble.

In this respect *Cicero* reprooued *Piso*, in the change and pleading he made against him, saying: *The honours and estates which thou hast obtained, were giuen thee, only for respect of the Image of thy predecessor, of whom thou carriest the colour only; so that thou canst not be deemed to be a Gentleman*. And in another place, speaking of himselfe, he confesseth: *To haue no Images of his race; for by his excellent knowledge, admirable wisdom and highly esteemed eloquence, he so much ennobled himselfe; that he came to be Consul of Rome, enjoying other degrees and prerogatiues, even as if hee had bene a Gentleman of race, and issued from the house of a Senator*. Which himselfe also further confesseth in his last pleading against *Verres*, saying: *Thou being great Surueyours of Rome, for some especiall seruices done by thee to the Common-wealth, hast a place appointed for thine Image, and enjoyest the priuileges of a Gentleman*.

I reade, that the *Romaines* were verie careful of those images, which were called *Stemmata*: for commonly they were made of waxe, and placed ouer the portalles of their houses; or else proudly kept in aptly contriued boxes, and so preferred in places appointed for their standing, as witnesseth *Iuuenal*, *Martial*, *Sebeca*, *Plinie*, and many more.

And when there was question of some publike ceremony or of funerall pompe, the people of the houses would make a goodly shew of the Images belonging to their Ancestours, with their names fixed vpon them, according as *Plinie* reporteth. He also declareth in his ninth booke and fifth chapter, that the *Romaines* would place before their houses, the Ensignes, *Penons* and other Coates of Armes and spoiles, which they had wonne from their enemies in war, and remained there to perpetuities: so that if the house were sold, it was not lawfull for the buyer to take them away, because they serued for

Ancient Armes in Penons & Standards belonging to Gentlemen.

Cicero cent. Piso.

Cicero in Orat. lib. 3.

Cicero in De. clau. i. c. 1. c. 1. c. 1.

Images made of waxe, and crowned with Garlandes of flowers.

Plinie lib. 9. c. 5

Ensignes and Coates of Armes fixed before the Romaine houses.

an honour and prehemine vnto their houses.

From hence came the custome of bearing Armes in a Escutchian, as now adaies Gentlemen vse to do. Notwithstanding, it seemes that the emblazoning of Armes, receiued their originall from those deuices, which were on the Banners and Ensignes, as well of the Romaines, as other strange Nations, and carried by them in warre. As at this very day, the Emperors beare an Eagle in their Armes; because *Iulius Cesar*, the first Emperour of *Rome*, carried an Eagle in his Ensignes. As much may be said concerning the Flowers de Luces, which the Kings of *France* carrie, and of diuers other.

Now, concerning mine owne opinion, I finde, that long time before the *Romaines* were, the Armes of Gentlemen were in vse. For, it is said, in the first Booke of the *Macchabees*, that *Simon*, Capitaine general of the Jews armie, made a very sumptuous sepulcher for his father, mother and brethren, which was enriched with Pyramids and Pillars, whereon was engrauen Ships, in manner of a Deuice; and thereon were fixed coats of Armes, wherewith he had vanquished his brethren. *Messala Corwinus*, in the Oration which he made, to honour the linage of the Emperour *Octavius* (although the Oration deserued not the title of *Messala*, alleading *Virgil*, vpon that he wrote; affirming *Antenor* the *Troian*, to be the founder of *Padua*) sayth; *The Troians Armes were placed by Antenor, on the Temple of new Padua*; and that the emblazon of the Armes, was a Swine in a field golde. So that, if *Messala* do speake truly, the vse of Armes is very auncient. Heere vpon I conceiue, that the emblazons of Gentlemen, took name of Armes or Armories, because they were continually engrauen neare to their Armes. For, as *Messala* saith; *Our Auncients*, after they had obtained any victorie, ordinarily placed in their Temples, the Armes and Ensignes, wherewith they wonne the victorie from the enemy.

Wherefore we may well say, that the name of Gentleman, and the manner of bearing Armes in Escutchions, is no moderne matter, but very auncient; and that the name of Gentle or Gentile, came from those ordained and appointed for horsemen in the Romaine Cauallerie:

who were of the third estate or degree amongst the common people. And they that wore the long robe or Gowne, were the Order of Senators; and their sonnes aunciently called *Patricians*; as much to say, as issued from fathers. For, in the time of *Romulus*, according as *Titus Livius* auoucheth: *The Senatours were called Fathers, and their sonnes Patricians, and this degree was the most noble and chieftest in Rome*. Other Gentlemen, that were not of this rancke, were stiled Knights: from whence issued, that Gentlemen in *Spaine* are called *Cheualiers*. The like we say of the long gownned men, who commaund ouer the people, as Senators; and yet notwithstanding, they come after the other. Briefly, the name of *Knight* is come to such credite, as the very greatest do holde themselves honoured to be called *Knight*; albeit the name of *Knight* was but the proper title of a Souldier of the ordnances, or of the light horse.

## CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Septuagint, or Seauentie Translations of the olde Testament, out of Hebrew into Greeke: At what time it was done, and for what occasion.

Every man is very briefe, concerning the traduction of the Seauentie persons, who translated the Olde Testament out of Hebrew into Greeke; but yet very few do know, whence it came, and wherefore that translation was so appointed: wherein assuredly, many Diuines, in their publike preaching, haue declared ouer-much sloath & negligence. First then it is to be obserued, that this Translation of the Seauentie men, hath beene only in the Church holily and religiously respected: but in the time of Pope *Damasus*, *Saint Hierome* conuerted it into Latine. And to speak seriously, the traduction of the Septuagint hath bene of such authoritie, that it is alleaged for diuine: for so it appeareth by our blessed Sauour and his Apostles, in often alleading Scriptures, according to the saide Translation.

And

And because the historie of that Translation is very worthy and famous, I will set downe that which is sayd by *Saint Augustine*, in his Booke of the Citie of God, *Iosephus* the Jew, *Eusebius*, *Irenaeus*, *Iustinus*, *Ruffinus*, and many other.

Here is to be noted, that the five bookes of *Moses*, the Prophets, and other Histories of the holy Bible, were first of all written in the Hebrew tongue, which was the first vsuall tongue among men; before the confusion of Tongues, which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babylon*. In that tongue and language God spake first to his Prophets; as the like our blessed Lord and Sauour did, when he was conuersant among men. This language then being particular to the Iewes, and the mysteries and prophecies (as also the coming of Christ) being concealed therein: it was very requisite, that such mysteries should be written in a tongue more common then the Hebrew: as that was then among the Greekes, who were sole Gouvernours of the wide Vniuerse, by the fresh and recent victories of *Alexander* the Great. So that, by the frequentation and traffique of men, the Greeke tongue had coursed generally, and was esteemed the most common of all other Languages whatsoever.

To the end then, that the mysteries of sacred Scripture, might bee vnderstood of euery one, before the coming of Iesus Christ; it was requisite of necessity, that the Scriptures should be traduced into a common and vulgar tongue, for feare lest the Iewes at the *Messias* his coming, should suppress them, or else falsifie them (for that race of people was of bolde and most wicked inclination) because it might, and not be sayd, that the Christians had added or diminished any thing from the Scriptures, according to their owne humour and phantasie. And therefore, about two hundred and seauentie yeares before the Incarnation of Iesus Christ, it pleased the goodnesse of Almighty God, to inspire *Ptolomie Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*, to procure the translation of the holie Bible. But seeing we are fallen into discourse of that Prince; we will reach into his Historie somewhat higher.

After that *Alexander* the great had subdued *Asia* (which he performed in small compasse of time) and that he had ranged

a great part of *Europe* and *Africa*: he died without any lawfull heire, that might succeed him in such great Empires. He being dead, the Princes and Captains of his Court, who were all most valiant and famous men: laboured by force of Armes to possesse themselves of what they possibly could: So that the kingdomes appertaining to *Alexander* onely, became diuided into many parts: for *Antigonus* possessed himselfe of *Asia*, *Seleucus* of *Chaldea*, and of many other Provinces. By the same meanes also *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Lagus* made himselfe King of *Egypt*, of *Phoenicia*, of *Cyprus*, and diuerse other Countreies, among which *Iudea* then was one. Being Lord of *Iudea*, he made there many great booties, leading away store of Iewes captiues into *Egypt*, where hee had ordeined the chiefe seate of his Kingdome. So that he was the first King of *Egypt*, that called himselfe *Ptolomie*: which name remained hereditary to the successours in the sayd Kingdome; for, before that *Cambyses*, sonne to *Cyrus*, King of *Persia*, had conquered *Egypt*, all the Egyptian Kings called themselves *Pharaohs*.

But returning againe to our *Ptolomie*, after he had reigned a long time, he dyed, and then succeeded him *Ptolomie Philadelphus*, who likewise reigned peaceably in *Egypt*.

This Prince gaue laue, and set at libertie all the Iewes, which his father led prisoners into *Egypt*. And then it came to passe, according to the pleasure of Almighty GOD, that this King erected a goodly Librarie, in *Alexandria* the capitall Citie of *Egypt*, by the meanes of *Demetrius Phalarus* the *Albanian*, a man much renowned for his knowledge, and to whom hee gaue full power and commission. So that, by the diligence of *Phalarus*, hee compassed the finishing of the fairest and most compleate Librarie, that euer was: scene in the world; as well for number of Bookes, as the qualitie of Authors, and diuinitie of disciplines.

This King, vnderstanding that the Bookes of the Iewes, contained admirable and vnespressible mysteries, resolved to haue them reduced into the Greeke language. And to effect this his purpose, he dispatched an Embassie to *Alexander*, Prince of the Iewish Synagogue, with great presents; intreating him, in memory of fauours

done by

The death of Alexander the Great.

Alexanders Kingdome diuided into many parts.

The first Ptolomy King of Egypt, after the Pharaohs.

Demetrius Phalarus, a Noble Philosopher and Orator, Scholler to Theophrastus, for his excellent vertues governed the Athenians ten yeares.

Ptolomies Ambassie to Alexander the Jew.

The originall of bearing Armes in an Escutchian.

The Romaine Eagle borne by Emperors.

1 Macchab 13

Armes in vse long before the Romaines time.

Messala Corwinus in the Oration.

The Troians Armes vpon new Padua.

Messala in his lib. ciii. supra.

The name of Gentleman, & bearing Arms very auncient.

Senatours Fathers, & their sonnes Patricians.

The name of Knight.

Negligence in many, concerning the Septuagint.

The credite & authority of the Septuagint Translation.

The hebrew tongue the first general tongue.

God spake to his Prophets in the hebrew tongue.

The Greeke tongue esteemed the most frequent tongue.

The necessity of our Scripture in a vulgar language.

The Translation of the Bible, 770 yeares before Christs incarnation.

by him to those of his Nation, and for the good neighbourhood betwene them, to send him a Bible in *Hebrue*, as also such learned and skilfull men, as could translate it into the *Greeke* tongue. *Iosephus* and *Eusebius* haue set downe the forme of the Letter, which was as followeth:

**The Tenour of the Letter,**  
sent by King Ptolomy Philadelphus, to Eleazar the High-Priest.

*Ptolomy a King, to the High-Priest Eleazar, health.*

The Jewes were diuers times brought as captiues into Egypt by feuerall kings conquests ouer them.

King Ptolomy was great kindnesse and humanity to the Jewes.

He desired the full turning of his goodly Library.

NO man can be ignorant, that manie Jewes haue dwelt in this kingdome of Egypt, being brought thither prisoners by the *Persians*, at such time as they subuigated *Iuda*. And againe, when the late deceased king my father brought diuers hither also, to whom (neuerthelesse) my said Lord & Father trusted so much, that they did him seruice in his warres: yea, he planted them in strong fortis, by way of Garrisons, to keep the *Egyptians* in awe & feare. As for my selfe, from such time as I came to the Crowne, I haue alwayes vsed humanity towards your Nation, and haue sent home more then 20000 that were detained here as slaues, paying their ranfome & charges to them that held them prisoners. Such as desired to follow the warre, to them I haue giuen wages, euery one answerable to his worth and merit. Many of them I haue lodged in mine owne house ordinarily, as hoping by this means, to do somewhat acceptable to God, who deliuered this Kingdome into my hands.

And the better to declare the affection I beare in doing all pleasures that I can to you, and all the rest of your nation, as well for the time present as to come: I haue determined, to cause your Bookes in the Hebrew language, to be translated into the *Greeke* tongue, because I would not haue my newly erected Library, to remaine vnsuited any way. And therefore you shall haue a great number, to chuse fitt auncient men out of each Tribe, that are expert in your Lawe; and well versed in the *Greeke* for this intended translation. Not doubting, but that it will redound to our great honour, and ample contentment of mind. For this purpose, I haue sent vnto you *Am-*

*dreus* and *Aristeus*, who more at large will informe you of mine intention: to them haue I deliuered large summes of gold and siluer, to fulfill the Sacrifices as I haue appointed them, desiring you to send mee by them, such as may further this negotiation. Assuring you, that you cannot doe me a greater pleasure, nor more, to maintaine the friendship begun betweene vs: if (as I intreat you) this may be done with some expedition. *Ptolomie.*

After that the High-Priest *Eleazar* had received the Kings Letters, and vnderstood the further trust referred to the Ambassadors; he entertained them very honorably, receiuing (with chearefull looks) the golde and siluer sent by king *Ptolomie*, which (according to *Iosephus*) was a mightie quantitie. And hauing assembled the principall men of the twelue Tribes of *Israel*, hee acquainted them with the Kings intention, and to what end he had sent the Ambassadors. Wherein, to satisfie his desire, they elected out of each Tribe fix aged men, well experimented in the Lawe, and expert in the *Greeke* language. For the Jewes had a custome to send their people into *Asia*, to learne the *Greeke* and Latine tongues, as also the Artes and Sciences comprised vnder those languages, euen as yet to this day they obserue the same; so that all the men made choice of, were seuentie two. After they were thus chosen, they were sent with the Ambassadors to King *Ptolomie*, and the Bookes of the Old Testament with them, written (as *Iosephus* sayth) in most places all in golden Letters, and vpon such parchment, the most ingeniously made that euer was seene. Moreouer, he sent diuers great gifts to the said Prince, returning him answer in maner following.

**The Answere of the High-Priest Eleazar, to great king Ptolomy Philadelphus,**

*Eleazar, to his friend King Ptolomie, health.*

I Am very glad of your present welfare, and the health of Queene *Arfinoe* your wife, with the young Lords your Sonnes, or any thing you can wish to your contentment: certifying you likewise of my

Two men of great honour and worth, sent by the King.

Eleazar entertained the Ambassadors very honourably.

The Jewes by frequenting *Asia*, learned the *Greeke* and Latine Languages.

The High-Priests were very familiarly to such kings with whom they were acquainted in many

The royall gift sent by Ptolomy Philadelphus.

A confession of the Jewes was to require so great & gracious a kindness.

The 72 translators separated one from another, and yet differed not one syllable in all their labours.

instant healthfull condition. By the Misgife you sent vnto mee, I vnderstand the faire loue and affection, which you beare to our Nation, and haue caused your letters to bee publicly read before all the people, and to let them fully vnderstand, what holy deuotion you declare towards God; I haue exposed to open view, the twenty Vessels of gold, and thirty of siluer, together with fifty Cups, and a Table of siluer for the sacrifices, beside forty Talents of gold, and as many of siluer, sent by you to furnish the Ornaments of our Temple. All which I haue received from the hands of the Noble Lords *Andreas* and *Aristeus*, your faithfull Counsellors and Ambassadors, who haue amply entrusted vs in the cause by you required. And therefore, we haue ient them backe againe vnto yee, offering our selues by them, to accomplish your good pleasure.

And because the extraordinary great fauours which you haue done to them of our Nation, are such, as it is impossible for vs to vie or return any condigne requital: wee must make our recourte to solemne prayers and sacrifices, for the prosperity of you, of your Queene, and of the Noble Lords your sonnes. In which holy action, all our people very voluntarily desire to employ their utmost paines, in crauing of God, to further and finish your desires, as may best stand with the conseruation of your Estate, and maintenance of your Kingdome in glory and honour.

Now concerning the Translation of the Bookes of our Law, by you so greatly and earnestly desired; we haue elected fix Auncients out of our severall Tribes, who we send vnto you, with the Bookes of our Bible. But when the Translation shall be perfected; according to the office of a iust and louing king, wee desire that they may be sent back againe to their native Country.

*Eleazar, and the people of the Jewes.*

When King *Ptolomy* had receyued the Letters of *Eleazar*, with the Bookes of the Bible, and such Presents as were sent by *Eleazar*; he most royally welcomed the seuentie two aged men, and (as *Iosephus* sayth) ioyed not a litle for their arrival. Their lodgings being prepared, & all things necessary for their employment,

they setled themselves to the Bibles translation: wherein happened an admirable and miraculons case; for the seuentie two men being placed separately, according to the kings Commission, without any meanes or power of conferring one with another: after they had thus diuidedly finished their Translation, they all appeared before the King with their severall labours, and were found therein all so conformable and agreeing, that one man had not a fillable more then another; which doubtlesse could not bee done, without the power and especiall grace of the holy Ghost, according to the saying of *S. Augustine*, *Irenaeus* and *Tertullian*, who auoucheth in his time, to haue seene at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, the written Bookes of the seuentie two Translators, vnder their own hands, which were in Hebrew and in *Greeke*.

As much is said and maintained by *Iustinus* the Philosopher, in the booke of Advertisements, which he wrote to the Gentiles and Pagans, where he speaketh thus. King *Ptolomy* caused to bee builded without the City of *Alexandria*, seuentie two Houses, to lodge therein seuerally, the seuentie two Translators, and there provided for them all things necessary, in most honorable manner. In which places the Translators remained, without seeing one another, until the translation was perfected. Nay more, he affirmed to haue seene the ruines and old walls of those buildings, which were esteemed as reliques and sacred things. And although *S. Hierome* and *Ruffinus* do disagree concerning the number of those Halls or Chambers; yet notwithstanding, that is no matter of any moment, considering (according to *S. Augustine*, and many other Authors) each Translator wrote his bookes alone by himselfe, nor any way conferring one with another, and yet neuerthelesse, all the Translations were found conformable.

And assuredly, when I consider aduisedly on this mystery, I hold it for a mighty miracle, that they should agree in such a conformity of stile, order and method, traducing matter so long and diuers, although they had bene admitted altogether, and had begun the worke with their owne agreement, because we see it a matter of no meane moment, to finde two men agreeing vpon one and the same point, when

Aug. in Chist. De lib. 8. Irenaeus loc. 1. alen. Tertullian. Genitili.

Ruffinus in Advers. ad Gent.

The difference of S. Hierome and Ruffinus about the buildings.

The admirable conformity of stile, method and matter, in so long a labour.

when they are to intermeddle with one argument together. But, after the translation was finished, the Iewes which dwelt in Egypt, and were very learnedly skilfull in their Law, commended these Sacred writings to the King, wherewith hee was most highly pleased. And according as *Iosephus* and *Eusebius* do maintaine, King *Ptolemy*, being amazed at those Scriptures, and the holy mysteries in them comprized, demanded of *Demetrius Phalaris*, who had the charge of his Library, how it hapned, that *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, and other Law-makers, were silent in this law of the Iewes? Whereto *Demetrius* thus answered.

*Sir, this Law, as your selfe haue sufficiently sene, came from God; and no Lawyer euer durst be so bold, to meddle with it vnderenly, or misuse any text therein contained. Theopompus was smitten with the hand of heauen, with an extraordinary perturbation in his senses, and mighty paine at his hart: because he medled with the holy Histories of the Hebrews among his owne, beautifying the with borrowed words, and rhetoricall phrases. But upon his true repentance and humiliation to God, committing himselfe wholly to his mercy, it was revealed to him in his sleep: that this disaster happened to him, because he durst be so bolde, to embellish and enrich the sincerity of holy Scripture, with curious and adorning words; and thereby to impart them to Pagan and Infidell Nations.*

*I remember also to haue read, that Theodorus a Tragical Poet, lost his sight sodainly for taking a place of Scripture to maintaine an argument in his Tragedy: and yet vpon his vnfeigned repentance, his sight was restored to him againe.*

King *Ptolemy* wondering at this discourse of *Demetrius*, placed the translated Bible in his Library, and hauing thankfully respected the ancient Iewes, he licensed their departure, giuing to each man sumptuous gifts; thanking likewise (by his Letters) the Prince *Elezar*, to whom he sent Kingly presents. Thus you see, how the translation of the Septuagint was performed, they being men (as *S. Augustine* and *Saint Hierom* saide) that then had the spirit of Prophecy: which appeared plainly, in that our blessed Lord and his Euangelists, alleged Scriptures according to their translation. And if perhappes any thing is found in the Hebrew Bible, which

is not in the translation of the Septuagint, wee may well say, that the holy Ghost would not reueale it by their means. And contrarywise, if some thing bee in their translation & is not in the Hebrew text: we must verily beleuee, that the blessed Spirit reuealed the passage by their meanes. For the selfsame Spirit that directed the Prophets, when they set down their Prophecies in writing, governed the seauenty two Translators in translating the holy Bible; so saith *S. Augustine*, concerning the version of the Old Testament.

This was the first, before the coming of Iesus Christ; for, after our Saviours Passion, *Aquila* the Iew wrote another. Two other translations were afterwarde performed, but by whom it was not known: notwithstanding, they came to the hands of *Saint Hierom*, as *Eusebius* maketh mention in the sixt booke of his Ecclesiasticall history. By these translations the Bible was reduced out of Greeke into Latine: but *Saint Hierom* did his out of Hebrew into Latine, without staying on the Septuagints labour, nor the other Greeke translations. Beside, *Pilimes* and other things are sung and sayde in the Church, whereof no disputation neede to be made, whether they were of *S. Hieroms* writing or no.

## CHAP. XXVII.

Of the admirable vertues and properties, which God and Nature hath giuen vnto the Ant, Emmot, or Pisse-mire: And what worthy examples haue from it bin deriued.



Ou may well say, that it is no difficult matter for mee, to speake of the Nature and properties of Creatures, hauing for my Patroness, Maisters, and Guides, *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, *Helianus*, and many other, writing on that argument: but because my desire extendeth selfe beyonde ordinary compasse,

One and the same blessed spirit guided the Prophets and Septuagint.

*Aquila* the Iew wrote the second translation.

*E. A. in Hist. Eccles. lib. 6.*

The couetous selfe or men vnto gather benefit from all kind of creatures.

*Prou. 6, 6, 7, 8.*

*Ant. in Hist. lib. 6.*

*Ant. in Hist. lib. 6.*

*Ant. in Hist. lib. 6.*

*Ant. in Hist. lib. 6.*

*Ant. in Hist. lib. 6.*

*Ant. in Hist. lib. 6.*

*Ant. in Hist. lib. 6.*

coueting things curious, and knowne to few people; I purpose to say something of the Ant, Emmot, or Pisse-mire; albeit in regard of the creatures smallness, some may thereby take occasion to condemne my discourse. Neuerthelesse, let their humors serue them howsoever, I cannot exclude this creature out of our rich & spacious Forrest: for there is not any garden how warily or closely soeuer it bee kept; but the Ant will make his entrance, euen in despite of the Master and Owner. And how little in our iudgement and substance of the creature, it seemeth to vs; yet many renowned Authors haue written wonderful things thereof.

Very true it is, that *Pliny* sayeth; *This creature is unprofitable, and of no worth at all, but only for it selfe: when contrariwise, the Bee, as little as it is, doeth (neuerthelesse) giue a pleasing taste to our food, by the sweet saucour of his honey, whereas the Ant doeth gnaw and eat them.* But yet in another place, he speaketh wonders of the Ant, & extolleth it extraordinarily. For, concerning the blamefull imputation hee imposeth on this little creature, it proceedeth from a certaine kinde of Couetousnesse, whereunto man is so inclined for his own particular profit, that he would deriue benefit from all creatures, how small soeuer they be, being greatly offended, that our Ant should prouide it selfe of one poore graine of Corne. But if we would consider things, in such kinde as duly appertaineth to them, we should finde more profit from the Ant, then from the Bee. For the Ant serueth vs as an example of industry, prouidence and friendship, and of many other vertues beside, related at large by *Salomon* in his Proverbs, who sendeth the sluggard to the Ant, to consider what paine and solitudine she taketh, and to learne discipline and direction of her. For, hauing neither guide or Captaine, or any to command and direct her: shee prepareth her food in the Summer for Winter.

From hence it ensued, that *Saint Ambrose* (speaking of this silly little creature) vseth these words: *The designes and enterprises of the Ant, being iustly considered, do farre exceede her power and strength. And although she haue none to incite her to labor: yet notwithstanding, by a certaine kind of dominion or authority, she prouideth for after-claps and future necessities.* Behold what

*Saint Ambrose* hath saide, who speaketh much more amply concerning the properties of this little Ant; whereon *Cicero* likewise discoursing, sayeth: *That the Ants Common wealth is to be aduised to every City.* For, not onely they haue vnderstanding like other Animales: but also they haue sense, reason, and memory.

*Pliny*, *Aristotle*, and *Helianus*, are verie stayed in iudgement, for their consideration of the Ant, and not without great reason: for in duly obseruing her forme, her dreadfull aspect, her hardnesse, her liuely colour, and her piercing snout; there is not any Lion so fierce as this creature, were it but as great as it is little; it is so strong, bold, and dreadfull.

First, there is not any animall, that can carry the weight of himselfe: but the Ant carrieth and draweth ten times a heavier load then it selfe, so that if this small creature were as great as a horse, it would easily beare the burthen of foure Waggon. Other beasts can hardly defend themselves against her assaults; for, although shee is so small a worne, yet notwithstanding, her teeth are so strong, as the very hardest graine of Corne is not able to withstand them. Nay, she will carry hard stones in her teeth, and howsoever shee fasteneth vpon them, shee will squash and bruiseth them, holding them so forcibly: that no pincers are able to open her mouth. And so opiniuitie is shee is of her power, as shee will rather suffer her selfe to be rent in peeces, then to forsake whatsoeuer shee holdeth: which strength would be farre greater, if her body were equialent thereto.

But leauing her strength (whereof so small account is made, in regard of her littleness) let vs somewhat consider the natural instinct, together with the vertue & wisdom abiding in her. For nature (throughout the whole wide world) hath not produced any other creature, making more demonstration of vertue, then the Ant: nor such profession of amity, industry, prouidence, and diuers other singular vertues, as wee shall haue occasion to speake of hereafter, in theyr apte places.

In the prime place, Ants haue the form of a Common wealth among themselves, according as *Pliny* saith; for they haue neither King, Lord, nor any Commander; as much is affirmed by *Aristotle* and *Salomon*:

*Cicero in Tull. Catul. Cap. 19.*

*Pliny, Aristotle, Helianus.*

No beast able to beare so great a burthen as the Ant.

The wonderful & great strength in her teeth,

What vertues are in the Ant by naturall instinct.



mon: And yet their Commonwealth is so well policied and ordered, as they haue neuer any Warre or ciuill contention among them. Likewise they are neuer seen to fight or kill one another, as men doe: but, as hath bene obserued, all labour for the Weale-publike, without laying aside any thing for priuate vse, as other Creatures do, that fight for feeding of theys bellies.

How they supply one another's weakness in living their piousness.

Ants helpe and assist one another, in conducting home their store, and make their prouision generally for all together; and if any one be ouer-loaden or wearie, his fellowe giues him supply, and in such decent manner, as one is no hinderance to another. And if there be any thing ouer-heavy to be carried away with their prouision, they take so much thereof as is needfull, and easie to bee trained along, going on together so chearfull and dexteriously, that they may well be said, to bee creatures fit and apt for portage. Other creatures haue their nestes and retreats a part by themselves, so that (oftentimes) they necessarily war against them of their kinde, for their nestes and lodgings: whereas the like filly Ants haue but one roome or receipt for them all in general, without any diuided chambers or Parlors for particular persons: by which means, they maintain loue and friendship one vwith another, therein giuing vs a familiar example, to vse the like sociable vertue as they do.

Their cause is commonly nere to some Brook or Riuer.

Moreover, the industry which they declare in their Cae or roome, is a matter maruellous; because if it bee possible for them, they will alwayes make their dwelling nere to a riuer, or some little running brooke, and plant the earth which they bring to the mouth of their caue, to serue as a rampier against rough winter, as freezing least water should winne entrance: & within the entry, they winde and turned diuers wayes, to the end, that their maine abiding should not easly be found, & the mouth or doore is very narrow, in regard of the spaciousnesse within.

Beside, they haue three roomes or stages within their Cae; one whereof is for the males, the second for the Females, where they produce their yong ones, for there are male and female of these small Creatures. In the third stage they make their Garner, wherein they bestow their

food and prouision, according as *Aristotle* affirmeth. Vling their store so measurably, as they neuer haue any want of victuals. And because the most part of their putreynance is Come, to preferre it in such sort, that moysture may not make it sprout; they bite and nibble the Graine within the midst, where the sprouting yf-fueth forth, a thing most admirable and miraculous in Nature, notwithstanding, *Pliny*, *Helianus*, and many other good authors, do aouuch it to be certaine & true. If they finde their Come to bee wetre and moistned with winter raines, they haue a naturall vnderstanding, to dry and refresh it againe in the Sunne, to preferre it from putrifying: so that the little poore Ant is neuer idle either day or night, for then she vseth the helpe of the Moone, when the Sunne-thine is denied her, which ensueth from incomparable prudence.

Such as haue written on this argument, and daily experience confirms the same, that the Ants are well inured to these labors; for they dayly come abroad from their Caves, to bring home fresh and new nouishment. And after that such nouell prouisions is brought in, whether they knowledge consisteth in the smelling it, or by a naturall instinct giuen from God, enstructing how to order and vse it, all come forth together, to refresh both their olde and new prouision, and following their guides in great crowds, conuey their store in all by one way, without the least injury one to another: because in doing a kinde of courttesie, they make way for each others free passage, and sometimes walk on in comles together.

Now here is a further matter to be obserued, what order they keepe, when they come to the place, where they do charge themselves with their prouision. For some get the Come out of the straw; Others, carry it to the Cae, at the entrance whereof, there stand diuers other readie to receiue it, and so conuey it into the garner, euery one doing his duty according vnto his office and degree. And when they carry a Pease, a Chiche, or some other grain, more weighty then a graine of Wheate; three or foure undertake the burthen, or so many as the case requireth, pacing on very gently together, without any crowding or disorder.

And if by chance they come vnto any

Ants build, and dig, and

A marvellous industry in the Ants for preserving their prouision.

Dayly care & industry for their supply of food.

Courteously do each to other in the portage of their prouision.

Their art of carrying their prouision to the garner, & in what manner all order they are holding one to another.

place, irkefome or offensive to their passage, the order is admirable which they obserue therein. For, some raise vp the load aloft, and others labour to thrust it forward, by stepping vnder to caue theys fellowes: and if any meete them accidentally by the way, they all lay helpe to get home the burthen. And being come vnto the Caves entrance, if the graine be greater then the mouth thereof will admitte: they cut it in quarters, and so carry it into the Granary. In the while of this their busie toile, others are not negligent, in bringing home putreynance beside: so that wee may say (in conclusion of this point) all generally labour for the Weale-publique.

After their prouision is thus made, and their Garner well stored for the season, they fortifie and fast close vp the Cae, against the iniurie of winters stormes and raine: notifying themselves all the while, with their plenty formerly brought in. Vvich naturall instinct is denied vnto all other Animals, man onely excepted: and yet there are many men, scarcely provided for a morrowes necessity. Moreover, that the Ant maketh a double prouision for her age, is very considerable; for, according as *Virgil* saith: *She prouideth for her aged yeeres, which ensueth to her by instinct of Nature, preparing it still (euery yeare) for a following Winter, implying the Winter of her age.*

This creature, hath also a naturall inclination, quite contrary to all brutish behaiour. For, she seemeth to haue some knowledge of God, and a kinde of religious vnderstanding. For as *Pliny* and *Helian* do both affirme, they obserue Religiously certaine festiual daies, as all the newe Moones; a matter somewhat hard to be credited, and yet possible neuertheless. The same authors say also, that they haue a naturall kinde of charitie amongst them; because they will bury their dead, euen in meere compassion.

*Cleantes* reporteth an admirable history, which by *Helian* is maintained to be true. *Cleantes* being a learned Philosopher, and sitting one day by an Ant hillocke, to consider their naturall disposition: he espied two Ants bearing a third Ant that was dead, and comming nere to the Caves entrance, which belonged to the other dead; they set downe they

These admirable qualities in the Ants are auouched by many good Authors.

Many mellicie prouident then the Ant, that maketh prouision for her age.

*Virgil* in *Bucol.*

The Ant deuout and religious.

The Ant charitable.

An admirable history recorded by *Cleantes* and *Helianus*.

load, and two other Ants came out of the Cae to them, seeming to confer & talke together by outward action. The last two returned into the caue againe, & brought forth a little Worme betwene them, which the other receiued of them, as in payment for their paines, and returned backe, leaving the dead Ants bodie, that they of the Cae might giue it buriall, the which they presently did, so soone as the other were departed.

Vndoubtedly, it is a matter maruellous, that these creatures, being so final, as some of them can scarcely be scene, should thus serue as an example to me, to study peace and concord, and to be good house-keepers, laborious, prouident, and charitable; aptly therein instructing the spirit & vnderstanding of men; not reputing the Ant to bee so vnbeneificiall, as *Plinie* did, though it produce no honey or other food. Yet it is greatly auailable for the health of man, especially her Egges, which (as *Pliny* saith) being incorporated vwith the milke of a Bitch, healeth all paine and anguish in the ears. If they be beaten in powder, they make an Vnguent, which mixed with salt, taketh away all pimples and pufes in the face: and Ants beeing eaten, dooth cure all discaies incident vnto the eyes.

Neuertheless, because this poore Animal feeds on graine, herbes, and fruits of trees, onely to consecrate her selfe in her being, and to perpetuate her generation, whereby some damage may redounde to the fields: reuengefull man, finding himselfe offended at so little harme, hath invented a thousand wayes to worke her death. For (as *Pliny* saith) the power of Origan, incorporated with sulphure, and a little vnslaked Lime, killeth Ants. He sayth moreover, that damming vpe the mouth of their Cae with Sea-mud and Ashes, they can neuer get forth. Notwithstanding, there is not any thing more proper to kill Ants, then the Hearb called *Heliotropium*. And beside, *Auicenne* studied in a whole Chapter, how to be the death of this poore Creature, taking as much paines therein, as if it had bene to expel the plague, or the feauer quartane.

Treade of certaine Ants in the Region of the *Dardas*, who doe inhabit the *East Indias*, toward the North seashores, which are as grosse and great as Wolves, and

What an example the Ants meet in many matters.

The Ants egge helpful for paines in the ears.

The malice of man against the poor Ant, onely to destroy it.

Meanes whereby to kill beds of Ants.

Ants in India, as big as our Wolves, that cast vp Golde in the fields.



and the people feare them as they do Lyons, according to the testimony of diuers Authors. And some say, that in digging and turning vp the earth, they throwe vp great quantities of gold; which the country people go to gather, when these dreadful Ants are retired; which they dare not do, if they but sent them in the fields. For sometimes, these Ants hauing winded those seekers for Gold, rush forth vpon them, and kill as many as they can meete withall.

And they haue no other means to seek for gold with safety, but by comming thither mounted vpon light Camels, for their better expedition in flight. And if (by mischance) these Ants do winde those Gold-finders; they haue some peece of flesh hanging about them, which sodainly they let fall, and so escape away. Finally, it seemeth a thing monstrous, that our Ants should be charged with wings: Neuertheless, there is a common Prouerbe, saying: *To the damme of the Ant, wings are proper.* Whereby it appeareth, that some further meaning is hid therein: because such creatures as haue Wings, the winds will carrie them whether they please.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*From whence it proceedeth, that some men liue long, and others farre lesse while. And what complexion is the best for liuing long. Also how we are to vnderstand the place, where it is said, that The dayes of a man are numbred.*

**T**HE Apostle S. Paul sayeth, *That all men are subiect vnto dye,* and therein all men are equall and alike. Notwithstanding, there is a difference in the tearmes of life; because some liue long, and other lesse space. Neuertheless (as Iob saith) *The time of our life is compassed, and no man can passe the boundes which God hath limited and determined to our life.* These things then standing thus (as in truth they do) it is not ill or amisse, to vnderstand that which causeth the life of man; wherefore one liueth longer then

another; what complexion is most proper for long life: and lastly, how it ought to be vnderstood, when it is said, that our dayes are counted and determined, being no way able to passe on further, which are points sufficiently obscure, and comprehended by few people.

To vnderstand therefore the cause of long life, it behooueth vs to presuppose in the first place, that the life of man, and maintenance of this his humane bodie, consisteth in the concord and harmony of the foure Elementary qualities whereof it is composed, as namely heate, colde, moysture, and drinesse. But expressly in the proportionable harmony of heate and moiture, which Aristotle well declareth: who onely maketh mention of the conueniency of these two qualities, for the support and continuance of man. In like manner, we perceiue by experience, that man hath little care of his owne failing, so long as he keepeth his naturall heate: for that heate is the principall instrument, to conserue the vegetatiue soule.

Now, to speake vprightly, the life of man consisteth in nothing else, then in maintaining the instruments and organs of the soule; among which, naturall heat (by right) holdeth the prime place: for this heate is so necessary to support mans body, as whensoever it is failing, the soule is constrained to forsake the body, & giue a period to the life of man. And because this naturall heate holdeth of fire, which (of his owne nature) consumeth whatsoever it meeteth withall: it was truly convenient, that another contrarie qualitie should be opposed against it, for conseruation of the inferiour bodies. Vpon which occasion, God placed the radicall or naturall humor, with this naturall heate, onely to nourish and maintaine it, even as fire feedeth it selfe by Oyle. And, in regard that this radicall humor consumeth and diminisheth it selfe daily; to supply & defend it, it was necessary, that all Creatures should browse and feede, and that by means thereof, the humor (being the cause of digestion) should supply the naturall defect.

But seeing that (according to Aristotle) the humor which is cause of digestion, is neuer so perfect as the radicall and naturall, although it serueth much for maintenance: of necessity the radicall humor decayeth

The harmony of the foure elementar qualities gouerne the body of man.

Wherein the life of man mainly consisteth: naturall heate being the chiefe instrument.

Other radicall or naturall humor.

The humor which is cause of digestion, is neuer so perfect as the radicall humor.

cayeth it selfe daily (for the accidental humor, cause of digestion, is neuer so perfect as the radicall, which vaniseth away) and by this meanes of intirely vanishing, naturall heate loseth it selfe, and the body takes ending. For, if the humor radicall, and cause of digestion, were so perfect as the naturall humor vanished away, a man should liue infinitely, according to Diuines say. Who maintain, that the propriety of the Tree of life, which God placed in the terrestriall Paradise, consisted in this principally: that eating the fruit thereof, it should re-establish the radicall humor, that else would vanish & be lost. From hence it ensued, that this tree was prohibited to Adam and Eue, after they were excluded out of terrestriall Paradise. For, if our first Parents had kept themselves in their original righteoussnes; they and their successors, feeding on the fruit of that tree, had liued eternally in the flower of their time, without euer tasting corruption, or old age: vntill such time as God had glorified their bodies, without enduring the passage of death. But seeing that humane Linage hath lost this prerogative by sinne, which brought death into the world; it is no wonder, if this defect sheweth it selfe in vs all.

Proceeding now to our former purpose, I say, that life endureth more or lesse, according as the radicall humor is concordant and proportionable: for they in whom these qualities are most temperate and best proportioned, liue longest, and not such as abound in those qualities. From thence it cometh, that wee see many small animals, who haue least heat and humidity, to liue (neuertheless) longer then they that are of bigger and greater bulke, and abound more in the said qualities; which likewise cometh so to passe in trees, as well as in men. So that we may say, and say truly, that long life consisteth in the temperature and iust proportion of heate and moiture: which wanting their kind companion life, dissolueth it selfe. For when heate ouer aboundeth humidity, it consumeth the body in little time, as may be discerned in chollericke men. Where contrariwise, by excessiue humidity, heat feeleth it selfe to be quenched, as in Fleumaticke persons it happeneth in the same manner. Neuertheless, we do not by these examples vnderstand, that hee must also

faile, who hath as much of the moyt humor as of heat, because it is necessary, that a proportion should be obserued therein: that is to say, heate to exceed humidity proportionably. For, one thing being agent, hath no great vertue in working on the other, if it surmount not the part patient. And this did Aristotle couertly declare, when he said; *Among those two qualities before remembered, there ought to be a little coldnes mingled, to moderate the heat of the radicall fire, so the end it may not wholly consume the humor naturall.* And drinesse also is as requisite, to dry up the radicall humor, so that it may not extinguish the naturall fire. As we often see to happen in young children, that dy by ouermuch humidity; notwithstanding, among these foure qualities, heate and moiture are held for the principall, as being vitall complexions, & causing life. As for the humors cold and dry, although they serue greatly to the conseruation of life: yet neuertheless these two qualities are held for the doore & entrance to death. Because cold is enemy to heate, wherein principally consisteth the point of life: and drinesse is opposite and contrary to moiture, which yet is the nourisher of naturall heat. According as wee see in aged people, who grow to be colde and dry, when they draw neare to death; as chiefly in dead bodies, which ordinarily are dry and colde. A man then (according to the good temperature of heate) ought also to temper his complexion by these foure qualities, and that in such sort: as to maintaine his heate in the first place, and humidity next after, causing colde and dry to do seruice, according to their offices & quarters. By which means, they that finde not themselves thus proportionably tempered, are naturally of short life: thus then you see the causes of long life.

Now remaineth that somewhat should be saide, concerning the best complexion of all other, for the maintenance of long life. First of all then is to be noted, that of the foure complexions, as Choler, flegme, Blood, & Melancholy, blood is the best, to help him in the length of life: for blood is hot & moist, which qualities are the aptest to prolong life. But the humidity must not be watry, but airy, being hot & moist, and so the sanguine complexion, participating of some temperate heat and moiture sufficient to nourish the heat, it is most

Heate ought to exceed humidity proportionably.

Arist. in Anim. lib. 5. cap. 10.

Young children dying by ouerabundant moiture.

Concerning the diuersities of contraries.

By the good temperature of heate, a man should gouerne his owne complexion in whole foure qualities.

Blood the best of all the four complexions in man.

The Tree of life in the terrestriall Paradise, preserving from corruption & old age.

Life lasteth longer or lesse time, according to the proportion and temperature of the radicall humor.

Life dieth, loosing her companions heate and moiture.

Riding on light Camels, to escape fro these Ants.

Though all men are subiect to death, yet the number of their dayes are not alike. Iob. 14. 5.

The Choleric complexion.

The Phlegmatick &amp; watric.

The Melancholy.

Choller and Phlegme.

Blood and Melancholy.

Compound Complexions

The life of man limited by power of his complexion.

Many men die before nature faileth in the through their owne extremity of excess.

proper of all the complexions to make long life. As for the Choleric complexion, it is of lesse continuance, because the vivacity and force of his fire, and also of the heate, cannot long endure with his drynesse. The Phlegmaticke & watric complexion, cannot bee digested by heate, in regard of his excessive humidity; & therefore falleth easily into corruption, which (in the end) procureth death.

The melancholy complexion, being earthie, abridgeth life by his coldnesse & drought, which are qualities contrary to heate and moisture: and therefore it is not to bee wondered at, though they shorten life, by over-abounding in some bodies. Notwithstanding, if Choller mingle it self with Phlegme, and that it surmounteth proportionably the Phlegme; that Complexion also is very apt to maintaine long life. When likewise blood surpasseth Melancholy in a good proportion, that complexion is good: for the heate and humidity of the blood do beguile themselves, with the cold and driness of melancholy. Whereby we may gather, that there are compounded Complexions, which are much better then the Sanguine simple, to preferre and prosper the length of life.

By that which formerly hath bene said, wee may perceiue, that the life of man is limited by power and vertue of his Complexion, and by the proportion of Elementary qualities: so that the diuersitie of proportions doe cause the diuersity of termes of life in man. And some hold, that a man may liue so long as naturall heate lasteth, and the radicall humor giueth maintenance. Also, whereas some say, that the life of man hath his limit, beyond which, it is impossible for him to passe; it is to be noted, that although the complexion and naturall vertue of man, may supply and maintaine vnto the latest point; yet notwithstanding, of a thousand men, hardly one attaineth to that point, because there are so many disasters which happen accidentally, or else by some disorder: that the most part die, before nature failes in them, either by hunger, pestilence, poison, goutmandize, whoredome, bad victuals, or by diseases, caused thorow inhuir excesses in me, by them daily committed, and so the true naturall terme of mans life is, when nature faileth, being the

viterly impossible for them to passe that point.

This are we to vnderstand that place in *Iob*, where it is sayde: *Lord, thou hast enlarged the bounds of mans life, which is impossible for him to go beyond.* Whereby may clearly be discerned, that a man may very easily shorten his life, but not lengthen it. So that wee see many of good complexion, and likely to liue a Worlde of yeares: who neuertheless are of short life, by some exteriour cause, which hastens on the expiration of their daies. Notwithstanding, that passage in *Iob* may bee otherwise vnderstood, in regard of Gods preference or foreknowledge, who giueth to euery one his terme of life; be it by his naturall complexion, or by some other meanes, which he hath assigned to the life of man. And because ther is nothing hidden from the wisdom of God (for, hee knoweth all the causes and accidents that can happen to man) it is impossible for man, to haue any power of lengthening his life, beyond the ordination of God, although there were contingent causes.

In this respect it may be said, that there are two termes in the life of man, one whereof dependeth vpon the harmony & proportion of the Elementary qualities; and the other is according to the preordination and preference of God. Between which termes, there is onely this difference, that a man may come or proceede so farre as the first, and yet without passing it; but all men attaine to the second. And although that (by course of nature) some one may passe on to his second terme; yet notwithstanding, there is not any that can go beyond it; as the like may bee sayde of other creatures and plants.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*How the life of man hath bene abridged and shortened from the beginning of the World, & that in diuers times: Of the diuersity of termes allotted to men: With many histories tending to that purpose, especially of such as haue liued longest.*

**H**Auing shewne how to maintaine this life, & declared also the reasons, why some liue long, & others lesse time; it may appeare

Many men likely to liue long, haue yet their daies shortened.

Two termes in the life of man, and how they are attained vnto.

Concerning the naturall harmonie of Elementary qualities, sup porting mans body.

The long life of our forefathers in the first world.

Gen. 6, 3.

Gods owne limitation for the life of man.

Genesis 15, 7.

Genesis 46, 6.

Psalme 90, 10.

The yeares of weak &amp; strong men in these our instant times.

peare good to vnderstand, at what times the naturall harmonie of the Elementary qualities (which support the body of man) began to grow into decadence; which, from the beginning of the world, euen to this instant day, hath kept alwayes in diminution, concerning the temperature of Complexions, with the quality of food, which do conferre and establish life, and yet mans life daily waxing to be lesse and lesse in continuance.

In the first world, men liued eight hundred and nine hundred yeares, according as we haue already declared in our former volume, and the eighth Chapter, where is amply related the yeares of our ancient forefathers, farre differing from ours. Our present intention and purpose, is to speake concerning the decadence of the age of man; a matter very remarkable, & whereof the sacred Scripture doth make mention. For it is written, that the first declining of mans yeares or age, was ruled and limited to an 120. yeares, immediately after the flood, according as we read in Genesis, where the Lord God himselfe said, *The life of man shall be an hundred and twentie yeares.* Not that hee saith, that a man cannot out-liue six score yeares; but as if that the rest or over-plus of his life, will be but wearisome and insupportable old age.

*Abraham*, who was long time after the deluge, liued an hundred seueny and fiue yeares. *Isaac* was an hundred and thirty yeares olde, when he went down into Egypt, where hee yet liued ten yeares longer. And so of many other to bee alleged, that liued many happy yeares. Since then, the life of man became shortned againe, euen in the time of *Dauid*, who speaketh thus in one of his Psalmes. *The dayes of our age is threescore yeares and ten, & though men be so strong, that they attain to foure score yeares; yet is their strength then, but labour and sorrow, so soone it passeth away, and we are gone.* Now a dayes wee see, that such as are of feeble Complexion, passe not about fiue and fifty yeares, and (very strong men) but three score & fiue (I meane in lusty disposition, for operatory actions to be in men) & therefore the life of man in these our daies, lasteth not the twentieth part, of those men liuing in the worlds first Age, and howe much shorter they will be, God only knoweth.

The ancient Philosophers labored verily in seeking a reason for this difference and decadence in mens yeares. Some attributed it to the celestiall influences. Others allegeded farre contrarie reasons, as *Plinie*, and many more beside, that limit the life of man to fixe score yeares. *Berossus* alloweth no more then an hundred and seauenteene; *Petofiris*, an hundred twenty six: but *Censorinus* (following the opinion of the Philosopher *Epistatius*) assigneth a man to liue but foure score yeares. *Dioscorides*, imitating the Egyptians, and speaking of the life of man, saith: *It is long or short, according vnto the poise or weight of his heart.* Euen as wee haue more at large deliuered, in the precedent part to this Volume, where manie reasons are allegeded, making to this purpose, without presuming into any lectre, concerning the will and providence of God.

In the first place, God ordaind all creatures to care and drinke, for maintenance of the naturall and radicall humor, granting them means also, to perpetuate their severall kindes, by the acte of generation. But, as eating & drinking is not sufficient enough, to re-establish the radicall humor, which diminisheth and vanisheth away of it selfe daily, so that life may likewise be lost as soone as it is; so is it not possible also, to yeeld a body by the acte of generation, of such compleat perfection, as others were, that liued in the first age of the world. For the vertue and power of the radicall complexion (which is called the principal complexion) is mightily decayed: & from hence it enlieth, that the life of man became abridged and shortned dayly more and more.

Another reason, which neuertheless dependeth vpon the former, is this; that the food wherewith man sustaineth himselfe, hath lost, and cometh far short of such vertue, as it had at the beginning of the world. So that it is viterly impossible, to haue mankind in such bodily perfection, as the men of the first world had. And therefore the vertue of complexion failing in man, and the harmony of the Elementary qualities being adulterated and bastardized, and food likewise decayed in goodness; it is no marvel, if our present life be become so much shortned. And though those times then obserued, euen as an

The search of Philo-Gaylus for the reason of mens short life, as a consequence of our four radical humors.

All creatures appointed to feede for maintaining the last most radice and naturall.

The radicall complexion, the principal.

A second reason concerning the food and sustenance.

ordinarie limitation to the life of man: yet notwithstanding, diuers persones (among them) haue bene noted to liue longer then some other, by being of a strong and good complexion; and in regard it pleased God that it should be so, whose hand is neuer tied, much lesse subiect to any law or limit. Neuerthelesse, because we may not complaine, concerning our little time of life, and also to comfort vs in the breuitie thereof: I will set downe certaine examples of some men, that haue exceeded others in length of life, though not speaking of any in the first age, because such as I purpose to discouerie on, liued long since that large extent of life came to be thorned.

*Arpachbad*, sonne of *Sem*, and Nephew to *Noah*, liued two hundred yeeres after the flood; and yet notwithstanding, he attained to four hundred and thirty yeeres before he dyed. *Shelah* also his sonne, liued four hundred and three yeeres. *Heber*, the son of *Shelah*, (of whom the Hebrewes took their name) liued four hundred sixty and seuen yeeres. In his time happened the confusion of tongues: but he safely preferred the Hebrew: which was the first language of the worlde) because he contented not to the proud building of *Babel's* Tower.

*Terah*, the Father of *Abraham*, liued two hundred and five yeeres, and *Abraham* liued an hundred, seauente and five yeeres; as also *Isaac* an hundred seauenty five yeeres, after which time, the life time of men beganne greatly to diminish. Neuerthelesse, *Moses* liued six score yeeres, and *Aaron* six score and three yeeres: *Sara*, that ancient matrone (so much renowned) liued six score and seuen yeeres, and that valiant woman *Judith* who smote off the head of *Holofernes*, liued an hundred and five yeeres, as we may reade in the sacred Scriptures, which render true testimony of all that hath hitherto bin said.

Now, as concerning prophane Histories, many are recorded to liue long time: as *Nestor*, who liued so faire and large an extent of life, that our reuerend predecessors, when they desired the long life of any man; they wished, that hee might liue *Nestor's* yeeres, hee being three hundred yeeres old, when he went with the *Greekes* to *Troy*. For *Homer* sayeth: *Prince Nestor*

being about three hundred yeeres of age, went to succour the *Greekes* against the *Troyans*, with a potent army by sea.

The same is also auouched by *Ouid*, *Iuuenall*, and *Tibullus*, with many other Authours besides. *Arganthonius*, King of *Andalouzia* (anciently called *Turditania*) liued an hundred and fiftie yeeres, according as *Strabo* affirmeth, from the Poet *Anacreon*: Neuerthelesse *Herodutus*, and *Silius Italicus*, a Spanish Poet doe auouch, that this Prince liued the space of three hundred yeeres.

*Valerius Maximus*, and *Pliny* also say, that he reigned fourescore yeeres, and liued six score yeeres. *Pliny* likewise maketh a large Narration, of certaine Kings in *Arabia*, and many other (as well men as women) that liued multitudes of yeeres: but because matters fecht so farre off, may raise doubt and suspition, I will insert other histories, which are maintained to be true and certaine.

*Valerius Maximus Corvinus*, did liue an hundred yeeres, at it is auouched by *Valerius Maximus*, hauing bene six times Consul of *Rome*: and further saith, that there were six and forty yeeres betwene his first Consulship, and the last yeere of his honor in the same dignity, and that he liued the rest of his age in abledisposition, so that hee could make good vse of all the dignities and Offices imposed vpon him.

*Stephanus* the *Romane*, being farre entered into yeeres, serued as dancer before the Emperour *Othanius*, in those Secular pastimes which he ordained in *Rome*: and seueny three yeeres after, hee danced againe in the sports of the Emperour *Claudius*, and yet liued long time afterwarde. *Titus Fullinius*, borne in *Bologna*, liued an hundred and fiftie yeeres, as appeared by the numbering and accounts, made from five yeeres to five yeeres in elder times, & wherein the Emperour *Claudius* tooke great paines to be informed in the truth, for he was very curious in such matters.

And, not to estrange or barre women, from the benefite of our instant discourse, but to blesse them also with hope of long life; it is obserued that *Terentia*, the wife of *Cicero*, liued an hundred and seuenteen yeeres. *Claudia*, the Wife of *Offellus*, attained to an hundred and fiftie yeeres of age, hauing had fifteen male children.

*Samura*

Homer words of Nestor going to the Trojan warre.

\* Now Graduated.

Arganthonius King of Turdania.

Kings of Arabia liued long.

The life time of Marcus Valerius Corvinus Consul six times.

These were spent well from one hundred yeeres to another hundred.

The long life of diuers Roman ladies.

Valeria Capriola a famous Ladye Dancer.

Pliny Lib. 7.

A note well worthy obseruation.

\* A Rhetorician and choller to Emperors, and Master to Iocators.

\* A Citie of Beica in Spaine.

*Samura* a *Romane* Lady, was an hundred and ten yeeres old when she dyed; who being aged an hundred and foure yeeres, yet serued as Lady dancer, in the secular sports of the Emperour *Othanius*; hauing formerly danced in other secular pastimes, when she was fourescore and eleuen yeeres old.

*Pliny* reporteth a matter very admirable, and yet true, that in the accounts and numberings made by *Titus* and *Vespasian*, then Censors, there liued three men at *Parma*, each of them being aged six score yeeres, and two that were six score and ten yeeres old; beside a woman, that was aged six score and twelue yeeres. He saith moreover, that in *Romania*, there were foure and fifty men, each of them being an hundred yeeres olde: fifty seauen men being aged an hundred and tenne yeeres: foure men, aged an hundred and thirtie yeeres: and other foure men, who were feuerally aged six score & fifteen yeeres: beside foure men more, each of them being seauen score yeeres old, a thing not vsuall, and hardly to be seene in these daies of ours.

But leauing *Italy*, let vs looke vpon some further strangers, that liued long. *Gorgias Leontinus*, a Philosopher greatly renowned, who liued (in very healthfull disposition) more then an hundred yeeres. Hee hauing attained to an hundred and seuen yeeres, was demanded, why heooke so great delight to abide in the world; where to he thus replied, *I thanke God, I neuer did any thing, whereby I deserued to be blamed in mine Age*. An answer very excellent and singular, for such as are able to make or speake it truly.

*Seneca* the Philosopher, borne at *Carduba*, liued an hundred & fourteen yeeres. The famous *Appollonius Thyaneus* hadde passed an hundred yeeres before he dyed. *Democritus*, by the testimony of *Diogenes*, liued an hundred and nine yeeres; and dyed, hauing neuer felt feauer, nor any other disease. *Galen*, the Prince of Phyliti-

ans, liued (in absolute and able disposition) an hundred and forty yeeres: and dyed by defect of Nature, without the sente of any sicknesse.

\* *Attyla*, King of the *Goshes*, who (in his time) was most cruell, and of great power liued an hundred and foure yeeres, seruing as a scourge to mankinde, and making lamentable waste and spoile by his warres, and infinite cruelties. *Masimissa*, King of *Gmire*, liued fourescore and seauenteene yeeres, hauing reigned threescore. This Prince neuer had his head covered, neyther from the Sun, windes, or raines, or greatest Tempests, but continued so (bare-headed) to his very latest dayes: marching alwayes on foote in his Armour, and as lightly as the youngest fouldier in his Armie. When hee was fourescore yeeres of age, he begate a Son, and left (after his death) foure and forty sonnes, by him begotten.

As for Hermites and ancient Fathers, many are recorded to liue long, onely by their abstinence; as *Saint Paule*, the first Hermit, who liued six score yeeres; *Saint Anthony* the *Egyptian* Hermit, who liued an hundred and fifty yeeres; and *Crenius* (his Companion) an hundred. Now a dayes, wee finde few, or none at all, to liue so long, for (day by day) the life time of man groweth shorter and shorter; whereby it appeareth, that the end of the world approacheth neere. Neuerthelesse God hath declared his wonderful workes in all times; for in the life of the Emperour *Comrade*, which was in the yeare one thousand, one hundred, and forty, or nere thereabout, a man dyed, who had serued the Emperour *Charlemagne* in his warres, so large a time, that this man was founde to haue liued three hundred and threescore yeeres, and was called *Iohn of Time*. Which name was giuen him (as I thinke) in regard of his great age; and I am halfe perswaded also, that of him was raised the old Prouerbe, when men commonly saide, *Iohn, Iohn, trust thou in God*.

Galen, Prince of all other Phylitians.

\* A valiant Scythian Prince, who subdued Parthians, &c.

He was also King of Numidia.

The long life of Hermits & holy Fathers.

Iohn of Time hadde liued 360 yeeres.

## CHAP. XXX.

*A briefe Chronologicall Survey, concerning the Netherlands, diuided into feventeene Prouinces: with a breuiate of the Earles and Princes there reigning, from Thierry (who was the first Earle of Holland and Zeland) to this instant time.*



Concerning the Originall of the people inhabiting these countries, wee finde, that two Brethren, sonnes to the king of *Cathes*, the one being named

*Battus*, or *Battou*; and the other *Zelandus*, were the first Fathers of them, and that (from them) they deriued their Names. For these two Princes, being too extreame ly purged by the hatred of a Stepmother, and no way pittied or supported by the King their father (escaping many traines and machinations, of poysoning, murdering, and diuers other dangers by her daily deuiled and put in practise against the) were forced to forsake their native abiding, & fly to an Island within the *Rhine*: where *Battus* determining to make his stay, called it *Battania*, after his owne Name; and that is (in plainer vnderstanding) *Holland*.

*Zelandus*, not liking to liue so neere, or with his brother (least pursuit should surprize them both, and reuenge there fasten which in more desperate place they had auoyded) he travelled on to the vtermost confines of the *Rhine*, and liking there to set downe his rest, imitated his Brothers example (in styling the country) and called it *Zeland*.

Concerning their building of Cities, Townes, Castles, and Forts, which afterward came to be ruined & defaced againe by warres with the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Gauls*, *Danes*, &c. or to what order of life the people disposed themselves, and through how many and infinite encumbrances (from their originall) they passed, for no meane store of yeares together: these are matters meereley exempt from our intended breuity, and may more amply be seen

in the history at large, whereunto I refer any such desirous Reader, and borrowing fauour for so large a leap, I instantly proceeded to the yeare, 863. when *Holland* first became to be an Earledome.

In the yeare before mentioned, *Charles* the Bald, King of *France*, at *Bladell* in the Prouince of *Campaigne*, hauing there (in his company) a generall assembly of his Princes and Barons, for consultation of many important matters; pleased to aduance the two sonnes of Count *Haghen* (who was Vnckle to the King) for their great deferuings, and for the farther encouragement of the like vertuous minded Gentlemen. *Walger*, who was the eldest sonne, he made Earle of *Tyffersbants*; and *Thierry* the yongest son, or *Theodor*, as some tearme him, being formerly called *Thierry of Aquitaine*, he made earle of *Holland*.

This gift of the kings, especially that to *Thierry*, was much with flood by the *Frislanders*, as (coming to be commanded by any new Lord or Ruler: wherefore they consulted with the *Hollanders*, and a plot was laid to expell this new Earle. But it proued to no effect, for the king comming thither (in person) with a powerful army, made such an example on the Ring-leaders in this rebellion, that the rest (in very great humility) submitted themselves, casting their Weapons not onely at the Kings feete, but likewise at the Earles, and (vpon pardon) they vowed their continuall bounden duty to *Thierry*. His authority was then further strengthened, in the year eight hundred sixty eight, by the letters Patents of King *Charles*, as also by them of *Lewes* King of *Germany*, confirming him to bee Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friseland*.

This *Thierry* married *Genna*, or *Tenna*, daughter to *Pepin* the Bald, king of *Italy*, sonne to the Emperour *Charlemaigne*. Hee worthly foyled the *Danes*, that then possessed the Towne of *Fricht*, the *Wiltes* and the *Slaues*, disabling them from any further footing in *Holland*, which made them presume to meddle in *Zeland*, but thence they were repulsed likewise. By which meanes, he remained afterward in peace, beautifying his Countries both with faire buildings and good Lawes. He dyed very old, hauing reigned 40. yeares, and after him succeeded

2 *Thierry*

863.

The two sonnes of Count Haghen.

*Thierry* Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friseland*.

2 *Thierry* his son, second of that name, Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friseland*, who married with *Hildegarde*, daughter vnto King *Lewes* of *France*, the Stammerer, and Sister to King *Charles* the Simple. The *Friselanders* did twice reuolt from their obedience, and would not allow Earl *Thierry* to be their Lord, slaying very many of them that obeyed the Earl, waiting, spoiling, and burning all the way as they went. But at length they were iustly repayed for their infolencie, and such a slaughter was made of the *Frisons* (without any mercy) that few or none of them returned home to their dwellings. Afterward, he forced them to make the doores of entrance into their houses, so lowe and narrow, that they must loope verie lowe before they could get in; and this he did, to make them the more humble and feruile, receiuing a new Oath of allegiance of them. And hauing reigned about fiftie yeares, being then aged 88. yeares old, he dyed, leauing two sonnes behind him, the eldest whereof (being named *Egbert*) became Archbishop of *Treuer*, and *Arnold* his yongest son succeeded him.

3 *Arnold*, (or as others will haue it) *Arnulph*, yongest son to Earle *Thierry*, followed in rule as his fathers successor: but he held the Earledomes of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lordship of *Friseland*, no longer of the crown of *France*, but of *Otho* the third, Emperour; and so became in fee to the Empire. A very fearefull Comet appeared in his time, with straunge Ecclypses both of the Sunne and Moone, being as red as blood, and terrible Earthquakes: a fire also fell from heauen, in similitude like an huge Tower, burning for a long time: after which ensued so violent a pestilence, that the liuing died burying the dead. The *Frisons* reuolting again from obedience, made all his reigne a continuall warfare, and the Armies (on either side) meeting neere vnto *Winckell*, so dreadfull a battaile was fought betweene them: that the *Hollanders* sustained the worst, Count *Arnold* being there slaine, and a great number of his cheefest Nobility. This battaile was fought the eighteenth of October, the morrow after *S. Lamberts* day, in the yeare 993. So this Earle *Arnold*, hauing reigned five yeares, and being thus vnfortunatly slaine, was buried by his Father and Grandfather, in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

4 *Thierry*, third of that name, and son to Count *Arnold*, succeeded as fourth Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friseland*. Being desirous to reuenge his Fathers death vpon the *Frisons*: hee was much impeached therein by *Adebold*, Bishop of *Fricht*, against whom (neuertheless) hee preuailed in two foughten battailes, in the yeare 1018. and (with great slaughter of the *Frisons*) brought them vnder obedience to his yongest son *Floris*, whom he made Lord of them. This Earle *Thierry*, liuing afterward in verie peacefull dayes, vnderooke a Pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, with the Lord of *Arckell*, his loyall subiect; who died at *Ierusalem*, & was there very honourably buried by *Thierry*. After whose return home, and some yeares passed in peace with his Wife and Children, hauing reigned 46. yeares, hee died in Anno 1039. and was buried by his father in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

5 *Thierry*, fourth of that Name, was the fifth Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, & Lord of *Friseland*, after the decease of *Thierry* his Father. In a Tournie of Princes and Lords, performed (for pleasure) in the Citie of *Liege*, it was this Earles hard happe, to kill a Brother of the Bythops of *Cullen* and *Liege*: whereby ensued such discord and molestation, that, after many aduentures of reuenge, vnderaken by the *Germane* Gentlemen, albeit therein they sustained much losse of men, the Earle was shot into the thigh with a poisoned dart, of which wound hee dyed the fiftenth of May, one thousand foure hundred and eight, after he had gouerned nine yeares, and was buried by his father, in the Abbey of *Egmont*. He was neuer married, and therefore left not any child to succede him.

6 *Floris*, who (as you haue heard before) was Earle of *Friseland*, now after his brothers death, became the sixth Earle of *Holland* and *Zeland*. The former mishap at *Liege*, could not as yet be forgotten by the Bythops of *Cullen* and *Liege*, but they would needs prosecute fresh reuenge on Count *Floris*, who being a man of vndated spirit, defeated his enemies in two attempes. Once by a cunning stratagem, causing ditches and pitfalls to be made in south *Holland*, couering them with straw and graffe, so that they could not be easily discerned. At this time a bloody batell being fought betweene

*Adebold* byshop of *Vrecht*.

1309.

The Bythops of *Cullen* and *Liege*.

1048.

Two militarie Stratagems.

\*A people neere to the Scythians.

*Battania* is *Holland*.

*Zeld*, named by *Zelandus*.

A dreadfull Comet, ecclypses and earthquakes

betweene them, there was forty thousand of the Earles enemies slaine, beside twenty six thousand more, who were drowned and smothered in those ditches, Anno Domini 1058. The second foyle of his adversaries, happened foure yeares after this, when the *Hollanders* (putting the *Germans* to flight) returned with rich spoiles, and great store of prisoners; this was in the yeare of our Lord 1062. Yet was it this Earle ill fortune, to be afterward slayne vnarmed, as he sate vnder an Elme, taking the ayre, his enemies preuailing by this aduantage. He had ruled in *Holland* foureteeen yeares, and in *Friseland* 21. yeares, and lyeth buried at *Egmont*.

7. *Gertrude*, widow to Earle *Floris*, in regarde that *Thierrie* her sonne was in his nonage, gouerned those Countries in his right. And in the yeare of our Lord, 1063. she re-married with Count the *Friszon* (sonne to *Baldwine* of *Lijle de Bucke*, Earle of *Flanders*) with the good liking of all the States and Nobilitie. Hee also was made Guardian of young Earle *Thierrie*, and (had by this *Gertrude*) three sonnes, *Robert*, surnamed the Yong (who went with *Godfrey* of *Bullen* to the holie Land, and was (after his fathers decease) Earle of *Flanders*;) *Philip*, father to *William* of *Ixt*, and *Baldwin* Bishop of *Teroanne*; beside three daughters also, which he had by the said *Gertrude*. This *Robert* was called the *Friszon*, not in regarde of his birth, but of his bigge stature, strength and courage. For, hauing preuailed against the *Frisons*, and hearing of his Brothers death, *Baldwine* de *Mons*, Earle of *Flanders*; hee layd clayme to the sayde Earldome, and (notwithstanding the opposition of *Fichild*, widow to Earle *Baldwine*: by means of the *Flemings*, he ouerthrew the King of *France* in battell, and she with her sonne *Baldwine*, remaying satisfied with the Countie of *Hennaut*, *Robert* became quietly Earle of *Flanders*. For eight yeares space, hee carried himselfe with great wisdom and valour, and dying in the yeare of our Lord 1077, was buried in the Cannons Church, founded by himselfe at *Cassell*. *Gertrude*s time of rule by her selfe, and *Robert*s after, are reckoned as two seuerall gouernements.

9. *Godfrey*, surnamed the crooke-backed Duke of *Lorraine*, in this time of young Earle *Thierries* minority, was made an in-

strument (in regard of the former quarrell of Count *Floris*, and the Bishops of *Cullen* and *Liege*, as yet not reuenged to their mindes) to suggest a false information to *Henry* the fourth, Emperour, whereby the sayde *Godfrey* became a vniuerser of the young Earles right, for the space of foure years. But as he was sitting on the draught to eale his body, a seruant of young Count *Thierries*, did thrust a Iaueline vp into his fundament, whereof he died (not long after) at *Maestricht*.

10. *Thierrie*, the fift of that name, who (by crooke-backed *Godfrey*, and other strange oppositions) had long time bene debarred from quiet possession of his right; at length, by an absolute conquest of the *Frisons*, in two seuerall great battells, recovered all, and returned home as a Conqueror. Afterward, he married *Whitilde*, daughter to *Fredericke*, Duke of *Saxony*, by whom he had a sonne and daughter: *Floris* that succeeded him, and *Mathilde*, married to the Duke of *Orleans*. Earle *Thierrie* hauing gouerned fifteene yeares, dyed, and was buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

11. *Floris*, the second of that name, & surnamed the Fat or Grosse, succeeded next after his father *Thierrie*: he greatly fauoured Church-men, whereby the Abbey of *Egmont*s reuenews were largely increased. He being a man of very peacefull inclination, little or no disturbances happened in his time: but onely by the *Frisons*, who for their rebelling, were seuerely punished, and forced to submit themselves to his mercy. This *Floris* married *Petronilla*, or *Parnell*, daughter to *Didier*, Duke of *Saxony*, and siter to *Lotharius* the Emperour: By her he had three sons, *Thierrie*, *Floris*, called the Blacke Prince of *Kemerland*; and *Symon*, alio one daughter named *Hadewicke*, who was Countesse of *Guedres*. Hauing gouerned his Countries very honourably, for the space of one and thirty yeares; he dyed in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand one hundred thirty and three, and lyeth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

12. *Thierrie*, sixt of that name, succeeded his father *Floris*, and was much molested by the *Frisons*, in regard that his brother *Floris* the Blacke Prince, enuying the happines and quiet of *Thierrie*, went and tooke part with them against him; vntill such

(such time as the Emperour *Lotharius* (being theyr vnckle) had reconciled them, and made them friends. *Conrade* beeing ioynd as competitor in the Empire with *Lotharius*, caused a fresh quarrell between *Thierrie* and the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, he ratifying the former graunt of *Henry*, which caused very long contention, and much blood to be shed on either side. *Thierrie* hauing gouerned his Countries of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland* fortie yeares, died in the yeare 1163. and lieth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

13. *Floris* the third, eldest sonne of *Thierrie*, as heyre to his father, inherited his right in *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland*. The *Frisons* (pretending their former freedoms and imperial liberties) made still their reuoltes from time to time, imboldened thereto by the often suggestions of *Godfrey* of *Rhemen*, Bishop of *Vtrecht*, who (as his predecessors had done before him) still questioned the Earldomes of *Offergoe* and *Wesergoe* in *Friseland*: but the Emperour *Fredericke*, went himselfe in person, and made an agreement between them. All which notwithstanding, much hurt was done on eyther side, as time and treachery fitted them with apt opportunity. A great controuersie happened betweene the Earles of *Holland* and *Flanders*, for the Isle of *Walchren*, and Count *Floris* (in triall of fight) became prisoner to the Earle of *Flanders*, who neuertheless vsed him princely, and they being accorded by the Archbishop of *Cullen*, and the Bishoppes of *Liege*; the great hole neare to the damme or sluice; was recovered with much adoe, by casting a dogfish therinto, and speedily filling it vp with earth, whereon they named it *Hondidam*, that is, *Dogs-sluice*. This Earle *Floris*, assisting the Emperour *Fredericke*, *Philip* King of *France*, *Richard* King of *England*, with many other Dukes, Christian Princes and Earles, at the siege of *Damietta* in *Soria*: fell there sicke in the Army, and died 1208. hauing gouerned his prouinces twenty seuen yeares.

14. *Thierrie* the seuenth, hearing of his fathers death in *Palestine*; succeeded as his heire in all his Earldomes. The whole time of his regiment, was in war and continuall combutions. First by his brother Lord *William* of *Holland* (who was with his father *Floris* in *Palestine*, and performed

there many honourable seruices) thorow diuers disagreements that happened betweene them; notwithstanding, as many laboured reconcilings, and pacifications. Next, *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders*, he was as molefuous to him likewise, for the Isle of *Walchren*: besides the *Frisons* rebellions, and his trouble with the Bishops of *Cologne* and *Liege*, as also his imprisonment to the Duke of *Brabant*, and then the intrusion of the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, after which, ensued a peace and vnited amity on all sides. This Count *Thierrie* had no heires male, but two beautifull daughters; *Adela*, married to *Henry* of *Guedres*, who dyed without anie Children, and *Ada*, meanly married by her mother (after her fathers death) to Count *Lewes* of *Loos*, that so the gouernement might be disposed at her pleasure. In the yeare of our Lord, 1203. Earle *Thierrie* dyed, hauing gouerned his Countries thirteene yeares, and lyeth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

15. *Ada*, daughter to Earle *Thierrie*, was Countesse of *Holland* and *Zeland*, after her fathers death; which moued a great heart-burning in the Lordes and Gentlemen, that they should liue vnder a Woman, and a poore Earles command. Therefore, they sent into *Friseland* for Count *William*, protesting to assist him in attaining the gouernement of *Holland*. The young Countesse *Ada* was surprized in their first attempt, and her husband the Earle of *Loos* driuen to flight; who yet wunne the Bishop of *Vtrecht* (by money and other promises) to ayde him, and by this means he had some small successe for a while. But the Countesse *Ada* dying without any children, Earle *William* was then the true and onely heyre to *Holland* and *Zeland*. In which right of his, hee went with his power against the Earle of *Loos*, and such was his successe, that the Women did beate his enemies with *Di-Straues* and *Stones*, they beeing glad to cast away their Armour for lightnesse, to saue themselves by flight; yet many were drowned in the *Ditches*, and a great number taken prisoners, with all the Earle of *Loos* Tents, *Paullions*, *Plate*, *Iewels*, and *Munition*, which Count *William* royally diuided amongst his *Hollanders*, remaying absolute Prince of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland*.

16. *William*, first of that name, succeeded

Lotharius & Conrade Emperors.

116.3

Earldomes of Offergoe & Wesergoe.

1168.

The Dam or Sluice, called Dogs Sluice.

1208.

L. William of Holland.

The Friszon conquered in two battels.

1119.

Didier Duke of Saxony.

1133.

1198.

1203

The gouernment of a woman deplored

Women beate Men with Di-Straues and Stones.

1065.

Robert the Friszon.

Robert Earle of Flanders.

1077.

The crooke-backed Duke of Lorraine.

1188. died rightfully in all his Earledoms, by the death of his Neece the yong Countesse *Ada*. He had some strife with *Didier* Bishop of *Vtrecht*, and *Gerard Vander Are* his brother; but (vpon certayne Articles) all displeasures were qualified. By his first wife *Alix*, daughter to the Earle of *Guelderes*, he had *Floris*, that next succeeded him, *Otho* Bishop of *Vtrecht*, *William* Lieutenant of *Holland*, and two daughters, the one was Abbess at *Rhynsbouurg*, and the other at *Delfe*. His second wife was named *Mary*, daughter to *Edmond of Lancaster*, son to *Henry* the third, King of *England*, by whom he had no issue. He gouerned 19. years; and dying, lies buried at *Rhynsbouurg*.

Edmond of Lancaster, son to the King of England.

The wonderfull birth of 365. Children

This History is surrounded for a truth by diuers good Authors.

17 *Floris* the fourth, succeeded his father Count *William* in his Earledomes. He took great delight in lulls & Turnaments, and the Earle of *Clermont* proclaiming a publike Triumph for all commers, at the Countesse his wives request (who greatly desired to see this *Floris*, of whom he had heard much commendation:) this honorable Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, &c. was there treacherously slaine, onely through iealous suspition of the old Earle of *Clermont*, who was there likewise presently slaine himselfe, and the Countesse grieuing for this great mishap) died soone after. This Count *Floris* had a daughter named *Machtild*, or *Margaret*, as some call her, who was married to Count *Herman of Henneberg*. She despising a poore widow, that desired her almes vpon vtgent necessity, holding in either arme a fiftie yong child, both which, God had sent hir at one birth; gaue hir very reprochfull words beside, as, that she could not be honest of her bodie; and (by her husband) haue two children lawfully begotten. The poore woman, grieuing to be reiected in such extreame want and need, but much more, to heare her reputation so nearely rouchd, knowing her soule cleare from all dishonest detraction: made no further suite to the Lady, but (falling vpon her knees) appealed to God for defence of her Innocencie, and earnestly desired, that as she had conceiued and borne those two infants lawfully by her husband; euen so, if euer that Ladie should be subiect to the custome of *Women*, that it would please him, to send her as many children at one birth, as there are daies in the year. Not long after, the Lady conceiued with childe by her husband,

& (for her deliuerance) went into *Holland*, to visite the Earle her brother, taking vp lodging in the Abbey of religious women at *Loßdunen*, and grew so exceeding great, as the like had neuer before bene seene. When her time came, on the Friday before Palme-sunday, in the year of our Lord God 1276. shee was deliuered of 365. children, the one halfe being sonnes, and the other daughters; but the odd child was an Hermaphrodite, and they were all well shaped and proportioned in their litle members. These children were layd in two basins, and were all baptized by *Guydon*, Suffragan to the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, who named all the sonnes *Iohn*, and the daughters *Elizabeth*, but what name hee gaue the Hermaphrodite, it is not recorded. They were no sooner baptized, but they all died, and the mother also. The two Basins are yet to be seene in the sayde Church of *Loßdunen*, and a memorie of them, both in Latine and Dutch. The Latine beginning thus: *Margareta, Comitiss Hennebergie uxor, & Florentij Hollandia & Zelandia filia, &c.* Vnderneath are these verses:

*En tibi manifestum & memorabile factum,  
Quale nec a mundi condicione datum.*

This Count *Floris*, being so treacherously slaine, as yee haue heard before, had his body brought backe into *Holland*, by the Earle of *Cleues*, and other noble Lords; he hauing honourably and vertuously gouerned his Countreies twelue yeares. He left but one son named *William*, six yeares old, who was in the tutelage of his vnckle *Otho*, Bishop of *Vtrecht*, during his minority.

18 *William*, second of that name, succeeded his father *Floris* in all his dominions, being all the time of his vnder yeares, in the gouernement of *Otho* Bishop of *Vtrecht* his vnckle, who was a very worthy & carefull Guardian to him. The Pope hauing depozed *Fredericke* the second, and *Conrads* his sonne from the Empire: the Princes Electors (in despite of the Pope) made this Earle *William* King of the *Romans*, and crowned him at *Aix la Chapelle*, he hauing then attained to the age of 20. yeares. A long & tedious trouble happened, betwene him, & *Margaret* Countesse of *Flanders*, a very high-minded and proude

Earle William King of the Romans.

woman,

King William cruelly slaine.

1290.

The History of the death of earle Floris.

woman, for the country of *Walchren*, wherein, after a great foile and slaughter of the *Flemings*, (taking part with her) and imprisonment of her two sonnes (*Guy* and *Iohn*) she implored the aid of *Charles* duke of *Aniow*, against king *William*, & sped thereby no better then she had done before, but was glad in the end to seek reconciliation. This King *William* built the Pallace of the Earles of *Holland*, in the vilage of *La Hage*, or the *Hague*, where it is at this day, and a goodly Cloister at *Harlem*. At his warres in west *Friseland*, where he preuailed very successfully, he would needs (without any other assistance then himselfe) follow the rebels ouer the Ice, where his horfse slipping in, himselfe almost drowned, and none neare to helpe him (but enemies of the *Frisons*, that lay secretly in ambush:) they beate him downe with clubbes and stauces, not knowing that it was the King, and so they slew him. But when afterward they tooke better notice of him, by his Target and Armes thereon emblazoned: in very hearty sorrow for their foule deed, they buried him secretly, in a poore house in the vilage of *Hookswond*, thinking to wipe out all remembrance of him. But his body was after found, and buried in the Abbey of *Middlebourg*, in the Isle of *Walchren*.

19 *Floris* the fift, son to King *William*, who was slaine so inhumanely, albeit hee was but fixe months old, yet he succeeded his father, his vnckle *Floris* being his Gouernor and Tutor. At 17. yeares of age, he went with an army against the euer-reuolting *Frisons*, and ouercame them at a vilage called *Schellinghout*, very severely reuenging his fathers death on them, and (by building foure Castles in *Friseland*) brought them wholly vnder his obediēce. Afterward, Count *Floris* made a voyage into *England*, where a marriage was contracted, betwene *Iohn*, eldest son to Earle *Floris*, and *Elizabeth*, daughter to king *Edward* the first: *Iohn* being (not long after) sent into *England*, to accomplish the sayd marriage, where he remained in the Court of *England*, vntill his fathers vnfortunate death, which briefly was thus:

A knight liued in the Earles Court, named *Gerard van Velsen*, who had bene a whole yeares space detayned in prison, & his brother beheaded, through certaine false suggestions whispered to the Earle,

which (afterward) appearing to be a meere iniury: the Earle sought to repaire this wrong, with very effectual fauours done to the knight, great aduancements, & would haue bestowed also his concubine in marriage on him. Which *Gerard* disdainig & replying, that he would not weare his cast shoes: the Earle rashly answerd, that he should take his leauings, in despite of his hart. To preuent marriage with the Earles minion, the knight bestowed his affections else-where, and wedded a Ladie of great honour and beauty. VVhich when the Earle vnderstood, he pursued his former rash folly, to the price of his own life: Sending *Gerard* on an employment of much credit & respect, and wherewith he was not a litle pleased, not doubting anie such wicked intention. The Earle came to *Gerards* house, vnder color of hospitality, and there (winning her to priuate conference in her bed chamber) forcibly detoured her, to performe his rash promise to her husband. At *Gerards* returne, and this foule wrong discouered, it was pursued with very bloody reuenge, by a reformed conspiracy sworne against his life: which albeit he had some warning of (by a paper deliuered him by a poore woman,) yet his disaster being ineuitable, a traine was laid for him as he rode a hawking, and twentie one wounds he receiued on his body, by the hand of the sayd *Gerard*. But hee and the rest of the conspirators escaped not unpunished, for they had their heads mitted off, and were then laid vpon wheelcs; but *Gerard* was put (stark naked) into a Pipe sticke full of sharp nailcs, and was so rowled vp and downe through all the streetes of *Leyden*. Then was he beheaded, & layd on a wheele, and all his kindred (to the ninth degree) put to death, and laid on wheelcs.

20 After the wicked murder of Earle *Floris* the fift, committed by the *Frisons*, as hath bene declared: *Iohn* his only son (being then in *England* with King *Edward* his father in law) was next to succeed him as his rightfull heire. But before he could leaue *England*, some partialities and factions happened in *Holland* for the gouernement, which soone were qualified at Earle *Iohns* being there present, notwithstanding the subtle policie of *Wolfsart of Borffele*, seizing the person of Earle *Iohn*, and Lady *Elizabeth* his wife, thinking to haue the gouernement of the sayd Earle, because; as yet,

A severe reuenge for the Earles death.

1297

Wolfsart of Borffele, his secret intention.



yet, he was but young. Earle *Iohn* preuailed againſt the *Frizon*s, and the Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, and hauing gouerned his Countreies about foure yeares, hee fell ſicke at *Harlem*, and there dyed. He was the firſt of all the Earles of *Holland*, that died without children: wherefore in him failed the line maſculine of the Earls from the dukes of *Aquitaine*, which *Thierry*, or *Theodor*, the firſt Earle of *Holland*, had continued 417. yeares. He was buried in the Abbey of *Rhinſbourg*, his widow Lady *Elizabeth* being caried back into *England*, where ſhe was afterward married to the Earle of *Oxford*: So that by the death of Earle *Iohn* in this manner, thoſe Countreies were deuolued to the Earles of *Hennault*, iſſuing by the mothers ſide from the earles of *Holland*.

21. *Iohn*, the ſecond of that name, called *Iohn of Hennault* (claiming his right from *Alix*, Siſter to *William* king of the *Romans*) ſucceeded after *Iohn*, as Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*, &c. He had a long and tedious trouble with *Iohn de Renefſe*, who perſwaded the Emperour, that *Iohn* Earle of *Holland* dying without iſſue, his Earledomes ought (in right) to returne to the Empire; according as *Charls* the ſaid, Emperour of the *Romans*, had at firſt giuen them in fee and homage to *Thierry* of *Aquitaine*. This ſuggeſtion raiſed the Emperour *Albert* in Armes againſt *Iohn* of *Hennault*, but the Biſhop of *Cullen* compounded the matter betweene them; and *Iohn de Renefſe* was afterward drowned, by which means, *Iohn* of *Hennault*, hauing gouerned *Hennault* thirty yeres, and his countreies of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* ſix yeares, died, & was buried at *Valenciennes*.

22. *William* the third, ſonne and heire to count *Iohn* of *Hennault*, ſucceeded his fathers Earledomes: he was commonly called, *The good Earle William*, for his vertues, iuſtice, good life, and honourable actions. In his time hapned ſo great a dearth and famine in *Holland*, that poore people dyed with hunger, even in the ſtreets as they went: ſeeking alſo for hearbs and rootes in the fields and woods, there they were likewiſe found dead, and in the common high wayes: little children dyed ſucking at their mothers breasts, and ſome were enforced to feede on their dead children. In this time of famine, a poore woman in the Towne of *Leyden*, bring extremely ouercharged with hunger, entreated her

owne ſiſter, (being a woman of better abilitye) to lend her ſome bread, which ſhe would thankfully repay againe, when God ſhould enable her. She, very vnkindly, and without any pity of her extremitye, denyed her oftentimes, notwithstanding the others often vrgings; that ſhe was aſſured, that ſhee could not be without bread. Heereupon the vnmerefull ſiſter (lying, both to God and to her owne poore ſiſter) ſayde: If I haue any bread, I wiſh that it may inſtantly be turned into a ſtone: wherewith the heauy diſpleaſure of almighty God laid hold vpon her words, and going afterward to hir Cupbord (to relieue her ſelfe) ſhe found all her loeaues of bread conuerted into apparant ſtones, and died herſelfe with extremitye of hunger. It is credibly ſaid, that one or two of thoſe ſtones, are yet to be ſeene in Saint *Peters* Church at *Leyden*, as a memorie of this iuſt iudgement of God.

There is alſo recorded another memorable Hiſtorie, of vpright iuſtice done by this good Earle *William*, to a poore country-man, againſt a Bayliſſe of South *Holland*, who had taken a goodly faire Cowe from him, that was the reliefe of himſelfe, his poore wiſe and children; as there are ſome Kine in that Countrey, which doe giue twenty portles of milke and more, in a day. The Bayliſſe at the poore mans complaint to this good earle *William*, who lay then ſicke in his Bed at *Valenciennes* (yet neuer debarred any ſuiters from audience, were he ſicke or well) was adiudged to giue the poore man an hundred crownes of good gold, for the wrong he had done to him, which was accordingly performed. But for his iniurie to publike iuſtice (being himſelfe an Officer) and abuſing the authority committed in truſt to him; the Earle ſent for an Executioner, and cauſed his head to be ſmitten off by his beds ſide. This good Count *William*, being a vertuous Prince, victorious in warre, a man learned, wiſe, wel ſpoken, and iudicious, a great friend to peace, gracious to all men, and beloued in all courts, hauing gouerned his Prouinces 32. yeares, dyed the ninth day of Iune 1337. and was buried with great pomp at *Valenciennes*.

23. *William* the fourth, ſon to the good Earle *William* came to his fathers Earledomes by lawfull ſucceſſion. He was a man of high merit, & a moſt famous Souldier, whereof

whereof he made good proofe; firſt againſt the *Sarazins* and *Moors*, in the kingdome of *Granada*: Next, with the Emperour *Lewes*, and many noble Earles, ayding his brother in lawe *Edward* the third King of *England*, againſt the king of *France*; thirdly, in ouer-running *Lithuania*, *Liuonia*, and warring againſt the *Ruſſian* Infidels, lading home his men with victory & wealthly ſpoiles: And laſtly, in preuailing againſt the *Frizon*s, and *Robert* of *Arckell* gouernour of *Vtrecht*. Yet it was his hard hap to be ſlaine knowne (amongſt the *Frizon*s) before any could haue power to helpe him: ſo that he left no lawfull child to ſucceede him, and therefore his ſiſter, (being Empreſſe) remayned his onelic heire.

24. *Margaret*, wiſe to *Lewes* of *Bawaria*, (then Emperour) and the eldeſt ſiſter to Earle *William*, ſlayne (as you haue heard) by the *Frizon*s, by the Emperors interpoſition of his authority, and her owne native right, went downe by the *Rhine* into *Holland*, accompanied with a moſt princely and well-beſeeming traine, and was acknowledged to be Ladie and Princeſſe of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*. But before her returne back to the Emperour againe, ſhee conſtituted both his and her eldeſt ſonne (named *William* of *Bawaria*) to bee her Regent there in thoſe Countreies, for a ſumme of money yearely payed to her: but remayning vnpayd, ſhe might reſume all her rights to herſelfe againe. The Emperour deceaſing, the Empreſſe *Margaret* came thither againe, and had reſignation (from her ſonne *William*) of all the aforeſaide Countreies, retyring himſelfe into *Hennault*, as being well contented there to liue: vntill by inſtinct diſcord, and dangerous praſtices of two intruded factions, called *Cabillaux* and *Hoekes* (wherein both nobles and gentlemen did too far enter) the mothers gouernment did grow vnſufferable, and Duke *William* was recovered from *Hennault*, to vnder-goe the ſole authority. Two very bloody battells were fought betweene the Empreſſe and her ſonne; and in the firſt, Earle *William* elcaped with great difficultie, and fledde into *Holland*, for this battell was fought at *La Vere* in *Zeland*. But in the ſecond, there was ſo much blood ſpilt, that (for three dayes after) the old Riuer of *Meuſe* (at full Sea) was (all ouer) red in that place. The

Empreſſe (by helpe of a ſmall Barke) elcaped into *England*; and vpon an agreement afterwards made betweene them: Duke *William* had the quiet poſſeſſion of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* aſſigned him, and the Empreſſe *Margaret* had the countie of *Hennault*, where (ſix yeares after) ſhe ended her dayes, and lyeth buried at *Valenciennes*.

25. Duke *William* being peaceably poſſeſſed of his Seigneuries, according to the former compoſition, being alſo Duke of *Bawaria*, *Palatine* of *Rhine*, and Earle of *Hennault* by his mothers death, tooke to wife the Lady *Mauda*, daughter to *Henry* duke of *Lancaster* in *England*, by whom hee had no children. Much ſtrife, warre, and bloody bickering, hapned betweene him and the Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, with ſhrewd diſaduantages on eyther ſide; till, by the means of ſome Noblemen, they were reduced to amitie.

This Duke *William* (vpon what occaſion it could neuer be knowne) fell diſtracted of his ſenſes, and ſlew a Knight with a blow of his fiſt: ſo that hee was ſhut vp (vnder good Guard) for nineteene yeares ſpace, euen till he dyed. Hauing gouerned his prouinces of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* (before his madneſſe) ſeauen yeares, and *Hennault* two.

26. *Albert* of *Bawaria*, brother to Duke *William*, in the time of his diſtraction, was ſent for from *Bawaria*, and made Gouernor of his brothers Countreies, in hope of his recovery, which by no meanes could be compaſſed. Hee vanquiſhed the *Frizon*s in many rebellions, tooke the townie of *Delft*, and behelded the Baron of *Engelien*, vpon ſiniſter reformations, which cauſed great trouble betweene him, and ſix brethren of the ſaid Baron: but, vpon their reconcilment, Count *Albert* builded the Chanoury of the Chappell, at the Court of the *Hague*.

In his time, a Sea-woman (by reaſon of great tempeſts at Sea, and extraordinary high Tides) was ſeene ſwimming in the *Zuyderzee*, betweene the Townes of *Campen* and *Edam*; which being brought to *Edam*, and cleaſed from the Sea-moſſe growne about her, by her long abiding there: ſhe was like to another woman, endured to be apparelled, and would feed on meats as others did, yet fought the all meanes to eſcape, and get into the water againe,

1300.

The end of the race of the Dukes of Aquitaine, &amp; ſucceſſion of the Earles of Hennault.

1301.

Iohn de Renefſe drowned.

1306.

The good Earle William

1316.

A wonderful deart.

A ſtrange example of an vnmerefull ſiſter.

1314.

Robert of Arckell, Gouernour of Vtrecht. 1346.

Margaret the Empreſſe, Princeſſe of Holland.

A worthy action of iuſtice done by this good Earle William.

The factions of Cabillaux and Hoekes.

1351.

A great effuſion of blood.

1357. Earle William a worthy Souldier.

1358

The Baron of Engelen beheaded.

1368

A Sea-Woman ſeene in the Zuyderzee.

1341

agayne, had the not very carefully beene tended. Since did learne to spinne, and exercise other womanly qualities, being daily scene of infinite persons, who haue made perfect testimoniall of this rare accident, and signified it for an vndoubted truth, auouching, that she liued fiftene yeares, and lyeth there buried in the Church-yard. In the yeare of our Lord, one thousand foure hundred and foure, this famous Prince *Albert* dyed, after hee had gouerned his Countries fixe and fortie yeares: nineteene as he was Tutor to his distracted brother, and twenty seauen as Prince, heire and Lord of those Countries, being buried at the *Hague* in *Holland*.

Philip the  
old Duke  
of Burgundy.

27 *William*, sixt of that name, after the death of Duke *Albert* of *Bauaria* his father, succeeded as his immediate heyre. His first wife was daughter to *Charles* the first, King of *France*, and she dyed yong, without any issue. He secondly married the daughter of *John*, sonne to *Philip* the bold Duke of *Burgundy*, by whom he had one onely daughter, named *Iaqueline* or *Jacoba*, as the Dutch vse to call her. This Count *William* wasted *Friseland*, spoyled *Liege*, and preyed against *Guelldres*, and also the Lordes (father and sonne) of *Arckel* at *Gorrichom*, and reconciled the Duke of *Burgundy* to the French King. The Dolphin of *France*, sonne to King *Charles* the sixt, married *Iaqueline*, Count *Williams* daughter; but hee being poysoned, by putting on a shirt of maile, dyed without issue. As Earle *William* himselfe did not long after, being bitten in the leg by a mad Dogge, which hurt could neuer be cured. So that the Lady *Iaqueline* (his daughter, and widow to the Dolphin of *France*) was his true heire in all his Seigneuries: Hee gouerned thirtene yeares, and lieth buried at *Valenciennes* in *Hennault*.

28 *Iaqueline*, or *Jacoba*, daughter and sole heire to *William* of *Bauaria*, succeeded her father in all his Earldomes and Seigneuries, being then widow to the Dolphin of *France*, and yet but nineteene yeares of age. In regard of her youth and widowhood, she endured much molestation in her gouernement, chiefly in *Holland*: for the two factions rooke head againe, and banded their boldnes on both sides; the *Hoekins* fauouring the Countesses faction, and the *Cabillantes* her e-

emies, by which meanes her rule was greatly disturbed. For *Iohn* of *Bauaria* (forsaking his Bishoppricke of *Liege*) sought to make himselfe an Earle, and marrie his Niece *Iaqueline* (vterly against her will) and yet to dispossele her of her rightfull inheritance, for which purpose he leagued himselfe with the *Cabillantes*, and other powerfull friends, who neuertheless were flaine in their bolde aduenture at *Gorrichome*. And, to frustrate the Bishops vaine hope, the Pope dispensed her marriage with *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*, albeit he was her neare kinsman, whereby their patrimoniall inheritances were the more strengthened, and hee acknowledged as their Prince, in *Hennault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Friseland*, &c. It were needelisse heere, to relate the following molestations of *Iohn* of *Bauaria* the Bishop, to his Niece *Iaqueline*, taking on himselfe the title of Earle, and therefore, (by some) ranked among the Earles of *Holland*, or the after-marriages of Lady *Iaqueline*; to the Duke of *Gloucester*, vntill to *Henry* the sixt, King of *England*; the fourth and last time (in great privacy) to *Franke* of *Borselle*, Lieutenant of *Zeland*, or her (no meane troubles) by the Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom hee resigned vnto all her Countries. Let it suffise, that hee liued in continuall vexations nineteene yeares, and dying at the *Hague*, was buried in the Chappell of the Court of *Holland*.

30 *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, being (both by father & mother) rightfull heire and succellour to the aforementioned Countesse *Iaqueline*; was thus entitled: *Philip* Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Brabant*, and *Lembourge*; Earle of *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Burgogne*, *Hennault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Namure*; Marquesse of the hoke Empire; and Lord of *Friseland*, *Salins* and *Macklyn*. Hee had three wiues; by the two first hee had no children; but by the last, named *Isabell* (daughter to *Iohn* King of *Portugal*) hee had three sonnes; *Anthony* and *Ioffe*, who dyed yong, and *Charles Martin*, Earle of *Charlois*, and succellour vnto his father. This *Philip* of *Bourgogne* instituted the order of Knighthood of the golden Fleece, and had much discontent with his sonne *Charles*, whom (at length) he married to the Lady *Margaret*, sister to *Edward* the fourth, King of *England*. The rebels of *Gant* and *Bruges* dearly felt the valour

John of Bauaria  
Bishop of  
Liege.

John of Bauaria  
the Bishop  
reconciled the  
22. Earle of  
Holland.

1496.

The Titles of  
Philip Duke  
of Bourgogne.

The order of  
the golden  
Fleece instituted.

of

of this *Philip*; hee besieged *Callis*, surprized *Luxembourg*, subdued *Liege*, and ouercame the *Hunecoms*. Hee exceeded all his predecessors (dukes of *Burgogne*) in riches, Seigneuries, height of Pompe and State. He dyed the fift day of Iune 1467, hauing gouerned about fortie yeares. In his time was the famous Arte of Printing first inuented; the men of *Harlem* in *Holland* do challenge the first honour thereof, but it was reduced to perfection at *Mentz*, by one *Iohn Fawstus*, who had beene seruant to *Laurence Janfon* of *Harlem*, as they constantly affirme.

31 *Charles*, surnamed the Warlike Duke of *Bourgogne*, succeeded in all his fathers Titles and Dignities. The Inhabitants of *Gant* resisting him, he brought them vnder obedience, and defeated the *Liegeois* in battell, which enforced *Liege* to yeelde to him. He made peace with the French King; who doubted to be detained at *Peronne* by Duke *Charles*. Vpon a fresh rebellion of the *Liegeois*, the duke forced King *Lewes* to go with him to the siege of their town; which he ruined, and practised the like to the house of *Braderode*. He warred against the *Frisons*; and carried many Princes in hope of his daughters marriage. The French King, and the Duke, sought to deceiue each other, and the Confitable of *Saint Paul* (waxing hatefull to them both) they resolved his ruine, and (on a Truce taken for nine yeares, betwene the King and Duke) the Confitable was belied at *Paris*. The Duke warred against the *Swissers*, and was defeated by them, both at *Granfon* and *Morat*, wherewith the *Swissers* were enriched. The Duke besieged *Nancie*, and was there flaine in battell, by the treason of the Earle of *Campobachio*, an Italian; where being engirt with a great troupe of Lancers, he receiued wounds, one in the head, the second in the thigh, and the third in the fundament. Hee left one onely daughter and heire.

32 *Mary*, daughter and heire to Duke *Charles*, the varrelke Duke of *Bourgogne*, succeeded her father in all his Countries: being but eightene yeares old when hee was flaine before *Nancy*, wherefore she remained vnder the charge of the Duke of *Cleues*, and his brother the Lord of *Rauesme*. The French King seized *Piccardie* & *Artois*: and the hapning into the *Gantois* power, endured much trouble, by

putting her chiefest seruants and counsellors to death. The *Flemings* were delected, and the yong Duke of *Guelldres* flaine. Afterward, a marriage was concluded betwene *Maximilian* Arch-duke of *Austria*, sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke*, and the Lady *Mary* of *Bourgogne*, albeit she would more glaely haue matched with the house of *France*.

33 *Maximilian*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, and sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke*, marrying the Princeesse *Mary* of *Bourgogne*, was thereby wedded to much warre and trouble. For, first the *Gulldres* revolted from the house of *Bourgogne*. Next hapned the battell of *Guinegate*, wherein the Arch-duke was Conqueror: Then, *Turnay* yeelde to him; Truce was taken betwene him and the French King, and the new tumults of the *Cabillaux* and *Hoeks*, were also by him pacified. *Dordrecht* was surprized by the yong lord of *Egmont*; also, many Townes in *Gulldres* yeelde to the Arch-duke; and (not long after) followed the death of the Arch-dutcheffe *Mary*; who had (the first yeare of her marriage, a sonne named *Philip*, father to *Charles* the fift) the second yeare a daughter, called *Margaret*, betroathed in her infancie, to *Charles* the Dolphin of *France*, sonne to *Lewes* 11. and the third yeare, a sonne named *Frances*, according to the name of *Frances* Duke of *Brittaine* his godfather. *Maximilian* being chosen King of the Romans, he made *Engelbert* Earle of *Nassau*, Gouernour of the Netherlands in his absence: and afterward, vpon the bold insolency of the *Gantois* and *Brugois* (keeping the King of Romans prisoner) *Albert* duke of *Saxony*, was made second gouernour of the Netherlands, & General for the Emperour *Fredericke* against the *Flemings*. But *Fredericke* dying, his son *Maximilian* succeeded him in the Empire, by which means *Philip* of *Austria*, sonne to *Maximilian*, inherited his right in *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Friseland*, &c.

34 *Philip*, second of that name, being 16. yeares olde, and succeeding his father *Maximilian*, Emperour in the Netherlands, had these Titles: *Philippe* Arch-duke of *Austria*, Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Lotier*, *Brabant*, *Scyria*, *Carinthia*, *Lembourge*, *Luxembourg*, and *Gulldres*; Earle of *Haspourge*, *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Bourgogne*, *Ferrette* and *Kiburch*; Palatine of *Hennault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Namure* and *Zuphen*.

Q q q 2 Marquessie

The Duke of  
Guelldres  
flaine.

1479.

New tumults  
of the Cabillaux  
and Hoeks.

1482.

Engelbert,  
Earle of Nassau.  
1491.

1494.

The Titles of  
Philip, Arch-  
Duke of Austria.

1497.	Marqueſſe of the holy Emperre, and of <i>Bourgoyn</i> ; <i>Landgrauve of Elſſen</i> , Lord of <i>Windſmarke</i> , <i>Portmeau</i> , <i>Salynes</i> , & <i>Stacklyn</i> . Vpon his full poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, peace was made between him, and <i>Charles</i> the eight, King of France; war hapning be- wixt the Arch-duke and the Duke of <i>Guelders</i> , great inconueniences followed thereon: but Duke <i>Albert</i> being ſlaine before <i>Groningen</i> , the Arch-Duke inherited the Realme of Spain by his wife, being made King of <i>Caſtile</i> , & <i>George</i> duke of <i>Sazony</i> , being then made Gouvernor of the Netherlands, for the Arch-duke <i>Philip</i> continued the Warres in <i>Friſeland</i> . For, vpon the death of <i>Iſabell</i> , Queene of <i>Caſtile</i> , ſane her daughter being the onely heyre, and married to the Arch duke <i>Philip</i> ; ſhe hereby inueſted him in the realms of <i>Spain</i> , <i>Leon</i> , <i>Granada</i> , &c. as abſolute King. But he enioyed that Dignitie not long: for in the year 1506. the 27. day of September, he dyed (ſodainly) in the City of <i>Bourgoyn</i> , ſuſpected to bee poiſoned. After the death of <i>Philip</i> King of <i>Caſtile</i> , the Emperour <i>Maximilian</i> took vpon him the government of the Netherlands, as Guardian vnto <i>Charles</i> and <i>Ferdinand</i> , his Grand children, being the ſons of <i>Philip</i> and <i>Jane</i> , King and Queene of <i>Caſtile</i> .
1508.	35 <i>Charles</i> of <i>Auſtria</i> , ſecond of that name, ſucceeded rightfully in al his fathers Lands and Seigneuries, and by the Emperours appointment, his daughter the Lady <i>Margaret</i> (Dowager of <i>Sauoy</i> , and Aunt to the Princes <i>Charles</i> and <i>Ferdinand</i> ) was Regent of the Low countries. Afterward, Prince <i>Charles</i> took poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, and being crowned K. of <i>Spain</i> and <i>Arragon</i> , ſoone after followed the death of the Emperour <i>Maximilian</i> , and in an aſſembly at <i>Francfort</i> , for choiſe of a new Emperour, <i>Charles</i> king of <i>Spain</i> had free election, by the name of <i>Charles</i> the ſty.
1510.	Then was Lady <i>Margaret</i> (widow both of <i>Caſtile</i> and <i>Sauoy</i> , and Aunt to the Emperour <i>Charles</i> ) accepted as ſole gouerneſſe of the Netherlands, in her Nepheues abſence. Troubles hapned in <i>Spain</i> , by reaſon of the Kings departure thence, & not onely warre in <i>Friſeland</i> , but likewise betweene the French and Bourguignons, as alſo the warres of Bootes or Peazants in Germany; and the <i>Groningens</i> reiecting the Duke of <i>Guelders</i> , did yeld themſelues to the Emperour: then hapned the ſecond
1512.	bloody edit from the Emperour, againſt the Netherland proteſtants, and then was the imperial diet at <i>Ausbourg</i> , where the proteſtant Princes preſented the confeſſion of their faith. After followed the deuouring inundation in the Netherlands, and the death of the Lady dowager <i>Margaret</i> , whereby <i>Mary</i> of <i>Auſtria</i> , ſecond daughter to King <i>Philip</i> , and Queen <i>Jane</i> of <i>Caſtile</i> , ſucceeded in the government of the Netherlands. War hapned betweene the Emperour and the French king, but vpon the coming of queene <i>Elenor</i> of France to the Emperour her brother, peace was concluded betwixt them.
1514.	36 While <i>Mary</i> of <i>Auſtria</i> gouerned the Netherlands, for the Emperour <i>Charles</i> her brother, great troubles hapned vnto the Proteſtants, by oppoſition of the Pope & Emperour againſt them. The Emperour affected the Empire for Prince <i>Philip</i> his ſonne, which bred a quarrell betwixt the Emperour, and his brother <i>Ferdinand</i> king of <i>Hungary</i> , to whom the Princes of the Empire were more enclined, then to <i>Philip</i> ; and then the Proteſtants denied their coming to the Councel of Trent. <i>Philip</i> King of <i>Spain</i> married <i>Mary</i> queene of England: And not long after, the Emperour reſigned the Netherlands to his ſonne King <i>Philip</i> (whereby he was reckned the 36. Earle of <i>Holland</i> , <i>Zeland</i> , &c.) and the Empire to his brother <i>Ferdinand</i> , King of the Romans and <i>Hungary</i> , departing out of the Netherlands, to end his dayes quietly in a Monastery, not far from <i>Placentia</i> . Reſeruing an hundred thouſand crowns yearly to himſelfe, employing four thouſand for his dyer and maintenance, appointing the reſt vnto young Maydens marriages, and the reliefe of Widowes and Orphanes, hee not liuing aboue two yeeres after. When not onely hapned his death, but likewise the deathes of the Queenes Dowagers of France and <i>Hungary</i> , as alſo of <i>Mary</i> Queen of England; after whome, ſucceeded her Siſter <i>Elizabeth</i> . In which time, <i>Emanuel</i> <i>Philiberts</i> , Duke of <i>Sauoy</i> , and Prince of <i>Piemont</i> , was Gouvernour, and Lieutenant General of the Netherlands, for King <i>Philip</i> ; till the King of Spaines marriage (being turned into teares, by the moſt vntimely death of the French King) cauſed <i>Margaret</i> of <i>Auſtria</i> , Baſtarde to the Emperour <i>Charles</i> the ſitt, and Dutcheſſe of

1519.	of <i>Parma</i> , to ſuccede the Duke of <i>Sauoy</i> in the Netherlands regiment. King <i>Philip</i> returned then home into <i>Spain</i> , it being his laſt departure out of thoſe countries: whereon (not long after) enſued the ſubtile bringing of the <i>Spaniſh</i> Inquiſition into the Netherlands, by creation of new Biſhops; and ſuch was the power and priuilege of the Inquiſitors, as none were able to withſtand them, in conſiſcation both of their body and goods at their owne pleaſure.
1568.	Now, albeit the tyranny of the Dutcheſſe government in the Low-countries, was more then the people could well endure, yet (to put a ſharpe inſaſtie in their mouths) K. <i>Philip</i> removed his Baſtard ſiſter <i>Margaret</i> , & ſent <i>Don Ferdinand</i> <i>Aluarez</i> , Duke of <i>Alua</i> , who quickly brought the Netherlands into a moſt pittifull eſtate: making himſelfe ſure of <i>Gaunt</i> , and Count <i>Horne</i> and count <i>Egmont</i> (abusiue) made priſoners: he built the Caſtle of <i>Antwerp</i> , where he erected his own proud ſtatue, & proceeded to apprehend the prince of <i>Orange</i> by Commiſſion, ſetting down Articles by the <i>Spaniſh</i> Inquiſition (which were confirmed by the king) to ruinate the Netherlands, vpon which ſoone followed the execution of the ſonnes of <i>Batembourg</i> at <i>Brussels</i> , as alſo the Earles of <i>Egmont</i> and <i>Horne</i> . <i>William</i> of <i>Naffan</i> prince of <i>Orange</i> , was made gouernor of <i>Holland</i> , <i>Zeland</i> & <i>Vtrecht</i> for the States, & proued very fortunate in many attempts againſt the D. of <i>Alua</i> , which made him labour his repeale home into <i>Spain</i> , with <i>Don Fredericke</i> his ſonne. <i>Don Lewes</i> de <i>Requeſens</i> , the great Commander of <i>Caſtile</i> , was ſent to ſpoyle the dukes place in the Netherlands, for the K. of <i>Spain</i> , to whom <i>Aluarez</i> former behaviour ſerued for an example in his proceeding; and not withſtanding, his beſieging of <i>Middlebourg</i> (near hand to <i>famiſhment</i> ) yet was his fleet defeated before his face, and the town yielded vp by <i>Collenell Montdragon</i> , to the Prince of <i>Orange</i> . After many dangerous turmoiles on both ſides, the States ſent to require ſuccour of <i>Elizabeth</i> Q. of England, and ſoone after dyed <i>Don Lewes</i> de <i>Requeſens</i> at <i>Brussels</i> ; in whole roome ſucceeded <i>Don Iohn</i> of <i>Auſtria</i> (baſtard ſonneto to the Emperour <i>Charles</i> the ſitt) as gouernor for K. <i>Philip</i> in the Netherlands, all the Prouinces whereof were vaited at the pacification of <i>Gand</i> ; whereup-
1577.	on, the Caſtle was yeelded to the States. and al the Spaniards departed out of <i>Antwerp</i> caſtle, which was alſo deliuered into the States hands. <i>Don Iohn</i> being received as Gouvernor, he ſought occasions how to renew warre againſt the prince of <i>Orange</i> , and diuers diſcontentments, as alſo treacherous praſtices, being noted in <i>D. Iohn</i> , the States grew iealous of him, & he was proclaimed the Countries enemy. Then was the Arch-duke <i>Mathias</i> called to bee Gouvernor, and while the heart-burnings held betwene <i>Don Iohn</i> and the States, the Duke of <i>Amou</i> , and Duke <i>Casimire</i> alſo were required to ſuccour them, but to little effect: for <i>Arthois</i> and <i>Hennault</i> , ſell from the Netherlands generali vniion, and then followed the death of <i>Don Iohn</i> of the plague, in the Campe neare vnto <i>Namure</i> .
1578.	Then <i>Alexander Farnſe</i> , Duke of <i>Parma</i> and <i>Placentia</i> , baſtard Nepheue to the King of <i>Spain</i> , ſucceeded <i>Don Iohn</i> in the Netherlands government: VV hereupon, a ſtricter vniion (then before) was made betweene the Prouinces at <i>Vtrecht</i> . The D. of <i>Amou</i> was called to be Protector, and partly Lord of the Countries in the Vniion, which made the King of <i>Spain</i> proſcribe the Prince of <i>Orange</i> , and ſer his life at ſale, to which proſcription the Prince (in euery poynt) made his iuſt anſwere. Then were valiant an! worthie ſeruices performed by ſir <i>Iohn Norris</i> , and Captaine (afterwards) ſir <i>Roger Williams</i> . In the yeare following, the generall Eſtates of the Prouinces, hauing declared <i>Philip</i> K. of <i>Spain</i> , ſecond of that name, to be ſiſlen from the Seigneury of the ſayd Prouinces, in regard of his extraordinary and too violent government, againſt their priuileges and freedoms (ſolemely ſworne by himſelfe.) In way of right and Armes, tooke vpon them al the government of the politike Eſtate, & of the religion in thoſe Prouinces, breaking the Kings Seales, abſolving the ſubiects of their oath to him and cauſing them to take a new oath, for preferuation of their country, and obedience to the ſaid States. Vpon a bargain made by the K. of <i>Spain</i> , to kill the prince of <i>Orange</i> , the ſaid prince was ſhot by one <i>Iohn Luoregani</i> , a bakerups-merchants ſervant, who was inſtantly ſlain, but the prince eſcaped that attempt with life. Afterward he was traiterouſly murdered by <i>Balthazar Gerard</i>

1584.

The Prince of Orange murdered.

Gerard a (high *Bourguignon*) at *Delft* in *Holland*: whereon, Prince *Maurice* (being his Sonne) succeeded his father in the gouernment. Then followed the siege of *Antuerpe*, in which time, the States once more, re-commended their cause to the Queene of *England*: eyther to giue her the full Soueraignty of the Netherlands, or else to succour and releue them with her forces, vpon good conditions offered. Her Maiesty graunted to send them assistance, but no soueraignty or protection of them, would she take vpon her: whereupon, certaine cautionarie Townes and Skonces were deliuered vp to her, for repayment of such summes of money, as should be disbursed by her, and Articles of conuenant set downe betwene them. Also, *Robert Lord Dudley*, Baron of *Denbigh*, and Earle of *Leicester*, was appointed by the Q. of *England*, to be her Gouverneur generall, ouer the English powers in the Netherlands.

1585.

The Earle of Leicester.

In the time of the earle of *Leicester*'s gouernement for the Queene, were sundrie worthy seruices performed by the Earle of *Essex*, sir *John Norris*, the Lord *Willoughby*, sir *Philip Sidney*, sir *William Russell* &c. besides the subtle pretences of sir *William Stanley*, *Rowland Torke*, *Patton*, and others, who held faire weather with the Earle of *Leicester*, and had the gouernment of *Zurphen* skonce, and the strong towne of *Deuenter* (to the great dislike of the States) yet performed no such matter, as the Earles hope was perfwaded of them: for, after the death of that matchles noble Gentleman sir *Philip Sidney*, he being shot before *Zurphen*, & therof dying; the Earle of *Leicester* (being gone for *England*) both *Deuenter* & *Zurphen* Skonce were deliuered vp to the Spaniards, by base corruption of money. And (not long after) the Prince of *Parma* beleagring *Sciue*; by composition it was also yielded vp, after it had endured 17000 cannon shot & more. Beside, vpon some discontentment, betwene the Earle of *Leicester*, and the States; the Queene called home the sayd Earle into *England*, and the Lord *Willoughby* remained there Generall of the English forces. The sundry worthy seruices, both by him, and the English performed, with the Spanish vndoubted hopes of *Englands* Conquest, in the dradefull year, one thousand five hundred eightie and eight, Prince *Maurice* his entrance into the Netherlands re-

Sir Philip Sidney slain.

1587.

Sciue.

The Lord Willoughby.

1588.

Prince Maurice.

giment, and the Dukes of *Parma*'s warres in *France*; all these do I passe ouer, referring such as desire farther satisfaction therein, to the large Historie of the Netherlands.

The Prince of *Parma* dying at *Aras* (after his retreat from *Rouen*) the second of September, one thousand five hundred ninety and two: *Maurice* of *Nassau*, borne Prince of *Orange*, Marquesse of *La Vere*, and of *Flushing*, &c. was made great Capitaine and Admirall generall of the vnitied Prouinces in the Low-countries, by the Estates: and *Ernestus*, Archduke of *Austria*, was also made Lieutenant Gouverneur, and Capitaine generall for *Phillip* of *Spaine*.

Prince *Maurice* prouing very successefull in his warlike attempts, a Renegate or Apostate Priest (in the habite of Souldier) was corrupted (by the Arch-duke *Ernestus*) to murder the Prince *Maurice* at *Breda*; and, vpon his owne confession thereof, he was executed at the *Hage*. Afterward, vpon Prince *Maurice* his valliant surprisall of *Gronning*, *Ernestus* had dealt in like maner with a Souldier, named *Peter de Four* (who had sometime serued in the companie of the Guard to Prince *Maurice*) to vndertake the murdering of him at *Lillo*: the which treason being confessed by the man himselfe, he was executed in the towne of *Berghen-up-zoom*. Here might be much said of the honorable seruices of sir *Frances Vere*, and others, but our purposed breuitie is the onely imbarment; and the Netherlands Historie (at large) may thereof discharge me. The Arch-duke *Ernestus* dyed the twenty one day of February, one thousand five hundred ninety and five; *Monragons* forces defeated by Prince *Maurice*, and *La Motte* slain before *Dourlus*: the Estates (vnder the king of *Spaine*) gladly fought peace with the vnitied Prouinces, and sent Articles in writing to Prince *Maurice*, for consideration of their motion. This was not done, but vpon good aduice in the King of *Spaine*, perceiving the Netherlands, and Prince *Maurice* his great fortunes against him, adding euery day, (more and more) to his veter abolition thence. Hereupon, *Albertus* the Cardinall, brother to deceased *Ernestus*, and Arch duke of *Austria*, was sent (by the King) to gouerne there for him; many Easterlings and Netherlands

1592.

Ernestus D. of Austria.

1594.

Prince Maurice should be murdered twice.

Sir Francis Vere.

1595.

Albertus Arch Duke of Austria.

1596.

Hault befieged.

1597.

Tournhout.

1598.

The Iesuites compile the death of Prince Maurice.

therland shippes, which had bene stayed in *Spaine* to meete the *Indian* fleet, were suddenly released; and *Phillip* of *Nassau* (who is now Prince of *Orange* and Earle of *Buren*, that had long time bene restrained of his liberty in *Spaine*) for the better countenancing of th'intended busines, he likewise went along with the Cardinall *Albertus*.

The Cardinall being made Gouverneur for the King of *Spaine*, tooke *Calice* from the French King, as his first peece of seruice: but for losse thereof, he recouered *La-fere* from the Spaniards. Whereupon, the Cardinall besieged *Hault* in *Flanders*, which yielded in the end: but it was a deare purchase to the Cardinall, for this siege, (continuing some two moneths) cost him the lues of about three-score valliant Captaines, besides other Commanders, Collone's, and men of marke, and about five thousand well approoued souldiers.

Then did the King of *Spaine* dispenfe with himselfe for payment of his debts, which made many Merchants in *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Antwerpe*, *Amsterdam*, and *Middlebourg*, to become Bankerouts. A league was made betwene the French King, the Queene of *England* and the States, against the Spaniards; and then did Prince *Maurice* go to *Tournhout*, where the Earle of *Varax* was slain. *Amiens* also was surprized by the Spaniards; but soone besieged and recouered by the French King, albeit the Cardinall did offer succour, which proued in vain. Prince *Maurice* besieged, and tooke the Townes of *Apennin*, *Rhinberg*, *Groll*, *Brefort*, *Enfcheyde*, *Oldenzeel*, *Ottmarfom*, *Goot*, and *Lingen*, all which seruices he performed in three moneths. Then happened another treacherous plot, against the life of Prince *Maurice*, by perfwasion of the Iesuites of *Darmstadt*, and vnderaken by *Peter Panne*, a Cowper by trade; but being then a Broker or Bankerout Merchant, who hauing receiued the Sacrament to performe the deepe, eyther with knife, ponyard, or pistol: the Prouinciall of the Iesuites made a long Sermon, to encourage him in the action, and assuring him of Paradise, if he performed it, vfed these words to him besides; *Goe in peace, for thou shalt goe like an Angel, in the garde of God*. But the man (being terrified in conscience) discouered

the whole treason, without any compulsion, and was therefore executed at *Leyden* in *Holland*. The King of *Spaine* growing weak and sickely, gaue his Daughter the *Infanta*, named *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, in marriage to the Arch duke and Cardinall *Albertus*, with transfation of the Netherlands and *Bouregonne*: whereupon he left his Cardinales habite, and went to fetch the *Infanta*. Soone after dyed the King of *Spaine*, on the thirteenth day of September, in the yeare of our Lord God 1598. being seauentie one yeares olde, and four moneths.

The Arch-duke and the *Infanta* being come into the Netherlands, had their installment at *Brussels*, *Louaine*, *Antwerpe*, &c. The Emperour sent to the States, concerning a peace, but their resolution helde to make warre in *Flanders*. Then happened the siege and memorable battail of *Nieuport*, where Prince *Maurice* tooke diuers Fortes from the Spaniards, and ouerthrew the Arch-dukes Armie, he being there in person: but gladly fled away, leaving his Armes, Horfile of Combat, all his Houthold, Artillery, and baggage behinde him, and lost fixe thousand men, besides eight hundred taken prisoners, among whom was *Don Francisco de Mendoza*, Admirall of *Arragen*, Marquesse of *Guadaleste*, and Lieutenant generall of the Arch-dukes Army, who was ledde to *Oostend*; *Don Baptista de Villanova*, led to *Horne* in *Holland*; *Don Alonso Ricquell*, to *Delft*; *Don Gonzalo Hernandez de Spinola*, to *Vtrecht*; *Don Pedro de Montenegro*, to the *Hague*; *Don Pedro de Valasco*, to *Berghen*, with *Don Francisco de Tarres*, and *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, and *Don Pedro de Leusina*, to *Enchuisen*: besides the Arch-dukes three Pages, *Count Carlo Rezi*, *Don Diego de Guzman*, and *Mortier*: *Don Pedro de Monte-maior*, his chiefe Taster; also his Philition, Barber, Harbinger, Rider, Cook, Porter, Grooms of his Chamber, most of the Archers, Halberdiers of his Guard, and (in a maner) all his houthold; with three Priests or Monkes; forty Aunients, and thirty seauen Pensioners, reformed (by them) Ancients and Sergeants reformed. Hee lost also fixe peeces of Ordinance, one hundred thirty and fixe Ensignes of foote taken, and five Corners of horfile, comprehending the Mutiners Standard, and the recouered lost Colours.

Morgo-

The death of king Philip.

1599.

1600.

The battail of Nieuport.

Moreover, on the Archdukes side were slain, the Earle of *Saume*, the Earle of *la Fere*, the Seneshall of *Montclimur*, the Baron of *Pimeruill*, *Chaffy Otingny*, son to the President *Richardot*; *Don Gaspar de Sapiens*, Colonell, who died at Oastend, *Don Diego de Torres*, *Don Gaspar de Loyazo*, *Don Gonzalo d'Espinala*, *Don Ioan de Pardo*, *Don Garcia de Toledo*, *Don Lopode Capeta*, *Don Alonso Carcano*, *Don Louis Faccardo*, *Sebastian Velaſco*, *Sebastian Dote-loz*, *Chriſtionall Verdagues*, *Muttheo d'Ostenville*, *Ioannettin de casa nueva*, the Paymaster *Aimes*, and many other new known.

Prince Maurice and the States' Joffe.

Prince *Maurice* and the States', at the first encounter in the morning, and lastly in the battel, lost about 2000. men, among whom were *Bernard*, *Couteler*, & *Hamelton*, Captaines of horse, and some twentie Captaines of foot, but no man of marke or speciall note. In this braue exploit at *Nieuport*, the vertue and valor of *Sir Frances Vere* Generall, and *Sir Horatio Vere* his Brother, Colonell, will for euer bee remembered.

The occurrences in the following years as the besieging of Oastend, the enterprize on *Fleſſigne*, the practise to sacke *Antwerpe* againe, *Grane* yielded vp vnto Prince *Maurice*; also his honorable offers to the towne of *Sluice*, and it being yielded to him vpon composition, euen in the view of the Archdukes army: they require a larger field of discourse, then by this breuety can be admitted. Proceed we then to speake of the long continued siege at Oastend, which lasting three whole years and eleuen weekes, was at last compounded withall, and on the twentie two day of September, 1604. yielded to the Archduke.

What numbers were slain in this long continued siege of Oastend, can hardly be gathered, albeit, a note was found in a Commisaries Pocket (who had bin slain the seuenth of August, 1604. before Oastend) wherein were diuers good obseruations; especially concerning the Archdukes Campe, and also what number

(of each degree) dyed and were slaine therein, during this siege, vntill the yeilding vp thereof, viz) Masters of the camp feuen; Colonels fifteene; Sergeant Majors twenty nine, Captaines 505. Lieutenants 1116. Ensigns 322. Sergeants 1911. Corporals 1166. Lansprizadoes 600. Soldiers, 54663. Mariners 611. women and Children, 119. all amounting to 72124. persons.

To continue the memory of this long siege, as also the winning of *Sluice*; counters (of Silver and Copper) were made in the vnited Prouinces, bearing (on the one side) the figure of Oastend, and on the other, the Towns of *Rhinberke*, *Grane*, *Sluice*, *Ardenbourg*, with the Forts of *Iſendyke* & *Cadſant*, with this inscription round about; *Plus triensio obſeſſa, poſttrudera Patria quatuor ex me vrbes dedit. Oastend being more then three years besieged, gaue the enemy an heape of stones, and so her Native Country foure Townes.* Another Counter, concerning *Sluice*, had these wordes on the one side, *Traxit, duxit, dedit*, Anno 1604. And with the Armes of *Zeland* on the other side, were these words: *Beatus populus cuius adiutor Deus.* For the following yeares, from 1604. to 1608. I find no especiall or memorable accidents; but an enterprize by Prince *Maurice*, on the river of *Scheld* and *Antwerp*, with the taking of the Cattle of *Wouwse*, neere vnto *Berghen v'pzaome*; *Spinolaz* taking of *Linghen*, with an attempt on *Berghen* & *Groll*, taken by composition, &c. For a treaty of peace happening betwene England and Spaine, the like also chanced to be talked on concerning the Netherlands, and many other meetings were made to bring it to effect. At length it was brought to passe, by the labour and endeour of a Friar (as it was reported) who made manie errands betwene Spaine and the Netherlands, vntill it was accomplished. Since when, nothing hath hapned of any consequence, but the taking of the Towne of *Guliche* in Germany, where the Prince *Maurice* did behaue himſelfe very honorably.

The Archdukes Joffe at Oastend.

1607. 1608. 1609. 1610.

THE



## The Eight Booke.

### CHAP. I.

Containing, a brieſe diſcourſe of the Originall of the Venetians; the foundation of Venice, and how it hath bene gouerned, from the yeare of our Lord, 421. to this instant.

**H**ISTORIOGRAPHERS who haue written of the Venetians, doe not agree together in their true Originall. For ſome doe write, that they are deſcended of the Venetian Gaules, inhabiting along the Ocean ſea in little Britaigne, called *Armorica*, whereof one of the principall Citties (becing a Biſhops See) was called *Vennes*. Others, (and among them) *Titus Livius*, born in Padua, affures vs, that they came forth of *Paphlagonia*, and that *Philemon* their Captaine (being ſlayne at Troy the great) they went with *Antenor* into Italy. Others write, that this Nation, hauing bene neighbours to the *Cappadocians*, and venturing fight with the *Cimmerians*, they hazarded farre further vpon the Adriaticke Sea in their Fortune. The moſt common opinion, is of them, who ſay, that the *Initians* or *Henetes* came with *Antenor*; and, in ſometime after (by changing of a Letter) were called *Venitians*, or *Venetes*.

Fiſt of all, they expelled the *Enganeans*

who inhabited this country, between the Adriaticke ſea and the *Alpes*, and builded the City of *Padua*. Afterward, by ſucceſſe of time, they increaſed in ſuch ſort, as they would not be ſatisfied to be Maſters (only) of that which had appertained to the *Enganeans* (conſiſting of thirty foure fayre Citties and Townes;) but intruded farther, to leize on *Breſſano* and *Forli*. Some report this Country to be bounded with the Riuer of *Pau*, and that of *Adde*, as alſo the Lake of *Guard*, anciently called the *Benacke*, the *alpes*, and the *Adriaticke* ſea.

And ſo the ancient *Venitians* in this manner, extended their Dominion, both in longitude and latitude, in the moſt pleaſant Countrey of Italy: but the ſeating of the places did daily beget the elder eſtate of the *Venitians* hatred. For on the one ſide, the ordinary robberies of the *Liburnians*, and on the other ſide, the frequent and frightfull courſes of the Barbarians, did hinder them from any long time of continuing in quiet. For, without theſe impeachments, this Nation had bin moſt fortunate, in conquering (by the right of *Watre*) one of the moſt goodly & beautifull regions in all Italy.

Now ouer & beſide, that on the ſouth ſide, it is enuironed with a moſt calme circuite of the ſea, and in regard thereof, is the moſt capable of receiuing all ſtrange Merchandizes: ſo it is likewiſe Watered with very delectable riuers, whereby whatſoeuer commeth from the Sea, is eaſily tranſported to the very Nauel of the Prouince. It aboundeth in Pooles, Ponds, Forreſts, and vnder-woods, & the whole Land is choiſely fertile in Corne, Wine, Oyle,

People by the inner gulfes of the Adriatick ſea, towards the Alpes.

Liburnia, the country of Croatia, betweene Iſtria, and Dalmatia.

The ſituation of Venice, & capacity thereof.

People of Paphlagonia.

Oyle, and all kindes of fruites. It is also plentifully stored with Countrey houſes, Townes, Citties, and Villages, Caſtles, Fortes, and ſuch like, verie commendable for the ſituation & enclosure of their Valles.

Their new inhabitants, when their weeke estate beganne to grow in ſayer ſortme: they were ſeldom exempted from the VVaires and incurſions of ſtrangers. For, after many bolde inſolencies of the Barbarians, with continued Warres againſt each other, euen from their verie beginning, vntill the time of *Attila*: they were yet much more dreadfully encumbered, with the furious aſſault of the *Goths*, a Tempeſt farre exceeding in turbulence, all other former diſaſters happening vnto them whatſoever.

For ſirſt, the *Hunnes* (a people of *Scythia*, dwelling neere to the *Riphean* Mountaines) conducted by *Attila*, the Sonne of *Mandluke*, diſperſed themſelves ouer *Italy*, and making horrible ſpoile whereſoever they went, fell into the Province belonging to the *Venitians*. After a long ſiege, they tooke the City of *Aquileia*, and ſpoyled and burnt it wholly. In like manner did they alſo ruinate the two Citties of *Concordia* and *Adina*, and almoſt all the Venitian region.

At the fearefull newes of this Warre, the *Venitians* were more amazed then any other, and ſo much the rather, becauſe they had bene formerly inured, to ſuſtaine their cheefeſt miſhappes amongſt the Barbarians. VV hereupon it is ſaid, that (euen then) a great number of perſons withdrew themſelves from the firme Land, to the Iſles where *Venice* at this inſtant is builded: haſting thither from all other parts, eſpecially vpon the arriual of this cruell enemy *Attila*.

Some (of the better fort of *Padua*) firſt beganne the retreat, and being come to the entrance or iſſue of the Riuer, which was then very deepe (whence the name of *Rialto* hath remaind to the ſame place, as deriued of the word *Riuale*) they there laide the firſt foundation of the Cittie of *Venice*.

The meaner people of *Padua*, enforced by the ſelfe ſame feare; fled thence, and beganne to people themſelves in *Chioggia*, *Malamocco*, and *Albiola*. Som of them of *Aquileia* (at the ſame time) betooke

themſelves to the Marſhes or Fennes of *Grada*; and ypon the ſeeth returne of *Attila*, the people ran (in mighty affluence) along the Coaſtes to the Neighbouring Iſles. They of *Aquileia* betlowed themſelves in *Grada*, a place neereſt vnto firme land, yet engirt with Waters. They that fledde from *Concordia*, made uſe of *Coarls* and the *Atimis*, fixe little Iſlands neere to one another, which they gaue names vnto, according to the names of the gates of their former loſt and ruined Citties: to wit, *Torcello*, *Atmarbo*, *Buriana*, *Mariano*, *Amarna*, and *Goſtantiaca*.

Theſe ſeueral places, where at this preſent the City of *Venice* is ſeated, were (in elder times) very ſtraight or narrowe Iſlands, and neere vnto each other: ſaue onely that they were ſeparated by the pleaſing courſe of Riuers, which ranne into, and returned againe from the Sea, according to the changes of his fluxe and reflux. Nor in theſe ſtraights were then any dwellings to bee diſcerned, but onely of Sea-Fowles, that flew thither from the Sunny banks; and Fiſher-men likewiſe, would ſometimes there put in for harbour.

The *Paduans*, that tooke vp the *Rialto*, were the firſt that beganne to build, and it was in the very ſame place, where the firſt foundation of the City was layde: Namely, the ſiue and twentieth day of March, in the year of our Lord, 421. and ſecond year of the reigne of *Pharamond*, firſt King of the *Gauls* or French-men, in the time alſo of Pope *Boniſace* the firſt, and of the Emperour *Honorius*. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that at one and the ſelfe ſame time, began both the kingdom of *France* and the Commonwealt of *Venice*. And that both the one and the other haue continued to this preſent, for twelue hundred yeares, very little, either more or leſſe.

This City ſo newly begun, encreaſed dayly both in people and buildings. But fee what happened vpon a ſociaine, a Greeke Carpenters houſe (or rather hee was one of the Shipwrights, named *Emtinopus*) falling on fire, conſumed in a moment (with a violent & continuall embracing) 24 faire new built houſes. Which when the new come inhabitants perceived, & ſeering that heauen was offended with

The prime estate of the place where Venice now ſtandeth.

The firſt buildders of Venice, and at what time.

Their firſt buildings destroyed by fire

with this their manner of beginning, forgetting God, and ſeruing their owne appetites. They fell all to prayer, and made a ſolemne vow, to build a Church in the honour of God, and in memory of the Apoſtle *Saint James*; at which verie inſtant time, a mighty tempeſt of rain (as ſodainly fell) whereby the reſt of the new begun City was happily preferred.

That Church is yet at this day plainly to bee diſcerned, with the markes and appearances of great antiquity, euen in the very miſt of the *Rialto*: And it was then conſecrated by foure Byſhops, to wit; *Seruerianus* byſhop of *Padua*; *Ambroſe*, Byſhop of *Adina*; *Lucundus*, byſhop of *Treuiſa* and *Epodius*, byſhop of *Videro*, and a Prieſt was there appointed, to performe diuine Seruice.

The firſt foundations of this Famous City, were men of honeſt repute, Noble, and rich. For the ancient *Venitians*, at the change of their abiding, brought with them thither their wiues and childre, with the very wealthieſt moueables which they had, and ſo (at leiſure) withdrew themſelves, to places of a more ſecure dwelling. But being impeached (by incurſions of the *Hunnes*) to Till the groundes vpon the ſea Coaſts; ſuch as had any meanes or apt commodity: gaue themſelves to fighting, and to make ſalt, or to tranſport the goods of their neighbors; eſteeming the benefit thereby gotten, to be no more diſhoneſt or vnbeſiſting, then to plough and husband the groundes of others.

As for the wealthier fort, they addiſed themſelves to traffick Merchandizes with ſtrangers, and by their frequent aduenturing into diuers Countreies, ſome of them being very ſkillfull Miners, and well experienced in the triall of ſeueral Oares or Mettals hidden in the ground, which by induſtry and endeavour they found in the earth, became Finers or Tryers of thoſe Mettals, and extracted (from the groſſer ſubſtances) the purer perfections of Gold and Siluer, whereby, in their owne Language, they were termed *Orifaci*, deriued of the Latine word *Aurifex*, Gold-Smithes, or Hammer men, that (of thoſe refined Mettals) could frame Cups, Pots, Rings, Balons, Ewres, or any other needfull matter whatſoever, both for the ſeruice of God in Churches and Temples, and for the royalty of Emperors, Kings, & Prin-

ces. So that, by the conſent of diuers good Authors, as *Linie*, *Florus*, *Cafidorus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and others, the firſt Gold-Smiths, workers in Gold and Siluer, and framers of thoſe excellent mettals into ſuch orderly meanes for vſe (within the parts of *Europe*) lived in *Venice*, whereas yet (to this day) do remaine the very beſt ingenious, and perfect workmen for ſuch matters (according to the iudgement of many) that are to be found in any part of the world. Concerning ſuch as remained more ordinarily at home, for care & ſafety of the City; they applied their ſpirits, to deuſe good lawes and cuſtoms for general benefit. During which time, ſuch was their due reſpect of iuſtice, & ſo preſe care of equity and right to all men; as amongſt ſo great a number of people, there could not bee any diſorderly differences noted.

Catholike religion they ſo ſingularly commended, and the dayly preſence of ſome reuerend Prelates, who had faued themſelves with their Compatriots; that it augmented (among them) a common affection to piety. And their aſſiſtance appeared verie requiſite, not onely for the miniſtry of holy Offices; but alſo for retention of the inhabitants of this new City, in ancient piety and religion. Fearing leaſt they might be infected with the poiſon of *Atrian* heretie, becauſe nothing elſe made more ſpoile and hauock through all the Province, except the weapons of the *Goths* and *Hunnes*.

Such was the beginning of the City of *Venice*, and in ſuch manner of liuing, and in ſuch exerciſes ſhee ſpent her firſt infancy; till (by her vertues) ſhee attained vnto greater groweth, and grounded her ſelfe in her inſtant ſtate and condition. It hath conſtantly bene held, that this Commonwealt (euermore) retained that forme of government, which is termed *Ariſtocratie*, that is, that the moſt noble and worthieſt Citizens ſhould guide and govern. For, although it be ſaide, that it hath bene governed firſt by Conſuls, then by Tribunes, and laſtly by Dukes, and Maiſters of warlike power; notwithstanding, all theſe dignities, being but eleſtiue, and not hereditary, the eleſtion ſhould (in right) appertain to the moſt Noble Iſlanders, and Gentlemen of name, by whoſe aduice the Commonwealt ought to be mana-

The firſt gold Smiths known in Europe, were in Venice.

Care of iuſtice and common good.

Love of religion in eſpecial reſpect.

Ariſtocratie appointed principall.

Mountaines in the north part of Scythia, where ſnow lieth continually.

An ancient Cittie in that part of Italy, called Forum Iulii.

The firſt foundation of Venice.

Little Iſlands in the ſea, and neere each other.



The gouernment of Consuls, and who were the first in Venice.

managed, even as it hath bin, and stil continueth to this day.

Consuls, to the number of three, were chosen for two yeares, and albeit that this kinde of Government lasted for about the space of threelcore yeares, yet wee finde only but three consecutiu or succeeding elections of them. The first Consuls, were *Albertus Phalaris*, *Thomas Candianus*, and *Zeno Daulo*. These men first gouerned the City in her Nonage, & some are of the minde, that they were the first Authors of the *Paduans* flight, and their retirement to the *Lakiish* or *Marish* Isles, as also of their first building there. The second Consuls, were *Lucianus Graulus*, *Maximus*, or *Marinus Lucius*, and *Hugo Fufcus*. The third, were *Marcius Aurelius*, *Andreas Claudius*, and *Albinus Maurus*. The names of such as were elected after these, are not to bee found in anie Histories.

The creation of Tribunes, and what they were.

After, that the Isles (about the *Rialto* were filled with inhabitants: in stedde of Consuls, Tribunes were created, and for their creation, the matter was first debated priuately by few people, afterward, it was ordained and resolved in open assembly of the Islanders: that in each Isle there should be a Tribune, and hee should bee a yearly Magistrate, to render Iustice to the Cittizens, and with severity to punish their offences. But the remaynder which concerned the generalitie of the Common-weale: was referred to the generall assembly of the Islanders, to bee by them determined. Afterward, there was but one Tribune created for gouernment of the Isles, which continued for some yeares. Finally, they concluded to create ten, wherunto were added two more, who should dwell in *Heraclea*; & this Tribuniary dignity held place for more then two hundred yeares. Heere is to bee noted, that the Tribunes of the Isles, abusing their authorities, did so trouble the State with ciuill diffentions, as it plainly appeared, that the maine body of the Cittie would be dissolued, without some good and immediate remedy. Which gaue occasion, that (to heare the complaints of euery one) a general assembly of the Isles was published, and their meeting to be in *Heraclea*.

In this assembly, *Christophero* byshop of *Grada* was President, accompanied

with a great number of the Cleargie, and after diuine seruice was performed, the first proposition which he made, was, that (for good of the Common-wealth, each man might complaine of the future Tribune, which being done, and the offences no longer to be endured, for publike benefit of the state in general, resolution was set downe, to make election of a Duke, who should represent all honor and Maiesty in the State or Seignury, & he should haue power to assemble the general counsell, when questions were to be made, of any important matter concerning the Commonwealth. He should haue power also, to elect yearly Tribunes or Magistrates in euery Isle, and their appellations to bee brought before him. Moreover, if any should obtaine any dignity, Prelacie, or Benefice, by suffrages of the Clergy or people: that he should not enioy it, or be possessed thereof, without the good liking and consent of the Duke, whose power also ended with his life.

This being thus concluded, in the year 697. *Paulucio* was created the first Duke; and so hath that Ducall dignity continued euer since. Saue only that in the year 737. after the death of the third Duke *Orso*, it was determined, that no duke should be elected, for six yeares, but that a Master of the armed troopes or Souldiours should be established, and his Authoritie to be annually, which lasted no longer then five yeares. For in the year, 742. they proceeded againe to a Dukes election; and since that time, the Common-wealth of Venice hath euermore had Dukes & Princes of the Seignury; by whose wisdom (and his counsell assisting) it hath bin preferred in an euer flourishing estate, euen to this instant year, 1619.

## CHAP. II.

A short Summary, of the liues of the Dukes and Princes of Venice: And a breuiate also of the most remarkable actions, in the times of their Government.

*Paulucio Annasesto*, was first Duke of the people, chosen in *Heraclea*. He took his

Who was the first Duke of Venice.

his Oath before *Christophero*, Patriarke of *Grada*, to gouerne according to the lawes, & to regard nothing more then the weale publike. He pacified the difference which *Luiprand*, king of the Lombards had with *K. Aribert*, and made friendship with them both: as well by his authority, as by arms. He brought the rebellious *Aquileians* vnder obedience, encreased the Citties customs and reuenues, and dyed, hauing bene Duke twenty yeares, sixe moneths, and eight dayes.

2 *Marcello Tegaliano*, of the same place of *Heraclea*, was elected his successeur, by common voyce of the people. He was deuoute, modest and affable; but much lesse diligent in gouerning, then his predecessor. The Patriarchat of *Grada* was transferred into *Aquileia* in his time, by *Luiprand*, and there hee had great warres, about the diffentions of the Bishops, wherinto he would not interpose himselfe; but dyed, hauing bene Duke nine yeares, and twenty one dayes.

3 *Orso Hipato*, a nobleman of *Heraclea*, wonne himselfe great reputation by his famous deedes. *Paulo* the *Exarcho* had recourse to him, the *Gracian* Armie being broken, and sieg layd to *Rauenna* by *Luiprand*. He re-gained *Rauenna*, made the Kings nephew his prisoner, flew the duke of *Vicenza*, and released the *Exarcho* in his due rights. Hee bridlede the *Aquileians*, who troubled the publike peace, and put courage into the soules of the yonger sort. He was slaine, by reason of the diffentions of *Iesolo*, the eleauenth year, and fift moneth of his Principality.

4 *Theodato Hipato*, sonne of *Orso*, was proclaimed Duke 5. yeares after the death of his father: during which time, the people were gouerned by a Marshall or Master of the Souldiers: and forsaking *Heraclea*, he brought the State to *Malamocco*. There he was the first created, and limited his Confinnes with *Astolpho* King of the Lombards. He was also slayne by *Galla* a Cittizen of *Malamocco*, in the thirteenth year of his Principality.

5 *Galla de Malamocco*, a wicked and seditious man, yet shewing himselfe as Protector of publike peace, was established in the place of *Theodato*. But his wickednesse being knowne, and that (being but a subiect) he would needs make himselfe absolute Lord, hauing before

slayne his chiefe Maister *Theodato*: the people plucked out his eyes, and tooke from him the Dignitie, which hee had a yeare vsurped.

6 *Dominico Monegario*, of *Malamocco*, was seated in the steade of *Galla*. Somewhat to bridle this Dukes authoritie, the people ioyned two yearly Tribunes with him. But he, being a man audacious and arrogant, fought to tyrannize ouer the people: wherat they growing into furie, plucked out his eyes, the eight yeare of his Principality.

7 *Mauritio Galbaio*, a noble *Heracleian*, for his iustice, wisdom, and wealth, was chosen to this dignity. He made his sonne Duke with him, and they gouerned together. In his time, the Church of *Grada* being molested, he sent an Ambassadour to Pope *Stephen*, to accord the difference. The Bishopricke of *Saint Peter de Castello Olinalo*, was then erected. And he died, hauing gouerned twenty three yeares.

8 *Giuanni Galbaio*, hauing bene Duke nine yeares with his father, gouerned the Common-wealth yet nine yeares more, and after the sayd time, hee made *Mauritio* his sonne, companion with him in the Principality. But they being both of vnsufferable and wicked life, hauing murdered *Iohn* Patriarchat of *Grada*, throwing him downe heading from an high tower: *Fortunatus*, successeur in the Patriarchate, made a conspiracie against them, and another was elected Duke. Wherat, being not a little confounded, the father fled into *Fraunce*, and the sonne to *Mantua*, the sixteenth yeare of their rule.

9 *Obelerio*, being elected Prince by them that had intelligence with *Fortunatus*, tooke his brother *Beato* as his affociate, and *Valentine* beside (being their third brother) was admitted with them in the same dignitie. And it is worth the noting; that of these three brethren, *Beato* is onelie placed in the ranke of Dukes in the Counsell chamber of Venice; whereas *Obelerio* incited *Pepin* King of *Italy*, to make warre on the *Venetians*: and *Beato* maintaind the Common-wealth, raigning five yeares.

10 *Angelo Participatio*, after he had wel borne himselfe in the warre against *Pepin*, was elected Duke, the people being summoned to the *Rialto*. He founded the Dukes palace, in the same place where that now built, standeth. The diuision of the Empire

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was

was made in his time, and the Venetians left in their owne liberty. The Citie was diuided into wards, streets, and precincts. The *Progedi*, and the *Quaranta*, who (for criminall offences) was then instituted among them. He gouerned 18. yeares.

11 *Giustimano Participatio*, hauing bene an affociate in the dignity with his father, was (after his death) confirmed by the people. Hee repealed home his brother *Iohn*, who was then at *Constantinople*, & accepted him as his fellow ruler: hee made the peoples authority greater then before, & gaue ayde to *Michael* the Emperour against the Sarazins. The body of Saint *Marke* was in his time brought from *Alexandria*, accepting it into his protection, and the Church remaining at this day, was consecrated in his memory. He died the second yeare of his dignity.

12 *Giovanni Participatio*, remained in the royalty, and enlarged the Church of *S. Marke*, placing therein a great number of Priests and Canons, & appointing a *Primicerio* to gouerne them. Hee caused the head of *Obelerio* to be cut off, whome hee had besiedged in the Isle of *Curcia*. He made war vpon the *Nauratines*, and ouercame them. In the end, a conspiracy was deuised against him, and beeing confined to *Grada*, in the eight yeare of his Principality, hee shaued his head and beard, and made himselfe a Monke, in which estate he dyed.

13 *Pietro Trademico* of *Pola*, hauing carried himselfe to the peoples contentment in the warres against *Pepin*, was elected Duke. He ioyned *Iohn* his son in rule with him, and gaue succour to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, who made request thereof by *Theodosius Patricius*. He was made *Protospatary* of the Empire: in help whereof, he sent 60. Gallies. *Lewes 2.* granted him many priuiledges, and in the end, hee was slaine by a sedition, in his 27. yeare.

14 *Orso Participatio* hauing appealed the sedition, was made Du. The Turks hauing spoiled *Dalmatia*, euen so far as *Grada*, were vanquished by him, and *Giovanni Participatio* his son, whom he made associat with him in his gouernment. *Basilus* the Emperour, highly honoured him for that good seruice, and made him *Promptuary* of the Empire. He gouerned 17. yeares.

15 *Giovanni Participatio*, being confirmed in his dignity, tooke and burned *Coma-*

*chio*, wasted the Countie of *Rauenna*, to reuenge himself on the Count of *Comachio*, who had imprisoned and wounded vnto death his Brother *Bradorio*. He growing much ouercome with sicknesse, caused the Church of Saint *Cornelius*, and *S. Cypryan* to be built at *Malumocco*, and hauing gouerned fye yeares, and sixe moneths, renounced the Dignity.

16 *Pietro Candiano*, was elected after the voluntary dismission of his Predecessour. He was a valiant man, and verie expert in Armes; and yet notwithstanding, greatly addicted to deuotion. He went (in person) with ten Gallies against the *Nauratines*, who (as Theeues) robbed and purloyned from the Venitians. Fighting valiantly against them, hee dyed at the second time, with the VWeapons in his handes. He gouerned no longer then fye moneths.

*Dominico Tribuno*, is set (by some) in ranke with the Dukes: but others, lesse curious in search of the History, haue omitted him; because he was duke but three moneths, and thirteene dayes, and nothing is remarkeable in his time, but a certaine priuiledge, granted by him to *Chioggia*.

17 *Pietro Tribuno*, sonne of *Dominico*, was elected Duke. He obtained of *Guydo*, Emperour and King of Italy, a confirmation of all ancient Priuiledges. The Barbarian *Hunnes* came againe into Italy, and burned *Heracles*, *Capo de Argier*, and *Chioggia*. This Prince ouercame them, with very much honour: and this was the third time, that those Strangers fought to vsurp on that State. He gouerned twenty foure yeares.

18 *Orso Badoaro*, called himselfe *Participatio*, and was the first that chaunged his name. He sent for his sonne *Pietro* to *Constantinople*, and hee was made *Protospatary*. In the yeare nine hundred and twentie, hee obtained of *Rodulphus*, Emperour and King of Italy, the confirmation of the Venitians ancient authority, to stampe Moneyes. Hee addicted himselfe wholly to piety, and in his 20. yeare, he renounced the Dignitie, to make himselfe a Monke, and liue priuately.

19 *Pietro Candiano* the second, was a worthy man, and made Warre on *Lauentio*, Marquesse of *Iliria*, who hindered the Trafficke of the Venitians. He ouercame him

him, and re-conquered the people of *Capo d'Iliria*. He vanquished *Albertus*, sonne to the Emperour *Berengarius*, who imprizonizing himselfe of *Rauenna*, impeached the passage of the Venitians shippes. In his time, Maidens were stollen by the *Testaines*, to ioyn in marriage with them; but they were soone recovered. He gouerned seuen yeares.

20 *Pietro Badoaro*, the sonne of *Orso*, was redeemed by him from the Sclauonians. He gouerned but two yeares and seuen moneths, alwayes in peace, which he much affected. *Berengarius* the Emperour did him many fauours, for his great deserts.

11 *Pietro Candiano* the third, sonne to the second *Candiano*, associated himselfe in his dignity with his sonne *Pietro*: and at two seuerall times armed three & thirty Shippes against the *Narentines*; but at the second time, he made peace with the. His sonne being reproofed by him for his bad behaviour; reuolted from him, and against the Common-wealth. The people would haue slaine him, but hee was sent thence into exile: wher ioyning with *Guydo*, sonne of *Berengarius*, hee endangered the Commonwealth: wherat his Father greewing, died in his sixtenth yeare of gouernment.

22 *Pietro Candiano* the fourth, being repealed from exile (albeit the people had sworne neuer to receiue him) was made Prince with very great applause. He dealt in such sort with Pope *Iohn* the twelfth, that the Church of *Grada* was made Patriarchall, and Metropolitane of all the Venitians State, and of *Iliria*. *Otho* the Emperour, granted him many honourable priuiledges. He ruined *Vderzo*, and was slaine with his Sonne in a sedition of the people, hauing gouerned about twentie yeares.

23 *Pietro Orscolo*, was a man altogether devout, and was elected by the people against his will. He would very often walk in an vnknowne habit, to visit the houses of poore people and Hospitals. Hee appeased the diffentions between the Venitians, and them of *Capo d'Iliria*, who yielding themselves tributary; hee went with *Beato Romualdo* of *Rauenna*, to liue Religiously. He gouerned two yeares and two months, doing many worthy and charitable deeds.

24 *Pietro Candiano*, Sonne of *Pietro* the third, made the confederacy with the Emperour *Otho*. He fell sicke so soone as hee entred vpon his charge: wherefore hee became a Monke, hauing gouerned about a yeare.

25 *Tribuno Memo*, was very rich, but no man of State. In his time happened great diffentions, betwene the families of *Morefina* and *Calleprina*; by reason whereof, many notorious murders were committed. He tooke part with the *Morisini*, which caused the faction to withdraw themselves to *Verona*, to the Emperour *Otho*. He gaue the Isle of *S. Giorgio Maggiore* to the Abbot of *Morefina*: and renounced the Principality in his twelfth yeare, entering into Religion.

26 *Pietro Orscolo* the second, beeing a very discret man, ordered the matter to well with the Emperours *Basilus* and *Alexius*: that the Venitians were exempted from Tolles and Taxations. *Otho* the Emperour lying at *Verona*, did highly fauour him; and, among other graces, to holde one of his sonnes at Baptisme. Hee was the first that extended their Confinnes on the Sea, winning many places in *Iliria* and *Dalmatia*. Hauing caused the Church and Pallace to be finished in his time, hee dyed in the eighteenth yeare of his Principality.

27 *Ottone Orscolo*, hauing Gouerned some space with his father *Pietro*, was confirmed in the dignity, at the age of eighteene yeares. He wunne such reputation, that *Geza* King of *Hungaria*, gaue him one of his Sisters in marriage. In person he conquered them of *Iliria*, who were become Rebelles; and went into *Dalmatia*, in the enterprize agaynst *Cresimura*. At length, the malicious enuiers of his glories, deuised a Conspiracie agaynst him, vpon the which, he was confined into Greece, in the seuenteenth yeare of his rule.

28 *Pietro Centranico*, or *Barbolano*, succeeded next to *Otho*. But hauing not well qualified all diffentions, as well concerning the Citizens remouing, as the other Neighbours; he was compelled to forsake the dignity, and make himselfe a Monke. *Orso*, Brother of *Otho*, returned from *Constantinople*, beeing Patriarche of *Grada*, and he was constituted in expectation of *Othos* coming. He continued

about a yeare in the Palace, and forooke the Principality, newes being brought of *Othos* death. *Dominico Orseolo* would then perforce usurpe the dignity; but he was expelled by the people the next morning, & died at *Rauenna*.

29 *Dominico Flabiano*, was elected during his exile, by the faction of them that had excluded *Dominico Orseolo*. In his time and in the year 1040. the national Council was held, for government of the Ecclesiasticks. He made the family of *Orseolo* suspicious to the State, by his owne meanes, and laboured for their vtter supplantation. He gouerned ten yeares, foure months, and twelue dayes.

30 *Dominico Contarini* was verie pleasing to the people. He brought *Dalmatia* to peace, beeing heauily burthened with the rebellion of *Zara*. He fauoured the Normans against *Robert* King of *Apulia*. And the discord which hapned betweene the Common-wealth, and *Pepo*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, was by him qualified. Hee builded the Monasterie on the *Lido*, and dyed in the eight and twenty yeare of his Principality.

31 *Dominico Silino*, won himselfe such reputation, that *Nicephorus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, gaue him his sister in marriage; by whose perswasion, he made war vpon the forenamed King *Robert* of *Apulia*, and (at the first attempt) returned with a very honourable victory, possessing himselfe of *Duras*. But at his second aduenture, hee fought with small advantage; whereby ensued the diminution of his credit. He pergetted the Church of *Saint Marke* with Marble, first and before any other, causing it also to be beautified with an artificall Checker-work. He died in the thirtieth yeare of his gouernement.

32 *Vitale Faliero* being made Duke, he immediately obtained of *Alexius*, then Emperour, to haue the soueraignie of *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*. *Henry*, successor in the Empire, did him many great fauours: and comming in deuotion to Venice, hee helde one of his daughters at Baptisme. The Office of proprieties was constituted in his time, and the workmanship of *S. Markes* Church continued. He died in his sixteenth yeare.

33 *Vitale Michele*, by his worthy aduenturing on the sea, did very farre extend

the Commonwealths limites. Hee made the Easterne warre (by the perswasion of Pope *Vrbane* the second) for Conquest of the Holy Land, with the Princes of Christendome. The Isle of *Smyrna*, *Suria*, and *Ierusalem* were then recovered from the Infidels. He died in his sixty yeare.

34 *Ordelsio Faliero*, sonne of *Vitale*, assisted King *Baldwine* against the Infidels in conquest of the holy Land: and made such progression, as they deuided the Empire betweene them, thoroughout all the kingdom of *Iudea*. In the 8. yeare of his Principality, *Malameco* was almost alburued and submerged; by reason whereof, the Episcopall See was transferred to *Chioggia*. He went in person to the Warre against *Zara*, which was becom rebellious, and winning the victory: he would needs returne thither againe a second time, and on the like occasion; where hee died in Armes, in the fifteenth yeere of his Principality.

35 *Dominico Michele*, being made Duke for his high repute and merite, went to giue aide to the Christians in the Holie Land. With 200. well appointed shippes and Gallies, he made the Infidels to raise their sledge from before *Ioppa*. Hee tooke *Tyre*, which he gaue to *Faunaud* Patriarch of *Ierusalem*. The Emperour made war against him, fro whom he won *Chio*, *Rhodes*, *Samos*, *Mitylene*, and *Sifer*. He renounced his principality, in the 13. yeare of his rule.

36 *Pietro Polini*, kinsman to *Michele*, was a very wise man, inso much as he was made Arbitrator of the difference between *Comrade* and *Emanuel* the Emperour. Hee made war against them of *Pisa* & *Padua*, whom he conquered. He armed himselfe against the Duke of *Apulia*, in behalfe of the same *Emanuel*, to whose Empire hee added many worthy possessions. Some say, it was his sonne that won all the battles, and that himselfe being false sick, returned thence, and dyed in his 18. yeare of rule.

37 *Dominico Moresini*, hee swept the Gulfe of certaine Pyrats of *Ancona*, the cheefe whereof beeing called *Gaiscardo*, was taken and hanged. Hee layed sledge vnto *Pola*, which he tooke, with *Parenzo*; which Citties were become rebellious in *Ithria*. He held confederacy with *William* King of *Sicily*, of whom hee obtayned many

many exemptions for the Trafficke of his Merchants. *Zara* made the Metropolitan Citie (at his instance) and hee so preuayled, that *Dominico* his Sonne was made an Earle. Hee beautified the Buildinges of the Citie of *Venice*, and began the Tower of *Saint Marke*. He dyed eleuen moneths after the eight yeare of his Election.

38 *Vitale Michele* the second, subdued the *Tarentines*, which now had rebelled the third time. He imprisoned *Vtrich*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and twelue Chanons. In an hundred dayes, he put forth an hundred Gallies, and twentie Shippes on the Sea, against the Emperour *Emanuel*. The great Family of the *Iustiniani*, were, in his time brought to one onely man, and hee was become Religious; whom hee tooke forth of his Monastery (by the Popes consent) and gaue him his owne daughter in marriage, because hee would not haue fo worthy a house to be extinct. There hapned a great Pestilence in his time, the occasion whereof, the people (in their weak iudgment) laid vpon him. He was wounded, and dyed, hauing gouerned seuentene yeares, and xxvii. daies.

39 *Sebastiano Ziani*, was the first that euer was elected by the cleauen Electors. In his time there was a great Schisme in the Church, by meanes of the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*, who caused *Alexander* the third to forsake the See, *Ofsanian* hauing bene made Anti-pope, *Alexander* made his retirement to Venice, where hauing a long time ferued in the Monastery of *La Charita*, he was in the end known, and taken thence by the Prince and Seigneury. Heereupon, *Barbarossa* made warre against the Venetians: but his sonne *Ofsanian* being taken, he mediated reconciliation betweene them. He died in the fift yeare of his gouernment.

40 *Orio Mulipiero*, or *Mastrapetra*, was the first Duke elected by the forty; and for that purpose was created by the death of *Ziani*. Hee had fixe Councillors allowed him to authorize his deliberations. Hee conquered *Zara*, that had now the fourth time rebelled. Hee sent supply vnto the Christians against the Moores, who began to vsurpe in the holy Land 88. yeares after that *Baldwine* had deliuered it. *Platinus* was recovered, and *Andronicus*, successor to *Emanuel* the Emperour deliuered

many Venitian Marchants. Hee renounced the Principality in his 14. yeare, and entred into Religion.

41 *Henrico Dandolo* was likewise elected by the forty. They of *Zara* were once againe vanquished, and *Pola* conquered. In his time was the surprizall of *Constantinople*, & the acquisition of the East Empire, wherein hee assisted the Princes and French Barons. He died in his thirteenth yeare, being Generall of all the Christian Army.

42 *Pietro Ziani*, sonne of *Sebastian*, was made Duke within a while after the death of *Dandolo*, the Correctors beeing then first instituted. In his time came Ambassadors from *Athens* and *Achaia*, to submit themselves in obedience to the Common wealth. *Candia* was then peopled with a Colony of noble Venitians. He married *Constance*, daughter to *Tancred* K. of *Sicily*. In the end, he renounced the Principality, hauing gouerned 24. yeares.

43 *Giacomo Tiepolo*, was made Duke by chance, in concurrency of *Renieri Candelo*, who had as many voices as he. *Candio* rebelled, and the seditious were fiercely chastised. *Zara*, that had long borne the yoke, was now reduced vnder obedience. He had Warre against them of *Ferrara*, and against *Ezzelino*, who would haue inuested himselfe with *Padua*. In conclusion, he gaue ouer the Principality in his 20. yeare, and died soone after.

44 *Marino Moresini*, was made Duke by the one and fortieth, by reason of the precedent concurrence. In his time was another Courtly Noble-man sent into *Candia*, who builded the *Canea*. He made Warre against *Ezzelino*, who besiedged *Manina*, and who (in a furious rage) caused 1200. *Paduans* to be hewne in peeces, which he had with him then in his armie. He died in the 4. yeare of his Principality.

45 *Reineri Zeno* *Podesta* at *Bermog* was elected Duke, and sent to be fetch thence with foure Gallies. Vnder him, the Commonwealth wonne a famous victorie, against them of *Genes*: but the contentment therewith was very breefe, because *Michaell Paleologus*, expelled both the French-men and Venitians out of *Constantinople*, being ayded by the Geneway forces, which was eight and fifty yeares after the surprizing of the sayde Citie: yet once more (after that) the selfsame

people were againe reconquered: and hauing gouerned this dignity 16. yeares, he dyed.

46 *Lorenzo Tiepolo* was made Duke, in memory of the victory hee had against them of *Genes* at *Tyre*. Hee allyed two of his sonnes (verie Nobly) with two strange Ladies: by reason whereof, a Lawe was then made, that the like might not be afterward done. He brought *Serua* in obedience to the Common-wealth, and the *Bolognians* were vanquished by him: hee gouerned seven yeares, and five and twenty dayes.

47 *Giouanni Contarini*, being aged eighty yeares, and Attorney of *S. Marke*, was made Duke. The law against illegitimates was then enacted, and they excluded from all publike Offices. There were some rebellions moued in *Litria*, and by them of *Genes*; but they were quickly appeased. At length, thorough vnwelicnesse of age, and by aduice of the Senat, hee gaue ouer the dignity, hauing gouerned in this authority, foure yeares, and six moneths.

48 *Giouanni Dandolo* was elected, being then absent. The City was (in his time) much afflicted by water, & an earthquake. He made warre in *Litria*, agaynst the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and the Count of *Gorizia*. At the instance of Pope *Nicholas*, he assisted the Archbysop of *Tripoli* with 25. Gallies. He died seven moneths after his eight yeare of rule.

49 *Pietro Gradanigo*, a man of great courage, deliuered the Common-wealth from two important dangers. One, was a high disgrace, which happened in a battell against them of *Genes*. The other was the conspiracie of *Niamonte*, which was boldly checked with weapon in hand, vpon the place of *S. Marke*. It was then ordayned, that Noblemen onely should gouerne, and the counsell of ten was then instituted. Hauing ruled 22. yeares, and nine moneths, he dyed.

50 *Marino Giorgia*, was a man of such life, that they termed him a Saint. *Venice* was continually excommunicated in his time, by reason of the taking of *Ferrara*. *Zara* rebelled againe the sixth time, & much labour it cost, to reduce it vnder obedience againe. After hee builded the Monastery of *Saint Dominicke*, and died (at the age of eighty and one yeares) in his first

yeare, hauing gouerned ten months, and ten dayes.

52 *Giouanni Soranzo*, had the honor of recouering *Zara*, and many other places, which had reuolted in his predecessours time. *Negropont*, was re-obtained, & warre afresh commenced against them of *Genes*. The excommunication was quitted from *Venice*, by the interposition of *Francisco Dandolo*, kneeling before the Pope, with a Chaîne of iron about his necke. The number of Attorneys of *S. Marke*, was increased to fixe. Hee gouerned sixteen yeares, and six months.

52 *Francisco Dandolo*, who had so lowly humbled himselfe for his Countreyes good, was therefore exalted to her highest dignity. They of *Pola*, and of *Valesia*, submitted themselves to the Common-wealth, which gaue way vnto the warre against the Patriarch of *Aquileia*. *Padua* was taken on *Albert Scalliger*, and *Treuisa*, and the County remained to the Common-wealth. This man was of the league with the Christian Princes, against the Turke, and in his time were fixtie severall Ambassadors at *Venice*. He gouerned ten yeares, and ten months.

55 *Bartolomeo Gradenigo*, Attorney of *S. Marke*, was made Duke at twenty six yeares of age, by the intercession of *Andreas Dandolo*, and his cessation. In his time was *Venice* miraculously deliuered from a mighty imminent inundation. *Candie* rebelled, and the rebelles were severely punished. There hapned a great dearth in the City, which droue the people to discontentment: he dyed in his fourth yeare.

54 *Andreas Dandolo*, who had before resigned his place vnto *Bartolomeo Gradenigo*, caused the death for to cease; by sending for great store of Corne out of *Sicily*. Hee obtained of the King of *Babylon*, free Navigation into *Egypt*. *Zara* rebelled the seauenth time; and was reprinted.

The Warre betweene them of *Genes* and the City, was troubled by two great accidents happening; the one, was an Earth-quake very dreadfull; and the other, was a greuous Pestilence. Hee gouerned twelue yeares, wanting some fewe months.

55 *Marino Faliero*, was elected Duke, being then Ambassador at *Rome*. Hauing recei-

received an iniurie by some particulars, which was not reuenged according vnto his owne desire: hee determined in the eighty yeare of his age, to make himselfe absolutely Lord, without any controule. The conspiracy being discouered by *Nicholas Lion*; he had his head smitten off with in the Pallace. And it was ordayned, that his Picture should not be placed amongst the other dukes, but the place being left voyde, had only this Writing: *This is the place of Marino Faliero, who, for his grievous offence, had his head cut off: hee was duke but ten moneths.*

56 *Giouanni Gradenigo* had an excellent spirit, but a much mis-shapen countenance. The warre was renewed against the *Genes*, which tearmained with a mutual peace. He had warre against the King of *Hungarie* for *Dalmatia*. *Treuisa* was besieged in his time, and thither he went in person. Hee gouerned one yeare, three moneths and foureteene dayes.

56 *Giouanni Delfino*, was elected Duke when hee was in *Treuisa*, defending it against the King of *Hungary*. The Senate sent to demand free passage for him; which being denied, he came forth with two hundred horse to beard the enemy, and so attained to *Marghera*, where the Senate in person receiued him. In short time he gaue end to this warre, and recouered *Conciliano*, *Sernalla*, and *Afola*. He made peace for the souerainty of *Dalmatia*; and dyed aged forty and five yeares, hauing gouerned foure yeares, two moneths, and eleuen dayes.

58 *Lorenzo Celfo*, vpon a false bruite, of a victorie against them of reuolted *Genes*; was made Duke in concurrence of *Pietro Gradenigo*, *Leonardo Dandolo*, and *Marco Cornaro*. *Candie* rebelled againe, and it was regained with a very great difficulty. On this occasion, a lust and feast was publicly made in the place of *Saint Marke*: he dyed two daies after the fourth yeare of his Principallitie.

59 *Marco Cornaro*, a man very wise and leauend, was sent into *Candie*, which was rebellious, and there he made a cruel bloody warre: the Pope granting plenary Indulgence to all such as went thither. The Rebels being severely punished, the common-wealth sent to Pope *Vrbane* the fifth, a certaine number of their Gallies. He gouerned two yeares, five months, and foure

and twentie dayes.

60 *Andreas Contarini*, fled to the *Paduans* fearing to be elected Duke, and as prefiging the ruine which (in his time) would betide the Common-wealth. First of all, he made warre with them of *Treviso*, then soone after, with *Carrara* for the confines of *Padua*: and such was the fortune, that *Chioggia* being taken, the City of *Venice* found it selfe to bee in extreame danger. But in the end, he went and opposed himselfe (in person) against the enemies, vanquished them, and regained *Chioggia*: he dyed, hauing gouerned fifteen yeares, foure moneths, and fifteen daies.

61 *Michele Morisini*, was a man well furnished with Learning and Wisedome. Some say, that in his time the life of *Themistos* was taken, and not in the time of his predecessour *Contarini*. There were diuers Lawes then made (and amongst others) it was ordayned, that Homicides, who had formerly beene hanged, should afterwards haue their heads smitten off. He liued but foure months, and five daies in his dignitie, and dyed in the threescore and foureteene yeare of his age.

62 *Antonio Veniero*, was a rigorous observer of Iustice. He confined one of his owne Sonnes in exile, because he had (ouer-lightly) offended the familie of a noble *Venitian*. Hee made league with *Galeazzo* the Vicount, against *Carrara*, where vpon he tooke *Padua*. He assisted the Emperour *Emmanuel* against the Turke; and gaue aid also vnto *Sigismund*, King of *Hungaria*, who afterwards came to the Empire. The place of *Saint Marke*, and that of the *Rialto*, were greatly beautified in his time. Hee dyed two moneths, and three dayes, after the eighteenth yeare of his rule.

63 *Michele Steno*, had the dignitie of Attourney of *Saint Marke*, with that of Duke. Hee wonne an important battell against the *Genewais*. *Carrara* was now the last time vanquished, and *Padua* and *Verona* surprised. They of *Vicenza*, to free themselves from his tyrannie, yielded themselves to the Common-wealth. *Ladislaw* King of *Hungaria*, did likewise forgoe *Zara*: Hee dyed, hauing gouerned thirteene yeares, and three dayes.

64 *Thomaso Mocenigo*, was first General of the Goullie. He embraced peace, to the end, that the Cittizens might traffike.

*Vdina* became obedient to the Commonwealth, with the Countrey of *Friuli*; by means of the Lords of *Sauorgani*, who were made noble-men of *Venice*. The *Florentines* were also succoured against the Duke of *Milaine*. In his tenth yere he died.

65 *Francesco Foscar* stoutly repressed the Duke of *Milaine*, who proceeded too farre on the liberties of *Italy*. *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and other Citties of *Lombardy* were then wonne: amongst which were *Loda* and *Parma*, and *Ravenna* in *Romania*. Hee made also a large progresse on the Seas, euen into *Morcia*. The Senate assisted *Paolo* the Emperour, against the Turks, who vlrped *Constantinople*, in the yere 1453. Hee was made Arbitrator by the Duke of *Milaine*, in certaine differences of neighbour-hood. The King of *Dacia* was made a noble *Venitian*: And afterward, the Duke (in regarde of his age and infirmities) was dismissed, having governed thirty foure yeares, and fixe moneths.

66 *Paschale Malapiero*, was appoynted in the place of *Foscar*, being Attorney of *Saint Marke*, who dyed two dayes after his dismissal. He made a Lawe, That in following times, the Duke should not be deposed. In his dayes, the famous Arte of Printing was brought into *Venice*. The *Artenall* was greatly encreased: And hee maintayned the people in peace, during foure yeares, fixe moneths, and fixe daies that he gouerned.

67 *Cristophoro Moro*, a Procurator of *Saint Marke*, was made Duke. He liued for some time in peace, till the second yere of his gouernement; and then the Turke (proud of his surprizall of *Constantinople*) declared warre against the *Venitians*. He made peace with Pope *Pius* the first, and the Duke of *Burgundy*: But the Pope dying, they remayned alone, and maintayned warre which lasted twentie yeares. And yet he dyed, having reigned nine yeares, and fixe moneths.

68 *Nicholo Trono* had such good hap, that (in his time) the Common wealths affaires went well against the Turke. *Pietro Mocenigo*, Generall in the Archipelagus, vnted his power with the Popes. The King of *Naples*, and they of *Rhodes* sent eightie five galleies together, and tooke *Satalia*, a Citie of *Pamphilia*. He made league likewise with the King of *Perfia*, against the Turke. *James* King of *Cyprus* comming to

*Venice*, espoused *Catharina Cornara*, adoptiue daughter of *Saint Marke*. He gouerned one yere, eight moneths, and fixe dayes.

69 *Nicholo Marcello*, Attorney of *Saint Marke*, after some laws made by the Correctors, was elected Duke. In his time there was a conspiracie in *Cyprus*, to haue the Kingdome fall into the power of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. *Pietro Morcenigo* went thither with a great Armie, where he appeased all troubles, and seuerely chaffited the Rebels. *Scutari*, a Citie in *Liburnia*, was besieged by the Turke, and valiantly defended by *Antonio Loredano*. This duke gouerned one yere, foure moneths, and seuteene dayes.

70 *Pietro Mocenigo* was elected Duke, in defect of all his worthy deedes. *Lepanto* was besieged in his time by the Turke, and virtuously maintayned by *Antonio Loredano*. They brought their power likewise before the life of *Stalmena*, but the same *Loredano* (by his valour) defended it. The daughter to King *Ferdinand* came to *Venice*, with the Cardinall her brother, where they were roially entertained. This Prince caused a Money to bee stamped, which hee lurnamed by his owne name: And gouerned but two yeares, and nine moneths.

71 *Andrea Vendramino* had such ill hap in his gouernement, that the *Venitian* Army was two seuerall times put to flight by the Turkes: Once, neare to *Croja* in *Albania*, and the other in the countrey of *Friuli*. He was a goodly man of person, and had a most beautifull Lady to his wife, by whom he had as goodly children, whom he allied in marriage with the chiefeest Families: he gouerned one yere, and eight moneths.

72 *Gionanni Mocenigo*, brother to *Pietro Mocenigo*, hauing continued the warre against the Turke; in the end made peace with him: ordering the matter so, that he left *Scutari* and *Stipula* in liberty of Commerce, and power to keepe a Deputie at *Constantinople*. Hee made warre against *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, at the instance of Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, which occasioned the long warre called *Sociale*. In the end, peace was made, the Commonwealth hauing gotten *Rouigo* & *Polejano*. The Citie became much dilgraced by fire, and a pestilent sicknesse: The prince dyed,

dyed, hauing reigned seauen yeares, and fixe moneths.

73 *Marco Barbarigo*, the plague being ceased, caused all to be new builded, which the fire had defaced in the Pallace. Hee was greatly differing from all other Princes, to wit, in pardoning, and forgetting particular iniuries doone vnto him: but such as were comitted against the State, he would haue reuenged with strictest feruencie. The grand Signeur of Turke sent a particular Ambassadour vnto him, to congratulate his election. He gouerned but nine moneths.

74 *Agoistino Barbarigo*, withstood the progresse of *Charles* the eighth King of *France*, when hee made warre against them of *Arragon*, for the Kingdome of *Naples*, which he conquered. The Turke vlrped on the Common-weales of *Lepanto*, *Modona*, and *Corona*. The Kingdome of *Cyprus* was brought vnder the tutelage of the Senate, and *Qu. Catharina* brought thence to *Venice*. The office of *la Sante* was created, by occasion of the pestilence: This Duke gouerned fifteen yeares, and twenty one dayes.

75 *Leonardo Laureadano* sustained a very rigorous war, against the chiefeest Princes of the world: there beeing a League made betwene the Emperour *Maximilian*; the King of *France*; them of *Naples*; and the Dukes of *Sauoy*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, incited thereto by Pope *Iulius* the second. All the whole estate of firme land was surprized, except *Treuisa*; but in the end it was recovered. He liued in the Principality nineteene yeares, eight moneths, and twenty dayes.

76 *Antonio Grimani*, being Generall, had a most infamous dis-rout or foile, by which occasion, hee was dismissed of the charge of Procurator of *Saint Marke*, and confined to *Cherso*. He brake his limitation, and withdrew himselfe to *Rometo* to the Cardinall his sonne: where he had so many worthy Offices imposed vpon him, as, not onely he was re-established in his Attornies place againe; but he was likewise made Duke, at the age of foure score and two yeares, and gouerned but one yere, ten moneths, and two dayes.

77 *Andrea Gruti*, gaining the best part of the glorie, for the reprizall of *Padua*, was in very great esteeme. Hee dealt so with the King of *France*, (to whom he

was prisoner) that his Maiestie allied himselfe with the Commonwealth, and *Brescia* and *Verona* were reconquered. He knew very well, how to make his carriage pleasing to the Senate, during the warres betwene *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, and King *Frances* the first, as also against *Solyman*. He gouerned fifteen yeares, seauen moneths, and eight dayes.

78 *Pietro Lando* continued the defence of the Commonwealth against the Turke: with whom (at last) he made a peace, knowing how to make vse thereof, and maintaine his owne charge, whilest the warre continued betwene *Charles* the fifth, and King *Frances* the first. He gouerned fixe yeares, and eight moneths.

79 *Francesco Donato*, making benefite also of this peace, beautified the Citie with many goodly buildings, besides that of the Pallace. He sent succor to the Emperour, against certaine Rebels in *Germanie*. The Princes of *Guisse*, coming to *Venice* in his time, were entertained as fitted their degree. He gouerned seauen yeares, and fixe moneths.

80 *Marco Antonio Trevisano*, a man altogether deuout, laboured that the Commonwealth might abound in goodnesse and ciuill manners; preuenting (by his owne worthy example) that vices should not be wincked at, as, in too many countries they are. He gouerned a yere, wanting three dayes.

81 *Francesco Veniero*, could so well skill of gouerning the Commonwealth, that albeit the Turke (in his time) made warre in *Apulia*, and the King of *France* in *Tuscanie*: yet all was well at *Venice*, and the Queene of *Poland* roially welcommed thither. He gouerned two yeares, one moneth and twenty dayes.

82 *Lorenzo Priuli*, was sollicit (by the Pope) to make warre against the Emperour. But, he being a friend to the Commonwealth; by no means would offend him, but mediated a pacification of those affaires. In his time peace was made betwene *France* and *Spaine*, and *Charles* the fifth dyed. This Prince gouerned three yeares, eleauen moneths, and eight dayes.

83 *Girolamo Priuli*, brother to the preceeding prince, enioyed those great honors, which Pope *Pius* the fourth gaue vnto the common-wealth: And all his delight was to heare ambassadors in the hall of Kings,

In his time the Council of *Trent* was concluded, whither he sent (as Ambassadors) *Nicholo de Ponte*, and *Mattheo Dandolo*.

The Common-wealth helde (at Baptisme) the sonne to the Duke of *Sauoy*, by a Deputie borne of *Margueret of France*. He dyed, hauing gouerned eight yeares, two moneths, and foure dayes.

84 *Pietro Loredano*, by the concurrence of two others, was elected Duke, contrary to the hope of all, or his owne expectation. The *Arsenal* was burned in his time, and there then also happened a very great dearth of all things. *Selim*, successor of *Solyman*, tooke occasion to breake peace with the Common-wealth, demanding of them the kingdome of *Cyprus*, and moued warre vpon this Subiect. He gouerned foure yeares, fife moneths, and eight dayes.

85 *Luigi Mocenigo*, warre being kindled against the Turke, lost the kingdome of *Cyprus*, *Nicosia* being taken, and *Famagosta* surrendered. The Common-wealth made league with Pope *Pius* the fifth, and *Phillip* King of *Spain*, so that their armies (being ioyned together in the yeare of four Lord, one thousand fife hundred seuenty one) they obtayned a worthy victorie against the Turkes. Soone after, *Henry* the third, king of *France*, came to *Venice*, where he was magnificently entertayned. This Prince dyed in his seauenth yeare.

86 *Sebastiano Veniero*, was elected by common voyce, and with such applause, that diuers Turkes ranne to him and kissed his feet. He created fife Correctours of the Lawes, for ruling the affaires of the Pallace. The Citty was deliuered of a dangerous plague, and the Pallace was againe very greatly defaced by fire. This prince gouerned not aboue a whole yeare.

87 *Nicholo de Ponte*, was created Duke, a man very learned in all the Sciences, and whereof hee had made publike profession in *Venice*. He passed thorow all the honors of the Common-wealth, wherewith the Citizens could possibly gratifie him. The Seminary of Saint *Marke* was instituted by him. Certaine princes of *Iapponia* arriuing then at *Venice*, were by him most honourably entertained. He builded the bridge of *Canareggio*: and gouerned seuen yeares, nine moneths, and thirteen dayes.

88 *Pafchale Cicogna*, Procurator of *S. Marke*, was elected when he was at diuine

seruice in the Church. In his time there was great warres, betweene *France* and *Spain* about *Piedmont*, and betweene the Emperour and the Turke, for some parts in *Hungaria*. He caused the towne of *Palma* to bee builded, in the confines of the Countrey of *Friuli*, and a new castile or fortress, in the Ile of *Cephalaria*. He had the honor of the wonderfull bridge of the *Rialto*, which he builded: And gouerned ten yeares, or thereabout.

89 *Marino Grimini*, Procurator of Saint *Marke*, was so highly in grace and fauour of the people, that on the day of his Election; they declared extraordinary signes of ioy, and continued them for many following dayes. The second yeare of his Principality, he caused the duchesse his wife to be crowned in great triumph. At which time, Pope *Clement* the eight sent her the Rose of gold. In his time was much ioy and triumph made, for the peace concluded betweene the Kings of *France* and *Spain*. Vpon occasion of the Popes comming to *Ferrara*, obtained by the Ecclesiasticall Estate, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* passed thence to *Venice*, where he was most honourably wel-comed, with diuers other Cardinalls. There was such an extraordinary ouer-flow of waters, in the fift yeare of his Principality, that the Barkes, Boates, and Gundoloes floated on the place of Saint *Mark*, euen as if they had beene in a full maine riuer. He dyed, and was much bemoaned of the people, hauing gouerned ten yeares, and eight moneths.

90 *Leonardo Dandolo*, hauing by his worthy deseruings, singuler wisdom and dexterity, manag'd passed affaires, and gone thorow all honors of the Common-wealth, giuing euident testimonie of his care and faithfullnesse; was aduanced in the place of *Grimini*, the tenth day of Ianuary, 1606. He had beene sent Ambasadour to *Constantinople* to *Mohamet* (hee being newly come to the Empire of the East) in the Common-wealths name, to salute him with accustomed complements. He hath such a practick braine, & so happy a memory, seated in a soule so religiously zealous for common benefite; that the Senate hath referred more vnto him, then to any other of his Predecessours.

The Citty hath (in his time) bene communicated, by *Paulus Quintus*, now Pope,

Pope, about some pretentions appertaining to his See: But it may well be sayd of this Prince, that, against such Thunder-clappes and Lightning flashes, hee hath shewne himselfe an immouable rocke, in defence of that estate in generall. In like maner, two principall Pillers of Christendome, threatned great disaster and ruine: but that most Christian *Henry* the fourth, King of *France*, embracing those two Colomnes, vpheld both the one and other, and redressed all discontentment, by the entermise of his Ambassadors, and hath erected a triumphall Arche, to the immortalitie of his glorie. This Prince now liuing happily in peace, doth daily acknowledge to *France*, his particular affection for such fauour, & may (in time) much better declare it. God long preferue him, and all other good Princes.

## CHAP. III.

Of Wounds made by Gun-shot, and other ferie Engines.



In the yeare of our Lord, 1536. the victorious king *Fraunces* sent a great Armie vnto *Piedmont*, to vi-taille *Thurin*, and to recotter those townes and castles, which had beene taken by the Mar-quesse *Du Guesle*, Lieutenant generall of the Emperour, where Monsieur the Constable, then great Master, was Lieutenant generall of the Army, and Mounseigneur de *Monte-jan* Captaine generall of the Foot-men (of whom I was then Chirurgian.) A great part of the Armie arriued at the Pass of *Suze*, where we found the enemye keeping the passage, and had made vnto themselves certayne forts and trenches; in such sort, that before they could be raised from thence, wee entered into battell: in which conflict there was many hurt and slaine, as well on the one side as on the other. But they were enforced to quit that passage, and to recouer the castle; which they held not long, but were compell'd to giue it vp; marching away in their shirts onely, hauing each of them a white W and in their

hands: of whom, the most part went to the Castle de *Villane*, where there was about some two hundred Spaniards. To this castle my Lord the Constable drew his forces, because hee would make his way cleare before him. It is situate vpon a little Mountaine, which giueth great assurance to those within, that there can bee no Ordinance planted against it, to batter it downe. They were summoned to restore it vp, or else were threatned to haue it battered in peeces; which they flatly refused: answering withall, that they were as good and faithfull seruants to the Emperour, as Mounseigneur the Constable was to the King his master. Their answer being vnderstood, the same night there was mounted two great Canons, by the force of armes with ropes and cordes, by the *Switzers*, where, (as misfortune would) those cannons being planted, a Gunner by indiscretion fired a barrel of Gun-powder, wherewith he himselfe was extreame-ly burned, together with tenne or twelue soldiers. Moreover, the flame of the powder was the cause of the discoverie of the Ordinance, whereby those of the Castle, the night following, discharged their Ordinance at that place where they discon-oured our Cannons; insomuch, that we had many of our men hurt and slaine.

The morrow after, very early wee beganne the battery, and in few houres after the breach was made; which those of the Castle perceiuing, desired a parley, but it was too late; for in the meane time some of our foot-men, perceiuing them to be astonished, mounted the breach, and entered the Castle, putting every man to the sword, except onely a certaine beautifull *Piedmontese*, which a great Lord entertained into his seruice. The Captaine and Ancient were taken aliue, but were presently after hanged vpon the Gate of the Towne, to terrifie the rest of the Emperours souldiers, not to be so foole-hardie, to hold such places against so great an armie. Now, the souldiers of the Castle seeing our men rushing in vpon them in such great furie, made all the resistance they could to defend themselves, in killing and wounding a great number of our Souldiers with their pikes and muskets; where the Chirurgians had a great deale of work cut out to their hands.

I was (at that time) but a yong Chirurgian,

The Castle de Villane be-  
sieg'd and  
taken.



The Author  
entrench into  
the matter.

A remedy  
found by ac-  
cident.

gian, and but little experienced in the Art, because I neuer (as yet) had seene the curation of anie Wounds made by Gun-shot. True it is, that I had read *Iohn de Vigo*, his first booke of Wounds in generall, chap. 8. where he saith, That those wounds made by fiery Engines, do participate of venenosity, because of the Powder; and for their curation, he commands to cauterize them with the Oyle of Elders mixed with a little Treacle: yet neuertheless, because I would not be deceived, before I would make vse of the said boyling oyle, knowing that it brought with it extreme paine to the Patient, I obserued the methode of other Chirurgians in the first dressing of such wounds; which was by the application & infusion of the foresaid Oyle, as hot as possibly they could suffer it, with Tents and Setons: wherefore I became emboldned to do as they did. But in the end my oyle failed mee, so that I was constrained to vse in stead thereof, a digestiue made of the yolke of an egge, Oyle of Roses and Terebinth. The night following, I could hardly sleep at mine ease, fearing lest that for want of cauterizing, I should find my Patients, on whom I had not vsed of the foresaid Oyle, dead and empyoned; which made mee to rise early in the morning to visit them: where, beyond my expectation, I found those on whom I had vsed the digestiue medicine, to feele but little paine, and their wounds without inflammation or tumor, hauing rested well all that night. The rest, on whom the foresaid Oyle was applied, I found them inclining to Feauers, with great paine, tumor, and inflammation about their Wounds: then I resolued with my selfe, neuer to burne so cruelly the wounded Patients by Gun-shot any more.

When we entered *Thurin*, I was tolde of a Chirurgian, who was exceeding famous, especially for his curing wounds made by Gun-shot, with whom I found the means to acquaint my selfe: yet it was neare two yeares and a halfe, before hee would acquaint mee with his Medicine which hee called his Balme. In the meane time, Mounseieur the Marshall of *Monte-jan*, who was Lieutenant generall of the King in *Piedmont*, dyed: then I tolde this Chirurgian, that I had a desire to returne to *Paris*, withall, requesting him, that he would performe his promise, which was,

to giue me the receit of his Balme, which he willingly did, seeing that I was to leaue that country. He sent me to fetch him two yong whelps, one pound of earth-worms, two pounds of the oyle of Lillies, six ounces of the Terebinth of *Venice*, and one ounce of *Aqua-vitæ*: and in my presence, he boyled the whelps aloue in the said oyle, vntill the flesh departed from the bones. Afterward, he tooke the wormes (hauing before killed and purified them in white Wine, to purge themselves of the earth which they haue alwayes in their bodies:) being so prepared, he boyled them also in the said oyle, till they became dry; this he strained thorow a napkin, without anie great expression; that doone, hee added thereto the Terebinth: and lastly, the *Aqua-vitæ*, and called God to witnesse, that this was his Balme which hee vsed in all wounds made by Gun-shot, and in others which required suppuration; withall, praying me not to divulge his secret.

From thence I returned to *Paris*, where shortly after, Mounseieur *Siluius*, Lecturer of the King in Physicke, a man greatly esteemed among learned men, requested me one day to dine with him, which I did willingly; where hee asked me many Questions, and among the rest, of the essence of wounds made by Gunne-shot, and of the combustions made by Gunne-powder. Whereupon, I presently prouoed vnto him, that the powder was not any thing venomous at all; because that no Simple that enters therein is any way venomous, much lesse the composition. Also, I haue seene by experience, that some Souldiers being hurt, will take of the said powder in wine, saying, That powder so taken, doth preferue the body from the ensuing accidents, the which I approue not. Also, others hauing vlcers on their bodies, doe commonly vse of the said powder drie, and heale them without any danger at all. And as for the Bullets, they can not containe any such heat, that they should haue the facultie of burning: for a bullet being shot against a stone-wall, it may presently be helde in the naked hand, although the collision made against the Stones, should (in reason) heate it the more: And as for combustions or burnings made by Gun-powder, I neuer found any particular accident in it, whereby the cure ought to be diuersified from the cure of other combustions.

Gunpowder  
not venomous

wounds made  
by gunshots  
are without  
combustion.

History.

\* Ye Sir, by  
the Faith of  
God.

History.

How the Pa-  
tient ought to  
be treated in  
the extraction  
of Bullets.

buftions. Whereupon, I related this History. A certaine boy of the Kitchen, of Mounseieur the Marshall of *Monte-jan*, fell into a Caldron full of oyle, almost boyling hot; to dresse whom being sent for, I went presently to an Apothecarie, demanding of him such cooling medicines, which are commonly applied vnto burnings. An auncient Countrey-woman being by, hearing mee speake of this burning, counselled me to apply for the first dressing (to prevent the rising of pustules or bladders) of rawe onions, bruised with a little salt. I demanded of this woman, Whether he had euer made experience of that Medicine before: Shee presently sware vnto me in her language, *Si mesle, à la fe de dé*; which did incite me to make experience heereof, on this Cullion of the Kitchen, where truly I found the morrow after, that in those parts, where the Onions had touched, to bee altogether free from vesicles or blisters, and the other parts, where the Onions were not applied, to be much blistered.

Nor long after, a certaine Dutch-man, one of the guard of the said Lord of *Monte-jan*, hauing drunke hard, by indiscretion; set his Flask asire, which caused a great disaster, both to his hands and face; and being called to dresse him, I applied of the said Onions on the one halfe of his face; and on the other side, of other common remedies. At the second dressing, I found that part where I had applied the Onions, to be altogether without blisters, or any excoriation, and the other altogether blistered: then I first purposed to write of the effect of the said Onions.

Moreover, I tolde vnto the sayd *Siluius*, that for the better extraction of bullets which are hidden in any part of the body, it is requisite, the Patient should be placed in the same situation, that he was in at that time when he was wounded. Many other things I discovered vnto him, which are contained in this Booke following. My Discourse ended; he prayed me very earnestly, that I would publish it by writings to the end, that that false opinion of *Vigo* might be altogether abolished; the which I willingly consented vnto, and caused many instruments to be cut, such as had not bene divulged; for the extraction of Bullets, and other vnaturall things out of the body.

And it was first Imprinted in the yeare, 1545. and well receiued, which caused me to renew it agayne, and publish it the second time, in the yeare 1550. and lastly, in the yeare, 1564. where I haue enriched it with many other things, because I haue since followed the warres, haue bene in many battells, and besieged Townes, as in *Metz* and *Hedin*. Also, I haue bene entertained into the seruice of fide Kings, where I haue alwayes discouered with the most excellent Physitians and Chirurgians of those times, to learne and discouer, if there were any other methode or way, to cure those wounds made by gun-shot; whereof the most part (specially those that haue followed the warres, and are guided by reason and experience) are of my opinion, which is, to vse Suppuratives in the beginning, and not boyling oyles. And I did protest moreover to the sayd *Siluius*, that I haue found those wounds as easie to cure (being in fleshy partes) as all other great contused wounds are. But, where the Bullet meeteth with the bones and neruous parts; it teareth, dilacerateth, breaketh, and shinereth in peeces, not onely where it toucheth, but also the circumiacent parts, without any mercy; causing great accidents, which happen specially in the iointures or ioynets, and in bodies of euill constitution, and in time subiect to corruption, that is to say, where the Ayre is hote and moyst, then is the cure most difficult, and oftentimes impossible; not onely of wounds made by Gun-shot, but also of those which are made by other instruments; yea, though they were but in fleshy partes.

Therefore, the foresaid accidents do not proceede from the venenosity which is in the powder, or by the combustion or burning of the Bullet. For prooofe of which, I will alledge this obseruation, which I haue experimented (not long since) on the person of the Earle of *Arundell*, Lord of *Arundell*, a Scottish-man, whom I cured by the commaundement of the Queene-mother, who was hurt with the shot of a Pistoll cleame through both the thighs, without fracture of the bones; he standing so neare the mouth of the Pistoll, that the fire tooke holde of his breeches; neuertheless, hee was perfectly cured in two and thirtie dayes, without a Feauer or anie other euill accident. I

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gun shot hard  
to be cured.

History.

dress him at *S. Iohn de Latran*, in the house of the Archthoppe of *Glisco*, then Ambassadour for *Scotland*, who came every day to see him dress. Moreover, for testimony, I could produce Mounseur *Brigard*, Doctor Regent in the facultie of Physicke, who was an assistant with me; together with *James Guillemes*, Chirurgian to the King, and sworne at *Paris*, who was with me vntill his perfect curacion. The same likewise Mounseur *Hautin*, Doctour Regent in the faculty of Physicke can testify, who sometimes came to see him. Also *Giles Buzet*, Scotchman and Chirurgian, euery of them maruailling how hee became so soone cured, without the application of hot and sharp medicines. Now, the reason wherefore I haue made this little Discourse, is to demonstrate, that it is about 30. yeares agoe, since I first found out this manner of curing wounds made by gunshot, without the vse of boiling oiles, or any other sharp or burning medicines, vnlesse I was contrained to vse them, for such accidents which hapned in *Cacochymed* bodies, or through the euill disposition and malignancy of the ayre, as I will shew more amply in this Discourse following, which I made vnto the deceased King, after the taking of *Roan*.

## CHAP. IIIL

*A Answer vnto a certayne demaund, propounded by the vniuersal Prince Charles the ninth, as touching the qualitie and Efficacy of wounds made by Gunne-shotte, as his Maiesties returne from the siege, and taking of the Towne of Roan.*



On one day pleased your Maiestie, together with the Queene-Mother, my L. the prince of *La Roche-sur-Ton*, and many other Princes and great Lords, to demaund of me how it came to passe, that in these last warres, the most part of such Gentlemen & Soldiers, who were wounded by Gun-shot, & other instruments of war, died, or were very hardly recovered from their diseases, although the wounds they receiued were but of small apparace, and the Chirurgians which were employed for their cures, did performe their du-

ties according to Art; I haue bin the bold-er to publish this discourse, to satisfie (in some measure) the duty of my Art, & that my Profession might not be sported with the least dishonor; and that your Maiestie might vnderstand the reasons, which might haue bin the cause of the death of so many valiant me; the most part of whom I haue scene (to my great griefe) to finish their dayes pitifully, without any possibilitie in mee, or anie other more experienced then my selfe to giue them remedy.

I know that this following Discourse will astonish some, who reposing themselves vpon their owne particular opinions, and not examining the matter deeply, will finde the first front of my disputation very strange; because that the contrary hath bene so long imprinted in their fantasies. For I doe hold, that the cause of the malignancy of wounds by Gun-shot, not to proceed from any poyson or venomous quality in the powder (as they imagine) or from the Bullet it selfe, being rubbed or infused in any venomous mixture. Neuerthelesse, if their meekenesse and patience will extend so farre, as first to weigh the motives, which first moued me to vndertake this subiect, which was a zeale of the publique good; towards the which the Lawe of Nature bindeth me, to shew the vtermost of my power in such things which the singular prouidence of Almighty God hath reuealed vnto me. And secondly, that they will examine with iudgement, the reasons which I shall vse in this present Treatise: then I shall see certayne, they will both accept my labour thankfully, and free it from all future calumnie. Otherwise they will shew themselves to be so ill affectioned toward me, as if I should present my selfe before them, enriched with all the treasures of the auncient Philosophers, and they should place mee in the number of the poorest and ignorantest men in the world. To prevent therefore all the Arguments of venome and poisoning, which the Aduersaries heere about mentioned may alleadge, I will make it plaine vnto your Maiestie, that such as are wounded by gunne-shot; I say the malignancy of such wounds, not to proceed from the venome of the Powder, beeing of it selfe simply considered: and much lesse from the coobustion or cauterization which the

*Insinuation into the good acceptance of those who are of the contrary opinion.*

*The Author propoeth two points, which he would refute, viz. the poyson of the powder, and the fire of the Bullet.*

## Chap. 4.

## other fiery Engines.

Bullet so heated by the fire of the powder can make in those parts, which it rendeth & dilacerateth thorow the violence thereof: although neuerthelesse some do strue to maintayne; alledging for all reasons, That a certayne Tower full of powder hath heeretofore bene seene ruined in an instant, onely by the means of a Cannon shot. Also of a thatched house set on fire with a Musket shotte. Moreover, because that such wounds which are made by Gunne-shotte, we commonly behold their Orifices and other circum-iacent parts so blacke, as if an actuall Cauter had passed thereon. As also the fall of a certayne selfe, as they say. All which Arguments are so ill framed, that they deserue no authoritie, beeing builded on so slender a foundation: much lesse, that the resolution of your demaund should be taken from them, as I trust to giue you plainly to vnderstand in the Disputation following. Which (after I had scene a great number of those wounds, and diligently obserued them, handling them according to the methode) I haue collected from the auncient Philosophers, Physitians, and Chirurgians to present vnto your Maiestie, and to withdraw your minde from the admiration of the lamentable death of so many braue Gentlemen and Souldiers.

Now, to enter into the matter propounded, and to answer the Arguments before alledged, we are first to examine, whether there be any poyson inclosed in the powder, or no: And if there bee, whether it may infect by means of the pretended poyson thereof. Which, that it may appeare plainly, we must search into the composition of the sayd powder, considering that it is not of substance simple, but compound: and so by examining the nature of such Simples, which enter into the composition thereof; I mean their qualities, effects, and operations, we shall the sooner attaine to the scope and intention pretended.

As for the Simples it is a most assured thing, that there are but three in all, which make the composition thereof, that is to say, coales of willow or birch, sulphure, and salt-peter, and sometimes *Aqua-vita*: which ingredients feuerally considered, are altogether exempt and free from poyson, or any venomous quality. And first

for the coales, there is not any thing considerable in them, vnlesse it bee a drying quality, of subtilie substance, by means whereof it is apt to take fire, euen as a linnen cloth burned into Tinder doth the sparkes that fall from a Flint stone. Sulphure is hore and drie, neuerthelesse, not excessiue, and of a more oile and viscidous substance, yet not so easie to inflame as coales, although it doth retain the fire more forcibly when it is once inflamed, and is very hardly extinguished. As for the salt-peter, it is such, that many make vse thereof instead of salt. Now let vs examine, whether there be any venosity in the nature of these simples; namely, in that of sulphure, which is the most suspected. *Dioscorides* in his first booke, chap. 37. prescribeth it to be taken in an Egge, in the asthmaicke passion, coughes, and to stich which spit matter, and those that haue the jaundise. And *Galen* in his ninth booke of his Simples, cha. 36. ordaineth it as a topicall remedy, vnto such who are bitten by venomous beasts; and in all malignant praikes or irchings; as for the *Aqua-vita*, it is a thing subtilie, that it will evaporate if it be set in the ayre; besides, it is vied by most Chirurgians inwardly in drincks, and outwardly in embrocations as a most singular medicine. These things considered, make mee to affirme, that the whole composition of powder is altogether free from venome or poyson, seeing that the ingredients are altogether cleare from the least touch in that kind.

Moreover, I haue obserued it to bee the practise of the *Hollanders*; being wounded by Gunne-shotte, to dissolve two charges of powder in Wine, and to drinke it off, hoping, by that means to be freed from all future accidents which might happen to their wounds (although I doe not approve thereof, because it is a most insufficient remedy.) Also, such vicers which are made through the combustion of powder, are of no other nature then those that are made by fire, or scalding water. But, wherefore should I alledge any forraine example? Do we not see amongst our owne souldiers, I do not know on what occasion, but only to shew themselves braue fellows, to empty their charges of powder into their cuppes, and drinke it without anie inconvenience at all; and others in like manner, beeing

Sff 2

*Salt-peter is Salt of ston.*

*The present disputation is taken from Philosophers, Physitians, and Chirurgians.*

*The composition of the powder.*

*Occasion of this discourse.*

Refutation of  
those that af-  
firm the Bul-  
let to be im-  
poisoned.

hurt on any part of their bodies, will apply of the same vpon their vicers to drie them, and finde much profit by it. As for those which do affirme that it is not in the powder, but the Bullet, which being subtilly pierced in many places, or filled vp with venome, or steeped, rubbed, or mixed with any poyson, causeth the aforesayd dangerous accidents: To such do I answer without further trouble, that the fire set to the powder, is sufficient to purifie the poyson of the Bullet, if any there were; the which can not be done by impoisoned Swords, Pikes, Arrows, and such like, because they passe not thorow the action of the fire. Briefly, to confirme my opinion to be true, there is not anie one of those that were in your Maiesties Campe at *Rean*, that doth not assuredly know, that those Bullets which were shotte against those of the Towne, to be altogether free from poyson. Neuertheless, the besieged Towne-men affirmed, that all those Bullets were poysoned. Also, the Souldiers of your Maiesties Camp had the same opinion, of such Bullets which were shot at them out of the town, that they were all impoisoned by them; rather beleeuing and iudging of the qualitie of the wounds by their euill successe, then by the Causes whereby they were made.

True it is, that as in Physicke, according to the Sentence of *Hippocrates* in the *Epidemies*; as *Galen* noteth on the twenty sentence, and the twenty one of the third Section of the third booke, all diseases are called Pestilentiall and venomous, being from common and general causes of what kinde soeuer they be, and such kill many persons: so in the like maner, we may call such wounds as are made by Gunne-shot venomous, which are more difficult to heale then others; not because they doe participate of any venomosity, but from some general cause depending, either from the *Cacoehmie* of the body, putrefaction of the aire, or the corruption of the victualls, whereby those vicers are brought to be more malignant *Cacoethes*, and rebellious to all medicines.

Refutation of  
those that af-  
firm that the  
Bullet causeth  
combustion.

To affirme, that it is onely the combustion of the bullet, which causeth the aforesaid danger; I cannot conceiue their reasons, seeing that the Bullet is (for the most part) made but of lead, and therefore vna-

ble to indure any great heate, without being altogether dissolued, which we neuerthelesse do see to passe thorow a coat Armour, and to penetrate the body through and through, and yet to remaine whole.

Moreouer, we do obserue, that if a Bullet be shot against a stone, or against anie solid matter, it may in the same instant be handled of vs in our hands, without feeling any notable heate, although the violent striking and collision made against the stone, should in reason encrease the heate, if anie there were. And which is more, if a Bullet bee shot against a bagge full of powder, the fire will not endanger it. This I dare be bolde to say and affirme moreouer, That if a quantitie of powder should take fire, being kept in a Tower, or any other place, by the means of a Bullet shot; it was not the heate of the Bullet, but rather the violent striking of the Bullet against the stones of the said Tower, which might cause sparkes of fire to fall amongst the powder; even as the smiting of a Steele against a flint stone. The like wee may iudge of such tharched houses, which haue bene set on fire by a musket shot, to haue rather proceeded from some wad, either of Towne or Paper, rammed in with the powder, and so fired with it. But that which doth most confirme mee in the assurance of mine opinion, is, that if a wad of Waxe be shot out of a Musket, it feelth no force of fire at all, for then would it melt; neuertheless, it will pierce an inch boord. An argument of sufficient weight to prooue, that the Bullets cannot be so extreamely heated by the force of the powder, that they should cauterize and burne, as many haue esteemed.

And as for that blackenesse, which is ordinarily found to be about the Orifices of such wounds, and other adiacent parts: I affirme, that this accident doth not proceed from any qualitie of fire accompanying the Bullet, but because of the great conuulsion that it maketh. For it cannot enter into the body otherwise then by an extreame and incredible force, because it is of a round figure.

Vpon this point, if the wounded persons themselves be demanded; I beleue they will testifie the truth of my saying, because they are no sooner strooke with the Bullet, but they doe feele in the same instant, as if a club or some other heauie

An example  
of a Bullet  
Waxe.

Whence it  
proceedeth  
that wounds  
made by gun-  
shots are ordi-  
narily blacke.

but then were false on the offended part, in the which they feele a heauy paine, with a benumbed supitation of the part; which disparteth and sometimes extinguisheth the naturall heate, together with the spirites contayned therein; from whence there foloweth oftentimes a gangrene and mortification of the part, yea sometimes of the whole body. And as for the Elcare which they affirme there to be, and fall away as they say, they doe abuse themselves: for it is onely some certaine portion of the membranes and contused flesh, dilacerated by the Bullet, which becometh corrupted, and so separeth it selfe from the found parts which are greatly contused.

Although that these reasons doe make it manifest enough, that there is no venomous qualitie in the powder, nor action of fire carryed with the Bullet; neuertheless, many, building their opinions vpon naturall Philosophie, doe maintayne the contrarie, affirming that Cannon shot is like vnto the clappes of Thunder, which burst forth of the Clouds in the middle Region of the ayre, and so fall violently on the earth. From the which similitude they would inferre and conclude, that there is both fire, and a venomous qualitie in the Bullet, as it proceedeth out of the mouth of the Cannon. I know (I thank God) that Thunder being ingendered from a grosse and viscusous exhalation, by means of vapour conioyned with it, doth neuer breake forth of the Clouds to penetrate heere below; but it draweth and bringeth immediately with it a certaine fire, sometimes more subtle, sometimes more grosse, according to the diuersitie of the matter, whereof the exhalation is composed. For *Seneca* writeth in the second Booke of his *Naturall Questions*, chapter 49. that there are three kinds of Thunders, all differing the one from the other, according to the quantitie and manner of their inflammation. The first, by reason of the matter thereof, it being most thin and subtle, it doth pierce & penetrate suddenly the objects which it toucheth. The second kind, by reason of the violence thereof, breaketh and disparteth the same things, because the matter thereof is more violent, and compact as a tempest. The third sort being composed of a more earthie matter,

burneth with manifest tokens of the heate thereof. I also know, that the Thunder is of nature pestilentiall and fastidie, because of the grosse & slimy matter thereof; which being burnd, leaueth behind it such a stinking sauer, that all animals do so much auoid it, that if it do happen to fall into their dennes, other places of haunt they will verily abandon and forsake such places; so much do they hate the infectious stinke of that poison. The same is noted by *Plinius Magnus*, in his *Septentrional History*, that in cerayne places where Thunder hath fallne, presently after the fall thereof, the fields haue bene found afterwards to be covered & strewed ouer with sulphure, neuertheless vnprouisable, and almost extinguished. For all these reasons, I must not confesse, that the blowes of Gun-shot are accompanied with poyson and fire, as the clappes of Thunder are. For although they doe agree the one with the other, in some similitude, it is not therefore in their substance and matter, but rather in the manner which they haue to barter, teare, and dissipate the objects which they doe meete with, that is to say, the clappes of Thunder through the force of fire; and of the bolte or stone sometimes engendered therein: and the blowes of Gunne-shot by the means of the Ayre forced away by impetuosity, and so conducting the Bullet, causeth the like disaster. What if I should be conuicted by stronger Arguments, so that I were enforced to auouch, that Thunder and the Cannon to be of the like substance; yet I should neuer bee forced to say, that the shotte of the Cannons and Muskets doe participate of a ferie qualitie. *Plinius* saith in the second Booke of his *Historie*, and the 1. chapter, that among Thunder, one kind is composed of a maruellous drie matter, dissipating all such things it meete withall; neuertheless, without anie signe of burning: others, of a more humid nature, which in like manner burneth not, but blacketh and discoloreth much, more then the first. Others are composed of a very cleare and subtle matter: the nature whereof is most maruellous, forasmuch that it is not to be doubted (as *Seneca* hath well said) that there is therein a certayne diuine vertue: and it is in melting Golde or Silver in a mans purse, the purse it selfe not being so much as touched therewith.

Sff 3

Alfo

Reasons of  
those of con-  
trary opinion.

Answer to  
the contrary  
Reasons.

*Seneca* Three  
kinds of  
Thunders.

A marvellous  
efficacie of thun-  
ders.

Also in melting a sword, the scabbard thereof remaining whole. Also, in dissolving into droppes the yron head of a Pike, without burning, or so much as heating the wood. In shedding the wine out of a vessell, without burning or breaking of the caske. According to the aforesayd testimony, I can assure you, and that without any prejudice, that those Thunders, which onelie breake and dissipate without any burning; and such which do leaue effects full of great admiration, not to be much vnlike in substance to the Canon shot, and not those which carrie immediately with them the action of fire.

Example.

To prouee my saying true, this one example shall suffice. A certaine Souldier receyued a wound in his Thigh with a Musket shot, from whence I extracted a bullet, the which being wrapped in the Taffatie of his breeches, made a very deepe wound. Neuerthelesse, I drew it forth of the wound with the same Taffatie, it being without any signe of burning.

And which is more, I haue seene many men, who not being shot, nor anie thing touched therewith, vnlesse it were in their apparel only; haue receiued such an astonishment by a Cannon shot, that onely passed nere them: that their members thereby haue become blacke and liquid; and shortly after, haue fallen into a gangrene and mortification, whereof in the end they haue dyed.

These effects are like vnto those of the thunder before spoken of. Neuerthelesse, there is not in them any fire or poyson: which maketh mee conclude, that there is no poyson in the common and ordinarie powder. Seeing therefore, that this disaster was common to all those which were hurt in these last warres, and yet neither by fire or poyson that so many valiant men dyed. To what cause may wee impute this euill? I am so confident of the true cause (my Liege) that I hope presently to make your Maiestie vnderstand the same, to the end that your demand may be fully satisfied.

Those which haue consumed their age and study in the secrets of naturall Philosophie, haue left vs this amongst other things, for authentick and appoued of all times. Which is, that the Elements doe symbolize in such sort the one with

the other, that they doe sometimes transforme and change themselves, the one into the other, in such sort, that not onelie their first qualities, which are heate, coldnes, drinelle and moisture: but also their substances are changed, by rarification or condensation of themselves; so the fire doth conuert it selfe ordinarily into ayre, the aire into water, the water into earth; and contrariwise the earth into water, the water into ayre, and the ayre into fire. The which wee may dayly behold, and prouee it by those bellows of Copper which the Dutchman brings vs, being composel in the forme of a Boll, which being filled with water, and hauing but one hole in the middelt of the Spherical forme thereof: receiue the transmutation of the water within it into ayre, thorough the action of the fire, neare vnto the which the Boll must bee placed; and so thrusteth the aire forth of it with violence, making a continuall noyse or sound, vntill all the ayre be gone forth of it. The like may be knowne by Egges or Chelienuts; for eyther of them being put into the fire before they are crackt, or the Rhinds broken, presently the watery humidity contained in them, doth conuert it selfe into ayre, through the action of the fire: and the ayre in making his passage, bursteth the shell, because it occupieth more place being in the forme of ayre, into the which it was chaunged by rarification caused by the fire, then it did vnder the forme of water; and not finding passage, is constrained to make one by violence, according vnto the proposition helde for most certayne and true amongst all Physitians; that is to say, of that one part of earth is made tenne of water: and of one part of water is made tenne of ayre, as of one part of aire ten of fire. I do say and affirme so much of the matters containyd in the said Gun-powder, which by meanes of the fire is conuerted into a great quantity of ayre; the which because it cannot be contained in the place, where the matter was before the transmutation thereof, is compelled to issue forth with an incredible violence: by meanes whereof, the bullet breaketh, shiuereth and rendeth all that euer it meets with, yet doth not the fire accompany it. Euen as wee see a Bow, or a Sling shoot forth an Arrow or Stone, without any aire at all.

But

The effect of  
Artillery like  
to the thunder

But the bullet driueth before it such a subtle winde, and so swiftly agitated, that sometimes the very winde it selfe, without the action of the Bullet, causeth strange and wonderfull effects. For sometimes, I haue knowne it make a fracture in the bones, without any diuision of the flesh. And heerin it may be compared (as wee said before) vnto the effect of Thunder: euen so wee see, that if the saide powder bee inclosed in Mines and Vaults of the earth, and being conuerted into aire thorough the action of the fire set vnto it, howe it doeth ruinate and reuerse huge masses of earth almost as bigge as Mountaines. Also in this year, in your Maiesties Towne of Paris, a certaine quantity of powder, but newly made in the *Arcenall*, by taking fire, caused such a great tempest, that the whole Towne shooke at it: for with an horrible fury, it leuelled with the Earth all the houses neere vnto that place, and discovered and battered down the windowes of all those that stood within the fury of it. And to be briefe (euen as a clap of thunder) it did reuerse heere and there many men halfe slaine; taking away from some their eyes, from others their hearing, and left others no lesse torne and mangled in their members, then if foure horses had drawne them in pieces: and all this by the onely agitation of the ayre, into which substance, the powder was conuerted. The which, according to the quantity and quality of the matter thereof, and according to his motion, either more or lesse violent, hath caused so many wonderfull accidents in our Prouinces; altogether like vnto those which are caused through the inclosing of windes in the bowels and cavities of the earth, not being perspirable. The which, struing to haue vent, bloeth with such a strong and violent agitation, that they make the earth to tremble & quake thereat: thereby demolishing Cities, and ruinating buildings, and transporting them from one place to another. As the Townes of *Megara* and *Egina*, anciently much celebrated in the Country of *Greece*, perishing by Earth-quakes can witness vnto vs.

I omit to discouer (as but little seruing to our purpose) how the winde enclosed in the Entrailles of the earth, maketh a noyse of diuers sounds, and very strange, according to the diuers formes of the

conduits and passages, through the which it issueth by, euen after the manner of musical Instruments; the which being large, do giue a great and bafe sound, & being narrow, do make high and sharpe notes, and being crooked or repliad, make diuers sounds; as wee see by experience in the Huntsmans horne, and in Trumpets, the which also, being moistned with water, do make a hollow gurgling sound.

In like manner, these noises, murmurs, and clamors, are sundry wayes diuersified, according to the places whence they proceed; in such sort, that sometimes hath bene heard a clamorous cry, representing (as it seemed) the assault of a City, the cries and lowings of Bulls, or the neighing of Horses, roaring of Lyons, found of Trumpets, reports of Artillery, and many other dreadfull things; yea sometimes humane voyces. As it is reported by one, who had heard a voyce (as it were) of a woman beatings, which made (as he imagined) such a wofull and greuous lamentation; where-with he became so greatly affrighted, that he had scarcely breath sufficient to make this report. But when he had well vnderstood the cause of this plaintiue voyce, he was presently deliuered from that feare, which otherwise might haue killed him.

But some perhaps will say, that these things haue alwayes bene, and no lesse ordinary in the times past, then they are at this present: and therefore it is a great folly in me to alledge them, for efficient causes of the death of so many men. The which imputation, I should freely confesse, if I should present them for such: but seeing, that by them I would onely parallel and compare the impetuosity of Artillery, with that of thunder, and the motions of the earth; which being so, it will appeare, that it maketh nothing against my first intention, as I hope to demonstrate clearly, that I am slandered without a cause, if you please to giue eare to the deduction following. In the which, I will plainly and briefly describe the true causes of the late mortality, which happened among your Highnesse Soldiers.

Amongst the things necessary for our liues, there is nothing that can more alter our bodies, then the ayre; the which, continually (willing or vnwilling) we inspire by those conduites which Nature hath appointed

Diuers sounds  
issuing out of  
the veins of  
the earth.The true explanation  
of  
the question.

pointed for that end; as the mouth, the nose, and generally through all the pores of the skinne and Arteries therein infixed, whether wee eate, drinke, watch, or sleepe, or doe any other action, whether Natural, Vitall, or Animall. From thence it commeth, that the aire inspired into the Lungs, the Heart, and the Braine, and vniuersally in all the parts of the bodie, to refresh, and in some measure to nourish the same, is the cause that a man cannot live one minute without inspiration; according to the which wonderfull benefit, the excellent Physitian *Hippocrates* hath pronounced, and that truly, that the aire hath a kinde of Diuinity in it; because, that in breathing and blowing ouer all parts of the world vniuersally, it doth circumsue all things therein contained: nourishing them miraculously, strengthening them firmly, and maintaining them in an amiable Vnion; altogethcr symbolizing with the Starres and Planets, into the which the diuine prouidence is infused, which changeth the aire at his pleasure, and giueth it power not only ouer the mutation of times and seasons, but also of the alteration of naturall bodies. And therefore the Philosophers and Physicians haue expressly commanded, that we should haue a principall regarde vnto the situation and motions of the heavenly bodies, and constitutions of the Ayre, when the preservation of health, or the curation of diseases are in question: but especially the course and mutation of the aire is of great power, as wee may easily iudge by the foure seasons of the yeare. For the Aire being hot and dry in Sommer, our bodies in like manner doth thereby become heated and dried; and in winter the humidity and coldnesse of the ayre doth likewise fill our bodies with the very same qualities; in such order neuertheless, and in so good a disposition of nature, that although our temperatures seeme to bee changed, according to the foure seasons of the yeare; we neuertheless receive no harme thereby, if those times doe keepe their seasons and qualities free from excessse. But to the contrary, if the seasons be so peruerred, that the Sommer is colde, and the Winter hotte, and the other seasons in the like distemperature; this discord bringeth with it a great perturbacion, both in our bodies and in our spirits,

constrained neuertheless to receive the danger, by reason that the causes are extreme, and on euery side encompass vs; so that we are constrained to lodge it in vs by those Organes and Conduites appointed by Nature to that end, as partly, to expell the superfluous excrements of our nourishment, and partly to receiue the said externall causes, which is the ayre or winde, producing in vs diuers effects, according to those parts of the world fro whence they do proceed.

For, it being so, that the Southerly Windes are hot and moyst, that of the North cold and dry; the Easterly Windes for the most part are cleare and pure, and the Westerly cloudy and subiect to rain; yet it is a most assured thing, that the ayre which we do inspire continually, holdeth in all, and through all, the qualitie that is most predominant. And therefore, wee should of necessity consider in all diseases, and the inconueniences which happen therein, the quality of the winds, and the power which they haue ouer the bodies; as *Hippocrates* hath learnedly left vs by writing, in the third Booke of his Aphorisms, (chap. 11. and 17. saying, That our bodies do receiue a great alteration through the vicissitude of the times and seasons of the yeare. As by the South-winde our bodies are subiect to all diseases, because that moysture is their primitive cause: it also weakeneth our naturall heate, the which in the opposite case is much fortified thorough a cold and dry winde, which also maketh our spirits more quick and subtile. The verity of which sentence, the inhabitants of the Territory of *Narbonne* doe too much experient to their dammage. For being themselves betwene the lustiest and healthifullest people of all *France*; yet neuertheless they themselves are very sickly for the most part, their bodies leane, their countenances sad and heauy; their faces tawny, or of an Oliue colour; do manifestly shew the same. Also among other diseases, they are almost all subiect to the white Leprosie; and the last Vicers which they haue, which we make no account of at *Poitiers* or *Paris*, do ordinarily continue with them a whole yeare together. Not for any other cause, as they themselves confesse, and as all strangers know that haue liued in their country, but only because they are for the most part,

The alteration  
of seasons  
causes of diseases.

Hyp in the  
Pneuma: his  
Prognost.

Hyp in the be-  
ginning of his  
booke de Aere  
loca & aquis.

blasted and breathed vpon with a Southerly Winde, which in their language they call *Altan*, & maketh the aire to be grosse and cloudy; causing in their bodies all the effects which are attributed by *Hippocrates* to the Southerly winds, in his third booke and fifth Aphorisme, that is to say, when it reigneth, it dulseth the hearing, dimmeth the sight, swelleth and aggrauateth the head, weakeneth and abateth all the forces of the body.

Also, when *Hippocrates* compareth the temperatures of the one qualitie with the other, he resolueth vpon this point, That the dry seasons are farre more healthfull then the humid, that haue continued for a long succession of time, because excessiue humidity is the true matter of putrefaction, as experience telleth vs. For wee see, that in those places where the Marine or Sea-winds haue long blowne, all kinds of flesh (though neuer so new and fresh) will corrupt in lesse then an houre. These things being considered, that it is most necessary for the conseruation of our bodies in health, that the seasons should follow their naturall temperatures, without any excessse or contrariety, there is no doubt to be made, but that our bodies will fall into many vnaturall diseases, when the naturall qualities of the seasons are peruerred thorough the euill disposition of the aire and winde, that predominateth therein. It being so, that for these 3. yeares space here in *France*, the seasons of euery yeare haue not kept their ordinary qualities. In the Sommer wee haue but little heate, in the Winter a little or no cold at all. Also the other haue bene continually distempered with raine and moysture, together with much southerly winds whose nature we haue declared before, & this throughout all *France*.

I know no man so little seene in natural Philosophy, or in Astrologie, which will not finde the aire to be the efficient cause of so many euils, which for these 3. yeares space haue happened in the Kingdom of *France*. For from whence should proceed those contagious Pestilences, which happened indifferently to old and young, to rich and poore, and in so many places, but from the corruption of the Ayre? From whence should proceede so many kinds of Feauers, Pleuritis, Apostumes, Catars, defluitions of small Poxe and Meazels?

So many kinds of venomous Beastes, as Froegges, Toads, Grahoppers, Caterpillers, Spiders, Flies, Waspes, Snailles, Serpents, Vipers, Snakes, Lizards, Scorpions, and Aspicks, but only from a putrefaction resulting from the humiditie of the aire, accompanied with a languishing heate. This is it (I say) that hath engendered in vs, and in all the Country of *France*, so many strange and vnknown accidents. Behold therefore how our naturall heate hath bene weakened, how our blood and humors haue bene corrupted through the malignity of the ayre, which these Southerly winds haue caused, thorough the hote and moyst quality thereof.

Thus much I haue obserued, that where there hath bene need of Phlebotomizing, there hath bene but little blood drawne from any, whether they wer yong or old, wounded, or not of so good or euill temperature, but it hath bene corrupted, and appeared of white or greenish Colours. This I haue alwayes obserued in these last VVarres, and in other places where I haue bene called to cure the wounded: such as haue bene phlebotomized by the prescription of the Physitian, either for the prevention of accidents, or the furtherance of the cure. In all which, I say indifferently, I haue found the bloode putrified and corrupted.

This being so, it must needs follow, that the fleshy parts of our bodies cannot be otherwise then euilly disposed: and all our bodies Cacoehymate; seeing that their nourishment which is the blood, is purrified, and the ayre altogethcr corrupted. From whence it followeth, that those bodies which were wounded in the fleshy parts, were difficult to cure, considering that there was in them a perdition of substance; the which hauing neede of the regeneration of the flesh, could not bee accomplished, neither by Medicines, nor any Art of the Chirurgians; such & so great was the Cacoehimy or euill constitution of their bodies. Euen as in an Hydropticke person, there can no flesh be regenerated, because the blood is too colde and watery; and in the Elephantick or leprous disease, the flesh and other parts do abide in putrefaction, because of the corrupted blood whereby they are nourished. In like manner, in wounds of Cacoehymed bodies,

A similitude.

dies, there can be no regeneration made of any good substance, because that to restore a lawdable flesh in the wounded part it is required, that the blood should not offend neither in quantity nor quality, & that the offended part bee in it naturall temperature. All these things were wanting in the times of these last Varres: and therefore it is not to be wondered at, if the woundes which were then receiued (although they were but small and of little consequence in the noble or ignoble parts) haue brought with them so many reidous accidents, and in the end death; because that the aire which doeth encompasse vs, maketh the woundes to be corrupt and putrified, by reason of the inspiration and transpiration thereof, especially when it selfe is corrupt and putrified, by altering & corrupting the humors.

Intollerable  
stinke proceed-  
ing from the  
wounded  
parts of men.

Of this point I haue had the experience in many Wounds, which I haue bin called to dresse, that haue rendred a most insupportable stinking fauour, as a certain witness of corruption and infection, in so much, that the assistants could hardly endure to be present at their dressings. It need not to be here alledged, that this was for want of being cleanly kept, or often dressing, or for not administering to them things necessary: for this corruption was as common to Princes and great Lords, as vnto poore soldiers; whose woundes (if by chance one day escaped wherein they were not drest, so great was the number of the hurt soldiers) you should finde in them the morrow after, a great quantitie of wormes, with a marvellous stinking fauour. And moreover, there hapned vnto them many Apoftumes in diuers parts of their bodies opposite to their hurts. For if they were shotte in the right shoulder, they shold haue an Apoftume on the left knee; and if the wound were in the right leg, the Apoftume would arise in the left arme. As it hapned to the late K. of Navarra, to Mounseigneur de Neuers, and to Monsieur de Renda, and almost to all others. So it seemeth, that Nature being so much oppressed with corrupted humors, could not be sufficiently purged and discharged of them by woundes onely, but sent some part of the corruption to some other part either hidden or apparent. For, if the Apoftumes appeared not outwardly, they should be found in the inward part; as in

Venomous  
woundes.

the Liuer, Lungs, or Spleen. Fro those putrifications were stirred vp certain vapors, which through their combination with the heart, causeth continual Feauers; with the Liuer, a let and hinderance of the generation of good blood; & with the brain swoonings, faintings, convulsions, and consequently death.

Now because of those aforesayde accidents, it is vnpossible for any Chirurgicalian (were he neuer so expert) to correct the malignity of the aforesaid woundes: neither these those that are employed therein, ought not to be reprehended; because it is impossible for them to warre against God, nor against the aire, wherein oftentimes are hidden the rods of his diuine iustice. If therefore, according to the sentence of ancient Hippocrates, who saith; That all contused woundes ought to be brought to suppuration, thereby to be perfectly cured; which method wee are sometimes constrained to change, because of the putrificacions Gangrenas and mortifications which doe accompanie such woundes, thorough the corruption of the aire; and can any blame or accuse vs, because we are constrained through necessity to change and alter that manner of curation and instit of suppurative medicines to vse other remedies, to resist such accidents which not onely happen in woundes made by Gun-shot, but also by swords or stauies: which remedies shall be described in this present Discourse. Besides humane causes, that man is ill instructed in the knowledge of Celestial things, which doth not beleue for certaine, that the wrath of God hangeth ouer vs, to punish the faults which ordinarily we comit against his Maiesty. His scourges are prepared ready, his rods and weapons haue they ministers alwaies at hand, to execute the commandment of his diuine iustice, into whose secrets I dare enter no further, but will conclude with the opinion of the best aduised Practitioners, that the principall occasion of the aforesaide mortallitie, did proceede from the pure and determinate will of God, who by the temperature that he hath giuen to the ayre and windes (as the Heraldes of his diuine iustice) hath made vs apt to receiue the aforesaide inconueniences, which we haue incurred by our iniquities.

CHAP.

# CHAP. V.

¶ Of the Excellencie of the Arte of Physicke, going farre beyond all other humane Arts and Sciences whatsoeuer.



Understand humane Artes (as well Liberall as Mechanicall) to be all those, that Man (inspired by God) hath inuented for his necessitie, commoditie, or recreation. Amongest which also is Physicke, the practise of naturall Philosophie vpon the bodies of men, for whom all mechanicall Artes were deuised; as Artes liberall for exercise of the minde. We except onely from all ordinary professions of Man, the sacred Science of Diuinity; which we vnderstand, not to come within compasse of this comparison, when we extoll Physicke to be aboue all humane Arts: because it is neither Art or humane Science; but a matter merely and purely diuine, not inuented by men, but infused by God; concerning soules, and not bodies; eternal, infallible, immutable, hauing (for obiect) God Almighty, Creator of the World, who made it of nothing, and for the seruice of man. In whom we are to consider a reasonable soule, the body, and benefits which are giuen vnto him for the support and maintaining of his life.

What humane  
Artes are true  
false to beca

All Arts in-  
uenced for the  
vse of man.

Diuinity ex-  
cepted from  
all humane  
Arts.

The nature  
or qualitie of  
knowledge in  
human lawes.

The place al-  
lotted to phy-  
sick in the se-  
cond degree.

Diuinity hath her especiall care of the soule, and next to her, Moral Philosophie. Skill and knowledge, restrained vnto humane Lawes, do discourse on goods and proprieties appertaining to men, rendering to euery one that which is his owne. Betweene them both is Physicke, conferring the body in health, expelling Diseases, and sauing from death, so farre as it pleaseth God to permit. If then the excellency of professions, is to be esteemed in and by their subiects, according as they ought to be: Physicke will then assume the second place. For, the soule is more then the body, and the bodie more then garments.

I will not heere contest with my Grand Masters the Magistrates, who haue Power ouer mens bodies, as well in case of

life, as death: for their authority is nothing else but a meere declaration; either of pardoning, or punishing with death, according to the quality of desert. As for the power of absolution or pardon, if it be in grace, as the sole Prince or Soueraigne Magistrate may do it: it proceedeth from the priuiledge giuen him by God, and not from any knowledge of the Lawes. Like to the other, that declareth the innocence and preuention of the accused: the which is properly saue, or giue life, because the party standing so accused, hath not therefore deferred death.

And as for power of putting to death, therein is no praise; at least, it ought not to be compared with the power of sauing life. For, so much doth the Physitian (the grace of God assisting) to man, being attainted with deadly diseases, and doubtles should dye, except they were succoured in such manner. Now, whether it is effectable, or no, and that (by the Art of Physicke) life may be prolonged: that we shall more amply relate in the following chapter. Onely our intent heere, is, to shewe the excellency of man; to confirme the excellency of that Art, which is dedicated onely to his conseruation.

The principall dignity of Man, is in this, that God hath vouchsafed to bestow on him his owne Image and resemblance, giuing him an immortall soule, capable of the Diuinity: in regard that all things were submitted to him, for his necessitie, commoditie, and recreation; hauing made (for his seruice) Heauen, Earth, the Sea, and all that is in them. For God hath no neede of any thing, made by himselfe: All is for our vse, and therefore it is easie to vnderstand and know, that Man is more worthy and excellent then all the worlde. So, to speake truly, Heauen and Earth, which haue had a beginning; were ordained for an ending, and to waxe olde like a Garment. Onely Man shall neuer end, but change his condition, and of beeing mortall, he shall become immortall; in a short while after the soule shall receiue her diuorce from the body, taking it vp again, in much more glorious manner: then before, and in such a perfect temper, as neuer can be subiect to corruption.

Seeing then, that Man is the worthiest thing in all the world, beside all other whatsoever: the Science ordained for his per-

The power of  
Magistrates in  
cases of life or  
death, holding  
their authori-  
ty from God.

What diuini-  
ty there is  
betweene the  
two powers,  
of sauing life,  
and putting  
to death.

Wherein the  
cheefest dig-  
nities of Man  
doth consist.

Man was cre-  
ated neuer to  
haue ending,  
but to change  
his present  
condition.

Man the only  
worthy thing  
in all the world



son, must needs bee the most excellent above all other, next vnto that which properly concerneth his Creator. For, Man is the most worthy creature of all, and (by consequence) the Art or Science which maintaineth him in life and health, is the onely excellent of all humane Arts. This is a strong argument, for the preheminece and dignity of Physicke, according to the singularity of the subiect whereon it discourseth.

I could giue a glance at some other matters, which make (in like manner) for his commendation: As his Antiquity, Necessity, and Vtility, together with the Authority of them, that haue the more reuerenced and esteemed him, for the same reasons. As concerning his Antiquity, no man doubteth, but it is as olde as the transgression of *Adam*, and that so soone as he had sinned, he (thereby) becam subiect to sicknesse. He must needs be Physitian to himselfe, to whom God had giuen knowledge, concerning the verue of all things whatsoever, and causing him to giue them feuerall names, answerable and according to their feuerall proprieties.

Prophane Histories, doe attribute the inuention of Physick to god *Apollo*, which is the Sonne: signifying thereby, that from the Sun proceedeth the vertue of Plants, and other medicaments, which the earth produceth. Hereupon they conclude, that *Æsculapius* (the first that made profession of this Art) was his sonne; and he the Father of *Machaon* & *Podalirius*, vulnerarie Physitians (otherwise called Chirurgeons) who were in the warre of *Troy*, the History whereof, is the very ancientest in the world.

Now, concerning Antiquity, it is one of those conditions, that commendeth something; provided, that it hath bene continued. For, if it be neither vse-able, nor beneficiall, it will soon haue ending. But we see (euen to this instant) that Physicke hath bene well maintained, euermore in augmentation, beauty, and liberall bounty. And that, by industrie of the chiefeest persons that haue bin, not onely Philosophers by profession, but likewise by Kings, Princes, and other men of greatest esteeme, it hath bene highly honoured, according as ancient Histories, and their learned labors left vs of Physicke,

do plainly testifie.

True it is, that the *Romaines* did let it passe by them, for about sixe hundred yeares, as holding it in detestation; for the cruelty of some Chirurgeons which came forth of *Greece*, a Nation to them very suspicious. But since those times, Physitians were honoured, much respected, & maintained in *Rome*; holding ranke with the chiefeest Noblemen and Knights.

Now, touching the Necessity thereof, it is so manifest, as nothing more. But it seemeth, that this may diminish the excellency of the Art; because it is not expetible or desirable of it selfe, but onely for neede. Like as in Moral Philosophy, this is most esteemed, which is desirable of it selfe (As to haue children, then affectable, for some other respect, as to haue goods for those children;) Euen so, Physicke, being not desirable of it selfe (like to Musicke) but for necessity; it appeareth to be the lesse commendable, euen as Mechanicall Arts, which cannot passe without vse. Yet notwithstanding, this is contrary; for, the more necessary Physick is, so much the more it is to be desired: and the excellency of her effects, maketh her to be the more excellent.

And heere, Vtility or commodity ioyne with it, commending it in the highest degree. For, as there is nothing in the world more welcome then Health, nor more desirable then long life: Physicke, providing both for the one and other, is the more beneficiall to the contentment of men, then any other humane Science can be. For (by the contrary) as whofoeuer that hath not health, is vnprofitable to the world: euen so he hath lyued but a litle while, brought therto the lesse benefit with him. For, as the Father of Eloquence sayd, *We are not borne for our selues only, but our Parents, Kindred, & Friends, our Countrey, yea the whole world; all these do vrges from vs some emolument, and commodity.*

It remaineth now, to confirme all these reasons by great and good Authority, of such as haue much esteemed and extolled Physicke, and the professors thereof, commending it infinitely by their Writings. In the performance whereof, I shall content my selfe, with the exhortation made in *Ecclesiasticus*, and the remonstrance of our graue father *Hippocrates*. Nor is he to be

Physician, 9. 1.

Physicke neglected in Rome for some time.

Of the necessity of Physicke.

Physicke not desirable of it selfe.

Mechanicall Arts cannot passe without vse.

Of the vtilitie of Physicke.

Sicke men are vnprofitable to the world.

Cicero in lib. 2. de Senectute.

Authority for the honour of Physicke.

be suspected in the matter, because he was a Physitian: for, he was neuer mercenary, nor at the seruice of any man; but free and most liberrall of his profession. And he it was, that first diuided Physicke from Philoſophie. Because (in elder daies) Physitians were not distinguished by themselves, but Philoſophers did contemplate vpon diseases, and their remedies among naturall things: for their vse principally (as *Celsus* witnesseth) who had most need about other, in regarde of their bodies weaknesse, being overcome with continuall depressions of Age.

*Hippocrates* then was the first, that deuoted this Art from Philoſophy, and made profession thereof publickly; as (afterward) did *Diocles*, *Praxagoras*, *Chrysippus*, *Hierophilus*, and *Erasistratus*, all his successors. And they (at length) diuided Physicke into three parts, for better accommodation thereof to sicke persons: referring mechanickall people to manuell operation, called Chirurgery, and the preparation of Medicines, which are teatmed *Pharmacie* or Apothecaries skill, according as (in these our dayes) it is exercised among vs. But it is by mercenary people (for the most part) whose testimonie in the Art of physick, can carry here no credit; no, not that of *Galen* himselfe, although he was one of the first subiected seruants thereto.

Wherefore that shall satisfie me, which is recorded by so great a Father, after I haue made recitall of the words of *Ecclesiasticus*, the wisdom of *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach*, writing thus in his 38. Chapter, verse 1. *Honor the Physitian with that honor which is due vnto him, because of the necessity thou hast of him; for the Lord hath created him.* 2. *Healing commeth of the most High, and the Physitian shall bee honoured euen of Kings.* 3. *The knowledge of the Physitian exalteth his head, and in the sight of Princes he shall bee had in admiration.* 4. *The Lord hath created Medicines of the Earth, and he that is wise will not abhorre them.* 5. *Was not the water made sweete with woode, that men should know the vertue thereof?* 6. *So he hath giuen knowledge vnto men, that he might be glorified in his meruailous workes.* 7. *With such doth he heale men, and taketh away their paines.*

8. *The Apothecarie maketh his commixtions, and yet he cannot finish his owne work: for, it is from God, that health commeth euer*

all the earth.

9. *My sonne, faile not in thy sicknesse, but pray vnto God, and he will make thee whole.*

10. *Leave off from sinne, and order thine hands aright, and cleanse thine heart from all wickednesse.*

11. *Offer sweete Incense, and fine Flour for a remembrance; make the Offering faste, for thou art not the first giuer.*

12. *Then giue place to the Physitian; for the Lord hath created him, let him not goe from thee, for thou hast need of him.*

13. *The houre may come, that their enterprizes may haue good successe.*

14. *For they shall also pray vnto the Lord, that hee would prosper that which is giuen for ease, and their Physicke for prolonging life.*

These diuine words do conclude (& verie sufficiently) our purpose, for the dignity, excellency, necessity, vtility, and prerogative of Physitians: condemning all such, as hold them in vile esteeme, and (in them) do despise the great goodnesse of Almighty God, who hath bestowed vpon men such meanes of healing. Let vs now heare what was spoken by the learned *Hippocrates*. The good olde man, in the Booke of the Lawe, complained so long since, that (euen in his time) Physick was but slenderly esteemed, in regarde of abuse; much more then must it needes be now at this day.

The Art of Physicke (saith hee) is the most apparant of all other: but by the ignorance of some that vse it, and such as indge of the Professours, it is too farre ouergone by all other Artes. The faulte (methinks) proceedeth principally from this: That in Cities, there is no punishment appointed to the Art of Physicke, as to other. Except dishonours done it, which are not instructions sufficient for such as fayle therein.

They may well be compared vnto the Actors in a Tragedie, who haue the habite, visage, and outward behaviour, of those personages which they represent and counterfeite. In like manner, there are many Physitians in name and repute; but verie few that are the men in deede. In him that would truly haue the knowledge of Physicke, fixe seuerall qualities or conditions, are necessarily required, which followe thus. 1. The Nature. 2. Discipline. 3. Good Manners. 4. Learning from his Childe-hood.

T t t

5. Loue

The Antiquity, necessity, and vtilitie of Man.

Adam was Physitian to himselfe.

What attribution is made to Physick by prophane histories.

Chirurgeons termed vulnerarie Physitians.

Philosophers, Kings, and Princes, haue bin Physitians.

Sufficient prooofe for the authority of Physicke.

*Hippocrates* in lib. de Leg. cap. 14.

A familiar comparison for the bold abusers of so singular a Science.

Six things required in a true Physick, and (without which) he is no body.

Plin. l. 19. c. 10

Pliny his reprehension of prating Physicians.

No punishment for capital ignorance

Ignorant Physicians are more murderers of men.

The reason why Physicke is contemned by many.

5. Lone to the toyle and labour; 6. And obseruation of apt times and seasons. With, and by these he shall become a good Physician, not only in name, but in deed also. But ignorance is a wicked treasure, & a leuell of vile price, to such as haue it, and liue but as in a dreame or opinion.

Plinie pursuing this matter, and to the same purpose, taxing the vulgare, that know not how to distinguish between the good and badde Physition, listning onely to such as are full of talke, making great vaunts and bragges of themselves, hath these wordes: *They get (saith hee) a little taste of the Arte onely, and their rash iudgement sodainly conceiue, that presently they are skilfull Physicians; albeit (in anie kinde of lying) there is no greater danger, yet it is not easily discovered, for pleasing is the sweetnesse to a man, in perswasion, and commending himselfe.*

Moreover, there is not any Lawe, for the punishing of capital ignorance, where it importeth the liues of men, neither is there anie example of vengeance: for, they undertake matters of difficulty and danger, and make their proofes by killing men, and yet passe unpunished for thus murdering men. Nay, and that which is farre worse, when themselves do iustly deserue the reproch: they excuse it, by the sickes patients intemperance, and impudently doe lay their owne sinne vpon the dead.

I thought it expedient to set downe these words, to the end it may be known, that (euen in these dayes of ours) there are many, that wearing the maske and apparance of Physicians, cause Physicke (through their abuses) to bee greatly despised. Euen as many other things (good of themselves, or newtrall) are made worse then they be in deede, in regard that they are very easily abused. But because I haue formerly promised, to declare in another Chapter, whether life may be prolonged by Physicke, or no, which is an action singular and excellent: I will next set downe in ample manner, what mine opinion is concerning that point.

## CHAP. VI.

Whether it bee possible, or no, to prolong the life of man, or woman, by Physicke.



His Question hath alwayes appeared to bee verie difficult, and hath much afflicted the verie greatest spirits: as lying hid and concealed in the darkest and deepest secretie of Nature; and therefore it hath bene the more painfull, to such as haue curiously sought after it. The reasons of them that haue debated it, are so strong and powerfull on either side; that hardly can any resolution bee yeilded, or what best may be saide in the case. For there are very many Arguments, absolutely concluding; that the life of man cannot be prolonged, by any remedies or meanes of Physicke. On the contrary, Physicians haue and doe maintaine, that it is possible. Therefore, for the better disciding of this doubt, I will first of all defend each of the severall sides, and in the end (like to an honest and indifferent Arbitratour) deliver therein, mine owne opinion and iudgement.

That there is a tearme or limitation, appointed vnto the life of man, and that hee cannot goe beyond it by any meanes whatsoever; wee haue (in the first place) that which the patient man Job said, chap. 14. verses 1. 5. inspired by the Spirit of God. *The dayes of Man are short; the number of his Moneths are with the Lord; He hath ordained the boundes and limits of his life, which he cannot passe.*

Aristotle affirmeth the same, in his second booke of generation and corruption; *The time and life (saith he) of every thing, hath his infinite count and determination: For, in all things there is an order, and all life and time is measured by a period. Also, in his fourth booke of the Generation of Creatures, hee sayeth; It is but reasonable, that there should be periods and seasons, as well for Groweth, as for Generation and Life: which are accounted by dayes, monethes, yeares, or other times that are decreed*

A question of no mean difficulty to be decided.

Arguments on either side very contradictory to each other.

Acertaindate of time prefixed to the life of Man.

Arist. 2. Lib. 4. de Generation. c. 10.

Arist. 4. Lib. 4. de Animal. cap. 10.

Of remedies and good government for maintaining health.

decreed for them here. And Auerroes explicating the same saith, *All things that are, haue (necessarily) life determined vnto them.*

Seeing then, that all the works of Nature do (necessarily) consist on a certainty of order, so that they neither can be otherwise, or auoide it: And seeing also, that Art is heerein much inferiour to Nature: it may easily bee concluded (as Galen disputeth in the Booke called *Marasmus*) that life is no way to bee prolonged by any cunning. Whereunto Auen con- senteth, where hee maketh an expresse search, for the causes of our ineuitable death, saying: *This naturall death is vniuersally to euery man, differing one from another, according to their prime complexion, vntill the time they haue in their power, for conseruing their naturall humidity. For, euery one hath his tearme prefixed, which is diuers in their indiuision, by diuersity of their temper: who haue naturall tearmes, which in other are shortened, and yet all according to the will of God, &c.*

If then the tearmes of life are prefixed and assigned to euery person, by the will of God, and his ordinance (Nature being but a seruant to God, to wir, establishing things (by order in this World) from their beginning;) it is not to bee exceeded or out-stept, by any meanes in Man, but onely by the grace & goodness of Almighty God. As to King Ezechias, to whom the Prophet *Isaiah* had signified his death. Yet vpon his Repentance, life was prolonged to him for fiftene yeares, onely by the mercy of God. Who also promisseth in his sacred Law long life vnto children, *That Honor their Father and Mother*, and are no way ingratefull to them.

Thus wee see, if (contrary to these allegations so certaine) wee can extend and prolong the naturall termes of life, by any ordinances or remedies in our Arte. Because there are some store of reasons, which perswade, that not onely the order of Nature, but also our industry, doth promise long life. First of all, Astrologers do maintaine it, where they discourse on e- lections, figures, and Images. And this hath bene confirmed by experience, in the care and diligence of Physicians to manie persons, who being assited by remedies and good government: haue maintained themselves in health. And being craggy &

sickly, haue held out for long time: whereas otherwise, they had dyed yong, and neuer seene so many yeares.

Plato & Aristotle (great and graue Authors) without all exception, doe testifie (to this purpose) that a learned man, named *Herodiscus*, the most subiect to sickness of any in his time: did yet neuertheless liue an hundred yeares, by great skill, and exquisite manner of Government. Galen also (in diuers places) confesseth his owne naturall infirmity; but he saith with- all, that he had so wel corrected it, as hardly was he (at any time) sicke; at least after hee haue himselfe wholly to exercise Physick. Except, when he was once or twice affected with the Ephemerie (which is of a daies continuance) onely being painfull to him, in traouling to visit his Friends. And, if wee may credite some that haue written, he liued aboute seuen score yeares, which may be counted a goodly time.

We shall not need to cite the authority of *Plutarch*, who speaketh of manie verie weak (yet delicate) bodies, that liued long time by the meanes of this Art: because wee see the same now daily experienced on as many. Nor shall we likewise neede to oppose against them, diuers intemperate and dissolute persons, that daily haue despised all good government; and yet notwithstanding, haue attained to great yeares, yea, to decrepite age. For, it is verie certaine, that if such persons as are wel borne, and of good temper, would liue and be assited by Physicall meanes in their necessities: they should be slower to Age, and haue the benefit (doublelesse) of long life. Which is easie to proue, because wee oftentimes see, that some, who are vnhealthily by nature, or else by accident: do yet liue longer time, then others that are more strong and lustie. Because strong bodies, trusting onlie in their strength, do liue disorderly, without any lawe or government at all. Others, being sober and continent, abstaining from hurtfull things, and observing a certaine manner of liuing, by direction of a skillfull Physician in deede; haue hadde their life time longer, and much more healthfull.

Whereupon grew the old Prouerbe, *A crackt Pitcher (sometime) lasteth longer, then one that is new.*

Heere vpon Galen saide well: *It is verie credible, that such men liue lesse time, then*

Sickly Herodiscus that liued an hundred yeares.

Galen's experience approoued on himselfe.

Intemperate bodies haue liued long, without any helpe of Physicke.

Of personnes wel borne, and of good temper.

is ordained them by Nature: who (being ignorant) do despise the healthfull manner of living. For, the Science of Physicke, providing for the health and life of Man, hath such vertue; as if any one shal rashly contemne the ordinances thereof, he not onely liueth in misery, and all irkesome of diseases, but also cutteth off his length of life, and abridgeth the tearme which Nature had prefixed for him, anticipating his death, and (as we may well say) thereby cutteth his owne throte. As much to say, when (by vsing euill gouernment) he consumeth his radicall humour, sooner then it was ordained for him, or suffocatheth, or quencth his naturall heate: on both which, do consist the continuance of life.

Now, if such be the law and nature of contraries, that they are said to be in one and the same subiect; as, if the one hold, the other also must do the like: it followeth then necessarily, that if the one can shorten life, the other like wile can prolong it. And seeing it is most euident, that if the life of Man may be abridged, by diuers faultes and blemishes of excess: it may also as sufficiently be concluded, that life may be prolonged by good gouernement and discrete order. For, although the discommodities, which depend vpon the principles of our generation, are not (by any mean) to be auoyded or prevented (as the effluxion and continuall dissipation of our whole substance, which is done by naturall heate, being the reason of Ages sooner ensuing, in regard of excessive and ineuitable exsiccation:) yet notwithstanding, it may be tardied by Physicke, and so hindered, that the last day shall not come so soone, nor so hastily.

Hath it not bene (almost) in generall obseruation, that diuers haue liuen gasing, yea, even ready to giue vp the ghost; who (neuertheless) haue bin continued in life for longer time, by taking a small quantity of Malmesie, *Aqua vite*, *Aqua Imperialis*, the Confection of *Acherme*, or some other cordiall thing? The period and last limit of life being then so nere; hath it not bene deferred (by those means) vntill another houre? It is reported of laughing *Democritus*, that being entered by his Household seruants (seeing his health very crazie) that hee would banish

all griefe and sorrow from his house, during the *Thesmophorian* Feasts, which were then nere at hand, by prolonging his life till then: that he did it by the sinell of Honey, though some others say, that it was by the sauour of hot bread. Thus you see what our Physitions haue deliuerd, wherein there is a verie great apparence of truth.

We haue heard the two parties plead and debate, by contrarietie of sentences and reasons on either side: it behooueth now, to qualifie the contention, and to resolve on that which hath the best hold. And to the end, that it may be done with the greater cunning; it is necessarie also, to distinguish the tearmes of life; that some are super-naturall, others naturall, and others accidentarie, which wee call shortened or abridged.

We call those super-naturall, which GOD Almighty ordained and prefixed to some, out of his owne meere will, such as are not to be instituted by anie Act or Councell. As the date of verie long life, which God appointed in the first Age of the Worlde, and before the Flood, for the multiplication of mankind; and especially to *Noah*, for the restauration thereof.

Those which we tearme Naturall, are they that be bestowed vpon every man, according both to the diuersity of temper and building, as they are in the principles and foundations, cyther strong or weak. In regard whereof, some may lue long, others lesse while, according vnto the order of Nature. And they that doe attaine vnto these tearmes (the grace of God assisting) except they fall into disorder, or some inconvenience happeneth to them; which are (already to be called) the limits or termes of the thirde kind, and which we haue named accidentarie, or accidentall, that may happen in, or to any age, by casuall and inopinate causes; as Wounds, Poysons, Burnings, falls, ruines, shipwrackes, plagues, and other populare harmes. Such inconveniences are (most often) ineuitable, and it lieth not in the Science of Physicke, to vie any precaution against them; but onely to heale the harme already happened, if it be possible. So leauing these tearmes of life to the arbitration of fortune (which is nothing else, to speake more piously) then the

After the twentieth Part of the Decade.

Naturall heate and the Radicall humour do prolong life.

An admirable power giuen vs by Nature.

The reason of our loon coming to wrinkled Age.

Auicenne his words concerning the Art of Physicke, affirming that two waies helpfull to mans life.

then the pure will of God, without order of Nature, as elsewhere we haue entrusted: let vs speake only concerning the tearme of naturall life, and explicate the manner thereof more amply.

All the Philosophers and Physitions do agree together, that we ought to measure and bound the continuance or duration of our life, on that which may lengthen naturall heate, and the radicall humor. Now, to the end that these things may last the longer in vs, our good Mother Nature (as *Galen* speaketh) hath placed in vs a meruailous power, which by continuall application of Nourishment, defendeth the ordinary dissipation of our substance and Radicall humour, maintaining our naturall heate, as well by this means, as by respiration, and the pulse of Arteries.

But such a kind of power as we terme Nutritiue, being limited, and not infinit; cannot alwayes defend and conserue the sayde humour in suggesting another. Wherby it commeth so to passe, that the body waxing dry, by little and little; procureth thence, that that power (afterward) is not well exercised in it selfe: but weakeneth daily more and more, so that in the end, the bodies power ceaseth, from being nourished sufficiently. In this manner, those parts becomming saplesse and withered, the body waxeth meager & diminishing; and so passing on further thus, it dryeth; and then this condition is called wrinkled Age. This is the principall naturall necessity of corruption and death, to all bodies begotten: for death ensueth then, when the humor primitiue, sustayning or radicall, sayeth, and naturall heat becommeth quenched; and this is the end of life, which we terme naturall ending.

As concerning the Art of Physicke: It is an Art (saith *Auicenne*) that exempteth not from death, nor can conduce every one so farre as to the latest tearme of humane life. But it assureth and exempteth from two things: the one is from putrefaction, that it can no way seize vpon the body, except it bee by some externall occasion, as the Pestilence, or poyson; the other is in defending the naturall humiditie, to the end, that it may last the longer, and bee the slower in consuming.

These two things are in the power of Physicke, whereby it may prolong life, for

so long time as it is due, according to the temper of euery man, and that by three meanes. The first whereof, is, to preoccupate strange heats; to hinder opilations; and to eiect the excrements, from whence ensueth the generation of putrefying; or when they are engendered, to qualifie and quench them. The second is, the due administration of drinking & eating; in substance, quality, quantity, time, and order. The third is, to abstaine from things, which, in consuming and exhausting the Radicall humour in a very short while doeth resolve, or dissipate together the naturall heate; as excessive traualle or labour; vse of sharpe or piercing things, watchings, cares, and diuers passions of the minde. But aboue all other, immoderate carnall Copulation, and an incommodious houres; with some other such like things, which a man may, and ought to shunne, by following the good and wholesome ordinances and rules of Physicke.

But (say you) no man neede doubt of these things, for euery one will gladly agree, to moue the foresaide Reasons; that such cannot but lue long, as keepe within the compass of temperance, and haue an especiall care of their health. This is not the matter, of attaining vnto the end and tearme ordained by Nature, without abridging or shortning it, although this is a case verie rare. But I demand principally, whether the end and naturall period of life, may be aduanced and prolonged by the Arte of Physicke, or no? The Answer heereunto, is, That life is not onely conserued by Physicke, but likewise prolonged. For, it standeth with good reason, that the thing must needs be the more confirmed and auanced, the principles, foundation, and produced causes whereof, may be continued and extended, yea, & (especially) made the stronger. Nowe, the principles of life (that is, naturall heate, and the primitive humor) if they cannot be re-integrated, yet (at least) they may be repaired, & made more vigorous by this Art. According as the curing of Heusticke or continuall Feauers doth shew vs, and the recovering or amending of euery complexion; whereby the naturall heate is ordered and tempered.

If then, by way of liuing humectually,

Three federal means for the prolonging of life.

Testimonies of some particular things hurtfull vnto health.

Ayeelding to the former allegations, with a further obiectiō.

An Answer to the principall point in question, concerning the power of Physicke.

For such as despise the art of Physicke.

The radicall humour and naturall heate

If disorder do shorten life, good gouernment may prolong it.

The reason of the loaneing of Age vpon vs.

Life kept and retained in great extremity by drinks and Cordials.

\*A Philosopher that laughed at the follet of the worlde.

The way and means for preferring the radical humor and natural heat.

Concerning moistening of the solid and spermaticke parts.

A further enforcing, for better information in the maine Argument.

How Physicke enstrueth to aires temperatures.

or moistly, as by Bathes of pure fresh waters, and other such remedies, the radical humor may be the longer conferred, which otherwise would be ouer soon consumed; and naturall heat kept temperate; so that it may consume her feeding the more sparingly, by defect whereof, death naturally ensueth) wher is the man who wil not confesse, that life may be prolonged by Physicke, which else would haue bin much shorter, and according to Nature? I know well, and I confesse it, that the solid and spermaticke parts, cannot be moistned substantially, & of themselves: neuertheless, you will grant, that they may be moistned through the void spaces and pores, by which the feeding humour insinuateth it selfe, and whereby also the waiting of the radical humor is the more tardied. And it is almost in the same manner, as when we put water with oyle into a Lampe, to the end, that the Oyle may the more strongly resist the flames deuouring.

But yet (say you) although the termes of life may be lengthened, yet it is not strongly enough proved by this argument. Let me then reply, that of the Complexions or tempers of the body, that of the moist and cheefest life, is moisture, or that which is in like manner (or together with it) hot and moist, which vulgarly wee vse to terme Sanguine: the contrary, which we call Melancholy, is of far shorter life. So that, whensoever both of them shall vse one gouernement together, and like maintaining; yet notwithstanding, the first will be of longest lasting, because it hath the terme of it owne life furthest off, from the principles of it owne generation. Now, the Art of Physicke enstrueth, & the vertue thereof is so great, that it can change (by little and little) the naturall temperature of cold and dry, into their contrary: as Galen teacheth how to do it, in his two last bookes of the preferation of health. Doth it not follow then hereby immediately, that the terme of life may likewise be prolonged by the Art of Physicke? Yea, and that some one, vnfortunatly borne, and (euen bound as it were) to shortnesse of life; hath yet chaunged the condition, and become thereby farre more liuely and cheerful. Onely by this meanes (in mine opinion) that euerie one easily vnderstandeth, how to learn of an-

other; which is nothing else, but how to lengthen the limits of all Ages, whereby ensueth, that the course of euery life may be prolonged.

And first of all, that the vigor and flour of youth may long time be preferred by the Art of Physicke; Galen declareth it in this manner: *There are two principall ends in the conseruation of health, which are in our power: namely, to restore the substance dissipated by meats and drinks conuenient, & to resist the excrements proceeding from them.* If no default bee made in any of these: the body (so long) shall inioy health, and will bee very long time conserued in the strength of his owne vigour. In like manner, and by the selfsame reason, Age (altogether vnauidable, of such as ought to dye by naturall death) is to bee prolonged by the helpe of Physicke: so that swoonings, trances, and the pale asthie countenances of extreme olde Age, shall come very slowly.

Hereby finally we may conclude, that as in all ages (for we may in like manner, and much more easily, vnderstande the termes of childhood, infancy, & youth) and euery estate of life: the termes may be prolonged by Physicke, for further time then they are ordained by Nature. And these are the limits, which God (the principall Authour of Physicke) would haue subiected to this Art: which are in our power, so long as God permiteth, and cutteth not our thred of life, vntill it pleaseth him. Euen as in like manner he rector, and beyond all the order of Nature by him appointed: he sustained and prolonged life miraculously, without anie Physicall helpe, yea, euen without eating and drinking.

## CHAP. VII.

*such as hold opinion, that Physicians do delay, and prolong hurts & diseases, and are meerer abusers of the world.*

There is not any other Art, so much subiect to slander and calumnie, as the Art Military, and that of Physicke: which

Euery one is couetous in desire how to lengthen out life in all degrees.

Galien lib. 1. c. 4. d. 8. g. m. s. i. c. 9. g.

The stealing one of Age to be helped by Physicke.

Life in all degrees of Age, may be prolonged by Physicke.

The Art of Warre & the Art of Physicke compared together in hardnesse of fortune.

## Chap. 7. Of Payfitions prolonging diseases.

which agree likewise (very wonderfully) together in many other things, as may more at large be discerned, by diuers discourses following. For, to explicate (familiarily) the deeds of Physicke, I shall often borrowe similitudes from warre-like actions, and namely at this instant (mee-thinks) I may serue my turne with one, which aptly offers it selfe for my purpose, thus. If a General besiedge a Towne, & take it not within some promised time, or else so soon as they hope, who are far off, without knowing how it might be taken; although the Captaine performed his vtmost diligence: he shall be suspected and accused in diuers kindes, as of negligence, slothfulness, intelligence, corruption, treason, ignorance, precipitation, or tardinesse in his enterprizes, badde conduction, pusillanimity, or some other defect in his charge, & yet all these vterly false. But they which judged thus peremptorily, knew not what resistance the besiedged made, what good prouision they had, what strength of men, and all things requisite to defend themselves, beyond the expectation of the besiedged; who might be abused by his fowtes and spies, and diuers, making report of the estate of the place, and of some other exterior semblances, whence might be imagined, what was within the Towne.

So fareth it with the Physition, who besiedged any disease, treacherously entered into the bodye of Man, to enforce him forsake the place. Oftentimes, hee is abused by exterior signes, and very goodly outward resemblances: whereby, thinking that he is at the end of the Cure, he is compelled to beginne againe. For, hee meeteth with more corruption and ill humours, then hee knew how to fore see, the Disease making farre greater resistance, then the Physition thought on: reinforcing, and repaying it selfe dayly more and more, against the best succour and remedies applied. So that the sicknesse will last longer, then himselfe hath it expected, and cannot be cured so soone, as (perhappes) the Physition promised, or others imagined, that had intelligence thereof. Whereupon, hee groweth suspected presently, eyther of ignorance, or of negligence, of couetousnesse, malice, or some other vice, which induceth him to lengthen out the disease,

longer then it ought to be.

As touching ignorance, I suppose it could not bee so, but that the Physition was held to bee skillfull, expert, and an honest man. If hee prouoe not such a one, it was ill done to call him, and to commit the patients life into his hands: so that the Patient may well say, as Iesus Christ replied vnto Pilate, Iohn 19, verse 11. *He that deliuered mee to thee, hath the greater blame.*

As for negligence, I grant that there are Physitions learned, expert, and men of good esteeme, who may passe (somewhat ouer-lightly) their visitation and curing of sicke perennes: but I can neuer thinke, that it should bee to any such end, as to prolong the paine; but rather that it is a negligence of inaduertence, as may happen in diuers of their other affaires. For which, there is very good remedy, by earnest solicitations, inciting them (as they ought) to doe their dutie, and wishing them to be more frequent in attendance; or else, by giuing them a coadiutor or assistant, to make them the more diligent in their care.

The most that is to bee doubted (in mine opinion) is greedie Auarice: For the vulgar sort thinke, that Physitions (commonly) lengthen out Diseases, and draw the into some time of continuance, to deriue the greater profite from them. Wherefore, I would gladly stand somewhat the longer vpon this point, to refute this false opinion, which is the most erroneous of all.

First, I am of the minde, that the Physition should bee an honest man, in regarde, that hee ought to loue his owne Honour and Reputation. I desire also, that hee should profite in his profession; as euerie one should gette Goodes honestly by his Vocation. If hee bee an honest and Worthie man; hee hath bowelles of Christian Compassion, and neuer will suffer any man, (by or with his will) to languish out in sicknesse or disease: but if hee bee no such man, hee ought not to bee employed, as I haue formerly laide. But if hee be badly enclined; he may make his aime and intent, to graspe vp Wealth; getting a name for no other end, but to become rich. Yet let me tell yee, if hee prolong Diseases, which he may and can shorten: he

Coucing signe in the Physition.

Iohn 19, 11.

For Negligence in their attendance on sick & weak patients.

Auarice and couetousnesse to prolonge patient in paine.

The Authors auerence concerning this couetous point, in behalfe of good and honest Physitions.

It is a matter  
of no great  
consequence  
to be famous  
and to haue  
great reſpect  
of Patients.

he is no able man, but goeth quite contrary to his intention. For, if he can cure in leſſer time then other men do; he ſhall be in the greater requeſt: hee ſhall haue ſuch crowdes of patients reſort vnto him, as hee can hardly come neare them himſelfe, and rather they will giue him a french Crowne, then a Teſter to any other. For, what is hee, that would not rather pay double, treble, yea foure-fold more then ordinarie, to be ſo ſoone recovered? If, to ſome other Phyſitian, who commeth ouer-late to the cure, ten Crownes bee giuen: there needeth no complaint, if ſixtie Crownes be diſtributed to him, that ſhall abridge the time of a mans agony, in halfe the third or fourth part of ſuffe-  
rance.

Phyſitions  
are not able  
to cure or re-  
couer at their  
own pleaſure.

But, to ſpeake vprightly, it is not in the Phyſitians power, to doe any ſuch acte at his owne pleaſure. He would gladly with it ſo, that he had ſuch a vertue, as to heale by touching, ſeeing, or the very fiſt receipt giuen, or onely by good gouernement, or any other ſuch light direction. He ſhould haue the leſſer paines, be tenne times the more eſteemed; and gaine infinitely to his owne aduantage. Oh good God! how ſoone might hee be rich, that could be ſo proſperous and ſucceſſefull. It is not then to be imagined, that Phyſitians (prouoked by couetouſneſſe) ſhould delight in prolonging diſeaſes: ſeeing they may gaine ſo much with good-will, reputation, yea, and extraordinarie recompence, if they had power to cure with ſuch expedition. But I pray you tell me one thing, Is there a Phyſitian, that hauing parents, kintred & familiar friends, of who he will take nothing for his paines? Can hee cure them (for his credite ſake) in leſſer time: the diſeaſe being alike, and the ſubiect anſwerable? Hee winneth nothing by the length of ſuch ſickenſſes; it is enough if he looſe not the good opinion conceived of him, and diuers kind offices doe vnto him. Let mee ſay moreouer, when himſelfe, his wife, or children lie ſicke; they depend vpon his owne experience, and neede not to haue any delay in their recouerie: but can he looner cure them, then any other being in the ſame diſtreſſe? Queſtionleſſe, it is a great ſollicite, to thinke, that Phyſitions ſhould be ſo forgetfull of themſelues, as, to prolong diſeaſes willingly, and with their know-

ledge; in regard of iuſt affection to their owne honour and proſperite.

It may fall out with them, as it often doeth to hardie Souldiours, in beſieging ſome appoynted or determined place, who thinke to effect the buſineſſe in three dayes compaſſe, and yet continue there a moneth before it, without diſſembling or ſparing any paines. They were perſwaded, that a wall could not reſiſt tenne ſhotte of the Cannon; and yet it out-ſtoode more then an hundred. They held opinion, that the beſieged were not ſtored with victuals and munition, for aboute eight dayes, and finde them furniſhed for more then two monthes. Whatſoeuer is thought or conceived in this kinde, be they neuer ſo many, they are but coniectures, idiomes of ſome reſemblance, examples and obſeruations, which faile as often as they ſpeed. And yet (for all this) the valiant Capitaine aſſailant, ought not to be accuſed, for ill doing his duty, when hee performed all that Arte and Induſtrie could require.

In all reſpects, this is the Phyſitians caſe, who is moſt excuſable altogether, when hee ſayleth in the quantity and efficacy of his remedies. For this is the principall matter (as *Galen* auoucheth in many places) that makes the Arte of Phyſicke coniectural, *Defining coniecture to be a meanes or condition, between perfect knowledge, and pure ignorance.* Therefore it ought to bee interpreted to the beſt, and taken in good part, what ſucceſſe the remedies ſort vnto, which a learned, expert, diligent and honeſt Phyſition applyeth fitteſt for the purpoſe, and the moſt iuſtly as is poſſible for him; euermore referring the euent and iſſue to Almighty God, who giueth and taketh, augmenteth and diminiſheth the power of thoſe remedies, according as it beſt pleaſeth him, whether the diſeaſe ſhall be ſoone or ſlowely ended; one while indifferently amending, an other while agayne as doubtfully depending.

Mallice or ſpleene now remaineth; which may be ſuſpected in the Phyſitian. If there be the very leaſt occaſion of rancour, hatred and ill will betweene the Phyſician and his patient: there was no good aduice or diſcretion, in calling ſuch a man to the buſineſſe. For (on the contrary) it is very expedient, that the ſicke per-

Another fa-  
miliar aluſi-  
on of Martiall  
diſcipline to  
Phyſicke.

Of purpoſed  
mallice to do  
harme priuily

How mallice  
in the Phyſi-  
on is vnder-  
ſtood by the  
common peo-  
ple, in their  
vulgar inter-  
pretation.

No excuſe  
can ſalue or  
couer ſuch  
treacherous  
dealing in a  
Phyſition

How ſicke-  
neſſe  
vndermineth  
the ſtrength  
of Nature, to  
gaine the ſup-  
per hand  
thereof.

ſon ſhould loue his Phyſitian, and he him agayne in like manner, although they haue no knowledge of each other, eyther by name or action. In this caſe, a ſtrict concordance of amity, ought to be contracted betweene their hearts: For otherwiſe, the patient will neuer kindly receiue his Phyſitions beſt ſuccour, nor the other care for adminiſtring, where hee findeth his paynes not to bee affected. As for deliberate and purpoſed mallice, with an intent to doe hurt ſecretly; if there be any Phyſitian to be taxed with ſuch a ſin: hee ought rather to be rancoked with impoyſoners, and not any way to bee im-  
ployed.

But, I vnderſtand by the vulgar ſort, that they take this word Mallice in another kinde offence, to wit, that Phyſitians (with their intent and knowledge) doe caſt downe their patients bodies ouer-  
lowe, by abſtinence and euacuations, euen endangering the very latell paſſage. And that this is done, but in oſtentation of their Arte, and to winne the worther reputation, when they can come off with any credit: or elſe they ſalue and ſhield it, with ſome prognostiicke opinion, conceyued at the beginning and vndertaking the buſineſſe, that the patient was (euen then) in daunger of death; but this doth proceede from ſuch, as haue formerly fallen into the ſame perill. Thus doe I comprehend the doubtful coniecture of the common people, and (many times) they ſpare not to ſpeake it.

In very truth, it were moſt maliciously, traitorouſly and wickedly doone, if anie Phyſitian ſhould play ſuch pranks with a poore ſicke bodie: yea, as vildely done, as if a man ſhould throw ſuch a one into a riuer, as knew not how to ſwimme, hoping quickly to caſt a cord after him, thereby to get him on ſhoare agayne. For, it may ſo fall out, that the party thus ſowled and ſubmerged in the water, knowes not how to catch the cord, or cannot hold it ſtrongly enough, or hath not power ſufficient to be drawne forth, and ſo is drowned in this diſtreſſe. But ſurely, it is not credible or likely, that any Phyſitians ſhould be ſo bad minded, as to bring ſicke bodies ſo lowe by their applications: which (if they are not) ought to be well inſtituted, and accordingly as beſt appertayneth to the caſe. It is the diſeaſe it ſelfe, which con-

tinually vndermineth the forces of nature, encreaſing till his owne power to a certaine poynt, which is the vigour and ſoueraigne condition of the ſickenſſe. After which, if the diſeaſe be curable, enſueth the declination and diminution of the maladie; and thorow all theſe accidents, the patient proceedeth on to health, as wee ſhall haue fitter occaſion to ſpeake of hereafter.

There are people ſomewhat more modeſt, who ſay not, that Phyſitians do take downe their patients bodies ſo lowe, and bring them into daunger: but that they ſtretch forth the ſickenſſe in length, eyther by their indulgence (that is, by ouer-much pleaſing the ſicke perſons humour) or to binde him in the larger aduantage to them, by recouering him out of a long lingering maladie. As touching indulgence, or tender-heartedneſſe, it is verie true, that many ſicke men affect rather, to be ſlowe in recouering, then ſpeedily, onely by being the gentlier handled: which is an excuſe ſufficient for the Phyſitian, provided, that hee makes proteſtation there-  
of, for ſafetie of his owne honour and reputation.

As for ſuch as prolong ſickenſſe, thereby to deriue the greater benefite: that were a ſmoother-faced kind of treaſon, and (indeede) meere villany. And ſurely, it cannot be credible (if the Phyſitian do vnderſtand himſelfe well) that he ſhould (at any time) offer to delay a diſeaſe. For, he is not able to meaſure, or comprehend the times length; and, by giuing way to ſuch protraction, the interieur euill may grow the worſſe; wherein is greater perill, then delaying ſimply, or the cure waxing long. It is another maner of thing, then vlcers dealt withall by the Chirurgical: for they may well bee maintayned, without any preiudice to the perſon, becauſe the inner parts of the body may be ſafe enough, purging themſelues by the vlcet, and that there be no other harme, then the vlcetated parts.

For prooſe whereof, wee oftentimes appoynt, that Fiſtulaes ſhould be entertained with delay, and make iſſues and fontanelles in many places of the body, which wee muſt haue kept open for verie long time. But inward maladies are of another conſideration, and neuer ought to be dallyed withall: but if they can be cu-  
red.

Of ſuch as  
are more mo-  
deſt in com-  
plaining on  
Phyſitions, for  
lengthning their  
diſeaſes.

Of prolong-  
ing ſickenſſe  
for the larger  
benefite.

Vlcers and  
ſickenſſe of  
the body are  
not equal in  
curing.

Inward ſick-  
neſſe is to be  
ſpeedily cured  
and no way  
delayed.

Of mallice or  
hatred in the  
Phyſition to-  
wards his Pa-  
tient.

red, to procure it with all possible speede, or so soone as may be.

Another point of calumny, is, that Physitions doe abuse the world, that men may well be cured without them; nay, much better and sooner: and they doe nothing else but deale confusedly. Wee haue already sufficiently confuted this follie, by the sacred authority of *Ecclesiasticum*. Notwithstanding, I will borrow one similitude more from that famous (and as much wronged) Militarie profession, our Arte holding therein equal comparison. Some places doe gladly yeeld themselves to the besieger, in regarde hee hath cutte off all their victuals and prouision. Others, at the very first view of the Cannon: Other at the first assault: And contrariwise, some there are that remain impregnable. Now, if we should argument in this manner, we daily see places, that yeelde themselves without enforcing: what neede is there then of besieging, assaulting, fighting, ruining the walles or any other hostile acte? What neede we to make warre on Towne or Cittie; when (many times) wee see them voluntarily submitte themselves? It is then but an abuse, and a foolish idle expence to the country (how feiditious loquer it be) to haue Souldiers, Artillerie, and any other furniture for warre: where such employment is counted a meere inuention, and cheating of the people, who liue free from such molestation, and all goes well with them.

The Country that is free from warre, hath no need of weapons.

Sicknesses inuident to the body with their apt comparisons.

To our purpose then. If all places be feeble, and no resistance is made, by men well munited, and provided with courage, and other things requisite for their defence; those places may easily yeelde themselves. As the like doe light diseases, against which needeth no force of notable remedies; but many times do weare away of themselves: yea, and sometimes the very strongest, as burning feauers, when there is no great munition within the body to entertaine them, but that the naturall forces make worthy resistance, against the infolenzie of the euill. Otherwise, there is neede of succour, to employ batterie, and all kinds of the best remedies: albeit often it cometh so to passe, that all these doe advantage nothing, the disease remayning still incurable.

What benefite is it to sorrow then, or say, that the partie might haue bene bet-

ter helpen without all this, or that the patient is meere abused? Rather account that truly for an abuse, if a man promise cure of a disease, which is held to be incurable; hee not knowing any remedie, that hath power sufficient to overcome it. Euen as he shall be abused, that attempteth to compell a Towne to yeelde, by blowes of his fists, or to beate downe the walles with a harquebuzze shot: where the Cannon is rather too little, and no answerable engin or instrument is to be had. Such are the notable abuses, & true cheateries, which Mounte-banke Emperickes impose vpon the people, promising the curing of all diseases, and more then all many times. We may it be said, that they abuse the world, and not naturall Physitions, being learned, expert, and approued honest men.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*That it is neither sinne, or any acte ill done, to call for the Physition, and to use his remedies, when men are diseased.*

**H**ere is an other kinde of error grounded on the foolish superstition of some Ideots, who thinke it an offence to God; if they call for the Physitian, to cure their harms & sicknesses; saying, *It is to contradict, and oppose our selves against the will of God, who hath visited them with such an affliction, and onely for their good: because, by chastising the bodie, the soule is purged from sinne.* Adding further, as maister *Gwydo Chauliac* declareth in his singular chapter. *God hath sent me, as he pleased, and he will take it from mee, when he pleaseth, the name of God be blessed, Amen.* Relieving their health and recovery (wholly) to the intercession of the Saints and the Saints of *Paradyse*, making Vows, Almes, Prayers, and Pilgrimages, &c.

This opinion most erroneous, is easily refuted, by that which we haue already alleaged, out of the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, where he piously exhorteth the sicke (and with great wisdom) *To reconcile himselfe first to God, whome hee hath offended: and after, to giue way to the Physition, whom God hath created, & giuen him knowledge,*

Where the Physition is refused, no meruaile if the cure grow desperate.

Such are those beggerly widdowes about the countries.

Curious Cox combs that well vnderstand not what they say but rather offend God themselves by their nice curiostie.

The aduice of the Wise man to euery sicke patient.

ledge, to be glorified in his wonderfull works. It is most true, that God sendeth afflictions for our chastisement, and hath made vs subiect vnto them, because wee should acknowledge our owne infirmities. From him also proceeds health and recovery, by those means which he hath ordered in nature: giuing vertue to plants and other creatures, to overcome and expell diseases: ordaining the Science of Physicke, & the Apothecaries skill to that effect, euen as well as Tillage and husbandrie, ordained for the sustentation of men, and support of this fraile and mortall life.

We may wee say then, that these are the means which ought not to be despised; for, a wiseman will no way disdain them. Otherwise it is to tempt God, as if (vainely) wee would haue him to worke myracles, according to our appetite. For, he that saith, *If God will that I shall be healed of this sickness, I shall be healed, without using the Physition: And if I must die, the Physition can not save mee.* This is euen as if hee should say; *If I must yet liue a yeare longer, and that it be so appointed by God: I shall safely liue without eating or drinking, and then such expences may well be spared.* For if I must liue so long, it is impossible that I should die before, although I neither eat nor drinke.

An extraordinary follie and rashnesse, for a man to promise to himself, that God will worke a miracle vpon him: euen to tempt him by such an essay, hauing foode fit for him, and appointed by God for the nourishment of his body. Is not this meere tempting of God, to trie whether hee will worke against the order of nature, or no? He may suffer him to die in this follie by meere extremitie of hunger, and the poore Idiot shall then finde by effect, that he vainely collected this fantastick brutallie in his minde, that God should maintaine him in life, without receiuing sustentation. If God will, he can doe so, but we know the ordination of his owne will, for all men to make vse of his blessings in their foode; whereto we are to keep vs, and not to seeke after other extraordinarie means, which are vnkowne to vs, and not to bee employed, according to our presuming appetites.

So standeth the case of Physicke, appointed by God, for the health of the sicke, and consecration of them in sound condi-

tion. For, whofoeuer will be cured otherwise, and hath gotten an opinion, that if he must haue health, he may haue it without helpe of the Physition, who hath the only means to doe it: he tempteth God, and expects, that hee should performe a miracle, foolishly concerning the naturall course, which God ordained against diseases. Euen as if his house were on fire, and hee will suffer none to quench it with water, saying: *If God will that it shall be saved, the fire will be quenched by other means.*

Physicke ordained by God, for the benefit of the sicke, and healthfull, and that no man should despise it.

#### CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the ingratitude and unkindnes in sicke and diseased persons, towards Physitions.*



ngatitude is most odious both to God & men, and hath iustly bin reputed for so notorious a vice: as he that speaketh of Ingratitude, speaks of all the euills in the world. And this sin is so common amongst men, especially in the case of Physitions; as I am amazed many times, that any generous heart will be a Physition: his profession being euer where subiect to calumny, and coline germane to Ingratitude.

But there are some friends, men of reason, honest and acknowledging, who can yet cleaneely couer this offence: seeming willing in any goodnes towards the profession, and not altogether so vnthankfull as others are. For there are some so compleate in courtesie, as they haue protested publicly, & very often: that (next vnder God) they hold their liues of such & such Physitions. And, hauing acknowledged (according to their faculty) the labor and industry of the Physitions; will also confesse freely, that they are vnable to recompense him with all their goodnes, as therein they speak no more then truth. For, if they owe their liues to the Physitions succour, and life is of greatest valew about all their goods: it is not in their power to discharge that debt, though they gaue him all their substance.

But the chiefeft poynt of recompence, is, their thankful protestations to the Physition, saying; they stand obliged to him, and

An ingratefull man is the onely foule name in the world.

Outward professors of loue to physition, all in ceremony, but little in acte.

Life is more worth then all the wealth in the world.



Wherein the  
cheefest point  
of recompence  
consisteth in  
gratifying  
Physitions.

The common  
words of many  
ingratchfull  
men in their  
wretched  
times.

How the  
words of sa-  
ving life, and  
rescuing  
from death,  
are harsh to  
many nice  
hearts.

Cures per-  
formed by phy-  
sicks in ex-  
tremity of dan-  
ger.

The words of  
Herophilus,  
concerning  
Physitions.

and are indebted to him for their life. This is even as much, as if a man should snatch a sword out of another's hand, that should ready to kill him therewith, or a strangling cord, by which he meant to end his daies. Were it your case, stood you not beholding to that man for your life? And could (all you had) make him your sufficient recompence? Some will say, I have well payed my Physition, yea, over-payd him; I have given him so much every day, I owe him nothing. If he have made me well, I have as well requited him. Alas poore man, that which is given to the Physition, is a small acknowledgement, for so great a good as thou hast received: for thou payest or recompenseth him with the fruit of his own labour: If hee preferred thee from death, (as happily he did, the grace of God assisting) there is no equal recompence in thy power, except thou expose thy life for him, as he made no spare of his for thee. In this manner thou remainest (for ever) indebted, and thus thou confessest truly thy obligation, when (with an intire and vpright heart) thou makest such an acknowledgement to him.

I know there are some, who wil thinke these words to be hard, and harsh; when I say, he saved thy life, and preferred thee from death; notwithstanding, it is discerned evidently, but the case, that a man being wounded, loseth his blood in extreme abundance, and doubtlesse dyeth instantly, except the blood be staied: he that puts his finger into the wound, & thereby ceaseth bleeding; is not he worthily said, that hee saveth life? As much, and farre more doth he, that restraynes it by medcins, and so consolidates the wound, as (otherwise) it could not be healed. As much also doth he, that restrayneth a fluxe in the belly, an extreme vomiting, or some other pernicious and deadly vacuities: Or (conveniently) healeth a Pleurisie: Or him, whom the Squinzie hath stuffed and halfe strangled. As much also (questionlesse) doth he, that catcheth a child out of the fire, where he had beene burnt to death, but for such present succour.

No lesse account ought to be made of Physitions, who make prouision against inward euilles, and succour nature secretly by diuers means, the power whereof appeareth by worthy effects; because they are (as *Herophilus* saith) *The hands of God.*

For he releueth and draweth from deadly dangers, by the means of apt remedies, which the Physition vseth in needefull time. Is it not then a worke more diuine then humane, and can no way be sufficiently recompenced? whereof *Ecclesiasticus* spake very well. *The Science of Physicke, and knowledge in the Physition, shall exalt his head, and make him admirable among Princes: the Physition shall be honoured of Kings.* These are the principall acknowledgements due vnto him, honour and gratitude, as a certaine obligation: and not perswasion, that money can returne him sufficient, or equall recompence.

But there are some, that doe deale farre worse, who, after they haue beene healed, by the means of good and loyall succour: can not endure to bestow, that they are beholding to the Physition, but growe hatefull against him, that saved their liues. Oh extreme ingratitude! but yet not only in these our dayes: For *Hippocrates*, in his Epistle to *Damagetus*, maketh *Democritus* to speake in this manner. *I thinke (saith he) O Hippocrates, that in our Science, many things are subject to obloquie and ingratitude. For sicke persons (if they escape) referre their recoverie to the Gods, or to Fortune, or else to their owne good complexion, robbing the Physition of all honour: Whome (oftentimes) they hate afterwards, being angry and offended, that any should thinke them beholding, or indebted to him.*

Moreover, they will not assest or confesse their obligation: but rather are well pleased, that ignorant in the Arte (whom neuertheless liue by the Profession) should be of the same temper, kicking enuiously against him &c.

This suiteth (best of all other) with these our dayes. For, the most part of sicke people now referre theyr recoverie wholly, to some he-Saint or the-Saint of Paradise, to whom they vowe and devote themselves.

And although (many times) they do not performe their vowes; yet can they follow that which the Italian sayd: *Passato lo malo gabato lo Santo*: The disease being past, the Saint is cheated. Euen (for all the world) as men make great promises to the Physition; so long as the extremitie of anguish lasteth, professing to give him mountaines and maruailes; yea, to pay all in Golde and precious Stones, or else, a good pension all his life time.

*Ecclesiasticus* 3. 34.

Ingratitude is the very highest degree of hate him that preferred their liues.

*Hippocrates* Epist. ad *Damagetus*.

Our times learned physicians estimate of former Ages, but not as a note of thankfulness.

In

Mountaines  
promised, and  
not more  
performed.

All means de-  
voted, so rob  
the Physition  
of his due ho-  
nour.

For per-  
forming of pro-  
mises to phy-  
sitions.

There are too  
many such in  
these ingrate  
full times.

Two are com-  
monly a-  
greeing with  
the physicians  
fortune.

In brieft, mne's goodnesse is pretended to be doone him; but when the patient cometh to health, then hee is of a quite contrary minde: Eyther, that the Physition performed not the cure, but that it might haue beene doone without him. Or else, from the sollempne vowe he made, came the cause of his recoverie, with the good attendance of his Keepers, and diuers comfortable broaths. Or else, from the Apothecarie, to whom hee rather will attribute all the successe, rather then to the Physition; although the other did nothing but by his direction. Else, hee will attribute it vnto the goodnesse of his owne complexion: or to some casual chauce, by some disorder in him committed and doone: some of these must haue the reference of his healing: So that the Physition shall surely haue the smallest part, or rather none at all, of the honour, gratitude, kindnesse and recompence.

And as concerning promises, the man being recovered, then he considereth, what charges the sicknesse hath cost him; how long hee hath depended vpon the cure, and what an hinderance it hath bin vnto him. Thus his debt to the Physition is forgotten, and to him hee imputeth a part of his expences, repuring all superfluous, and keeping his bodie ouer long, hoping hee should haue beene restored much sooner, and with a great deale lesser charges. So that (in his account) the Physition should be indebted to him: and if hee could finde Iudges answerable to his minde, hauing iudiciall authoritie; he would haue him condemned in the greatest part of his expences. Here is good acknowledgement of a benefite received; was there euer the like ingratitude?

Surely, I can compare it with none other, then as if a man should strangle himselfe by despayre; or otherwise, and some one coming to succour him, did cut the cord: when the other (maliciously) afterwards, should make him pay for cutting the halter. Or an other man, ready to be drowned in the water; any man endeavouring to saue him, put his own life in perill (by chance) to save a lapper of his garment; and the drowned man (after) to enforce repayment for his torne garment. So, they which should be payers, doe

become demanders; confessing neyther gree nor grace, for all the good seruice performed vnto them: but rather affect, that an ignorant varlet, or some charrre-chamber woman, procured their healthfull recovery, then the care and industrie of the painefull Physition. And I guesse this to ensue from one of these two reasons; eyther that they are so dull and sottish, as they haue not the capacite of comprehension. Or else, knowing it well enough; they are ashamed and confounded, for not hauing the will to acknowledge and confesse it. Well may I then conclude, as I beganne this Chapter: Ingratitude is most contemptible to God and men.

## CHAP. VI.

¶ That the vulgar sort doe account it nothing, if they be not cured or healed contrary to their owne opinion. That the latest applied remedies haue all the honour: And happy is the Physition that cometh to the declination of the disease.

**O**Vr next ensuing error, is strongly in conjunction with the former, and (oftentimes) is the cause of the sayde Ingratitude. For, if a sicke person be not healed against his owne opinion, or of such as come to visite him; there is nothing at all doone, and therefore they know not how to conceiue of the Physition.

Now, to heale or recover a man against opinion, consisteth of two partes: One is, to heale in least time, and (as it were) aenwareas. As, if the disease last commonly with so much access, or so many dayes; so cure it in much lesser space. For otherwise, say they: Well fir, the malady hath made his full course, and yet the Physition hath done little or no seruice at all; as well might it haue beene done within the same time. Poore iudgements, doe yee not beholde, that in one and the same kinde of infirmities, some are short, and others long? There are tertian Feauers or Agues; and of conti-

Two imagi-  
ned reasons  
of this bale  
ingratitude to  
well deliueurs

Recovery co-  
trary to opini-  
on, is distin-  
guished two  
wayes.

1. Of healing  
in lesser time,  
then the dis-  
ease lasteth.

Vvv nuance

Of tertian  
Feuers, and  
them of con-  
tinuance.

nuance also, which last and hold for a mo-  
neth or two, you imagine, that the Ter-  
tial should not exceed (at the most) a fe-  
uenth accesse, which are fourteene daies,  
and the continuor to consist of feauen, e-  
leauen, or foureteene, as you haue heard  
Physitions speake, which is the tearme of  
exquisite feauers. But you know not, that  
of a thousand, we shall hardly meete with  
two such, because the most part are con-  
fused and mingled, whereby their tearme  
is much more lengthened, as in all disea-  
ses engendered of diuers humours.

You imagine (and it is true) that if the  
tertial in Ague doe end within three weeks,  
or a month, being well beaten by our  
remedies: that (but for such encountering)  
would haue endured two or three mo-  
neths, as hath bin seene in many others.  
Was it not well rebated, and cunningly  
ouer-lept for the patient? Yet nothing at  
all is done (saith he) if much more be not  
performed, then he pretended. For he is  
of the mind, that a Physitian may handle  
sicknesse, as men doe Stirrop-leathers, in  
lengthening or shortening them as they  
list. The acte is not sufficient to abate or  
extenuate a quarter, a third part, or the  
moitie of the paine, and to hinder or ap-  
pease those diuers accidents, which com-  
monly happen in all kindes of diseases, de-  
clustering sound and probable reasons, for  
the best account that can be possible, and  
the charges equall to his owne desire.

Yet this is falling into an other part of  
vulgar opinion, as namely, that all is no-  
thing worth Sir, except yecan heale such  
as are held for dead. For, admit the sick-  
nesse to be deadly, as all diseases are, which  
we call eager (that is to say, cutting, goes  
on swiftly, and is not without terrible ac-  
cidents) if the patient or his visitants hold  
opinion, that this great danger may be re-  
cured, and it prooues to be so: yet still no-  
thing is done. Contrariwise, if the sick  
man chauce to die, then the Physitian is  
in all the fault. For, the assistants were per-  
suaded (though the Physitian found the  
contrarie in his prognosticke rule) that he  
might be recovered. But if they imagine  
that a man will dye, or hold him already  
for dead, then the Physitian beholdeth  
great wisdom. For, though he doe no-  
thing else, but appoynt Beards for him,  
with home drogues or confectiōs, e-  
specially restorative and cordiall things

(albeit they are not to any purpose,) yet  
hath he performed a chiefe piece of work.  
Heere is a rare cure; hee hath recovered  
such a man, giuen ouer for dead: he hath  
rayed him agayne: Oh, he is a great and  
worthy man, & pity it is he should want.

The same Doctour, at the very same  
time, hath another patient, whose sick-  
nes is not reputed deadly, because the e-  
uill lies more closely concealed. He takes  
very great payns to restore his health, and  
to compasse his intent, employeth all his  
skill and industry for the patients safety:  
whom he knoweth to be in greater dan-  
ger, then all the friends (standing by) doe  
or can imagine. At the last, he dyeth, quite  
contrary to their common opinion. Look  
then vpon Maister Physitian, his reputa-  
tion is sodainly lost, and then they tell  
him: That hee meddled with too many  
matters at once: The other man was  
much better gouerned. Thus, neuer is a-  
ny thing doone of value, if it be not per-  
formed, against the hope and expectation  
of the vulgare.

An other error propounded in this  
Chapter, is, the attribution of the successe  
in the cure, to the latest administrated re-  
medies: euen as they refferre the occasion  
of sicknes, to the last hurtfull acte that the  
party committed. As if a man had fed on  
some fruit, salad, or other thing lesse ordi-  
nary, & (soon after) the party falls sicke, of  
some disease more then of a months con-  
tinuance) yet that must be the only cause:  
neuer remembering other precedent disor-  
ders, which procured the greater part in  
preparation. For, euill humours will haue  
a meeting together by little and little, till  
they come to a certayne quantity, against  
which nature hath power to resist no longer.  
Euen as wee see a Glasse (set in the  
raine) to fill it selfe by many drops of wa-  
ter, so long as till they come to the brim:  
but being full, the least drop then follow-  
ing, makes an ouer-flow. Euen so, the least  
addition, to that which nature hath already  
supported, makes hir to sinke vnder the  
ouer-plus: as a yong Mule, yfed to a com-  
mon charge: how little fouer is added to  
her vusual burden, she is (by no meanes)  
able to beare.

It was not then the last morsell, meate,  
or disorder, that did the harme, the prece-  
dent riot had performed their parts be-  
fore. Euen as in the felling of a tree, 100.

The recovery  
of one pa-  
tient, is not  
a warrant for  
all other in  
the like case.

3. The third  
proposition

Sicknesse im-  
puted to later  
occasions, whe  
the patient  
hath bin of  
longe, conti-  
nuance.

Nature is so  
sufficient to  
resist, that  
the least ad-  
dition weere  
death but dis-  
eases.

cuts

Sicknesse  
may seeme  
sudden, but  
they haue  
other prece-  
dent occasi-  
ons.

It is not the  
last applica-  
tion in physick,  
that is the  
Matter piece.

The Arguēt  
full holding  
betweene phy-  
sicke and Mil-  
itary Disci-  
pline.

Perswasion  
may do some  
what in phy-  
sicke, but not  
absolutely  
performe the  
Cure.

cuts (giuen with an Axe) appeare to be in  
vaine, and still it stands; for tis the hundred  
and eleauenth stroke that ouerthrows it.  
Now, if a man shal say, the last odde blow  
did the deede; should hee not do great wrōg  
to all the rest? As also, when a strong To-  
wer hath endured 1000. discharges of the  
canon, and at the last shot of all, it falleth:  
Did the last do any more then the first? It  
is all one in judging of remedies, which a-  
bate the harme, and expell sicknesse out  
of the body. The last application (whatso-  
euer it was) may haue the honor by vulgare  
censure, speaking according to their capa-  
city: but what was the labour and paines  
performed before, of purging, glysters,  
drugges of diuers kinds, administrated both  
within and without, did all these nothing?  
In the end, some one thing is added, and  
then the man is made well. Poore idle o-  
pinion, if this last admired acte had bene  
done at the first, it had serued to no vse at  
all: but, after the hot seruice of so many o-  
ther remedies, which controuled and dis-  
heartned the euill, shaking, and renting it  
from the root; the least thing in the world  
could then quite displace it.

Like to poore besieged people, no longer  
able to hold out, let but a man be slain  
among them, and they yeelde themselves  
immediately. Shall it therefore be sayd,  
that all the battery, all the assaults, cutting  
them off from vittailes, and other good  
means for conquering; these serued to no  
purpose at all? But only he did the deed,  
that discharged the last Musket; and yet  
(notwithstanding) he killed but one man:  
If he had slaine a chiefe Commander, it  
had bin a matter of much more moment:  
Euen so, a brieffe or ticket, hung about the  
neck; or drugges tied about the wrist of  
a man; shall haue the honour of healing  
Agues, affirming, that they could not be  
cured by any other applyed good orders,  
directions, remedies, and great medicines.  
This is all one, as if the disease hung but  
by a twine thread, which may easily be  
broken by perswasion and opinion, and  
thereupon the sick man restored: but if  
this had bene applyed in the beginning,  
the patient could not haue bene cured,  
by an hundred times as many perswasions,  
or the very strongest imaginations.  
Perswasion & imagination may do some-  
what in healing, but not all, nor alone of  
themselves. Thus you see, how true and

certain remedies, are robbed of their due  
honour, by judging ill of the successe, be-  
cause men would be cured suddenly, before  
any thing at all is done to effect it; othe-  
rwise, all indeuor else is but in vaine, & ser-  
ueth to no purpose. He only is the author  
of the happines, after whom (immediatly)  
a man findes himselfe to be recovered.

And because it is commonly said (which  
is the fourth poynt of this Chapter) *Happi-  
ness is the Physitian, that comes to the declination  
of the disease*; we must imagine, that what  
fouler was done before, health stood at  
the doore, tarrying but for his entrance, &  
healths introduction is attributed to him.  
And although that Physitian shall do no-  
thing at all, nor appoint or giue direction;  
yet (say the people) he is the cause of the  
happines: and if he had bin sent for at the  
beginning, the sick man had sooner bin  
set on foot. But if the Physitian be wife &  
honest, he will not be bonneted with this  
honor, consenting to thieftish larceny and  
detractiō; against them that well entrea-  
ted the patient, & (vnder God) were truly  
the Authors of his restoring: Rather he  
will reforme those poore opinionists, by  
shewing them, that the accidents former-  
ly past, were of the nature of the sicknes,  
which hath had such a course; and that (by  
good directions already administrated) all  
succeeded well, and to the advantage of  
the patient.

If he doe otherwise, and attribute that  
honor to himselfe, or accept it from their  
vulgar ignorance, he commits a shamefull  
wrong, and the like Jewell may afterwards  
hang at his owne care. For, of what suf-  
ficiency or reputation souer he be, it may  
so come to passe, that another Physitian  
shall be called, vpon the ending of some  
cure by him taken in hand at the first, and  
he may requite him in the same kinde. E-  
uery man therefore ought to be well ad-  
vised, and honestly content himselfe, with  
such honor as is due vnto him; not rob-  
bing his colleague or fellow-labourer in  
painfull endeauiours, yeelding good and  
faithfull testimony, of each others laudable  
performed actions. Accounting himselfe  
happy (neuertheless) that he came to the  
declination of the disease; where, taking  
no more paines, yet he shared a part in the  
grateful acceptance, due vnto them that  
were employed from the first beginning.

4. The Phys-  
itian is effe-  
cted a happy  
man, that  
comes to the  
ending of an  
infirmity.

No honest m<sup>d</sup>  
will be the  
bale pretence  
of another  
man, truly  
deserued re-  
putation.

Whosoever  
doth another  
man wrong,  
may meete  
with the like  
himselfe.

A duty need-  
fully requi-  
red among  
learned and  
honest phy-  
sicians.

## CHAP. XI.

*Against such as censure and iudge of Physitions sufficiency, by their success: which oftentimes is more due to a happy chance, then skill or knowledge.*

Badly can a blinde man iudge of colours, no more can a foole of Physicke.



**I**T is a great matter, that the Science of Physicke should be so obscure & profound, as nothing more: and yet notwithstanding, there is not any so foolish but will take on him to censure the knowledge of a Physition. To iudge soundly & iustly, concerning the sufficiency of anie man: it behoueth him (at the least) to be of the same profession, and to know something therein too. It must needs then be great rashnesse, for men that vnderstand nothing in Physicke, to enterprize to iudge, who are the best and most skillfull Physitions. Their eye and censure waites on the successe of their practise; & if from one heale (by chance, or fadainely, as we said before:) he is censured for a singular Physition, although he did not any thing deseruing speech. On the contrarye, the Physition little knowes, whether the patient shall die, or linger long in the agonie; which the vulgar esteeme lightest of all. Modesty will neuer say, such a mā is more or lesse skillfull, if he be reputed learned among men of knowledge: but will rather say he is not happy among sicke men, and consequently, no great Physition; euer more censuring by the successe.

Good and ill hap awaiteth vpon the actions of al men, and consequently vpon Physitions.

It is vndoubtedly true, that in al things there is a happinesse and unhappinesse, & (as the Italian saith) *La buona e la male sorte, Good fortune and bad.* And the best happinesse for the Physition is, not to be called or employed, for such as are certain to die. For, there is no reputation to bee had, no, not in respect of friendship; neuertheless, he shal be sure not to escape blame, although he hath done his very vttermost endeavour, and ought to bee no lesse esteemed, then if the patient had escaped. Euen as we may say of a Captain, that shall defend a Town to the very latest Effort and labour, hauing eaten vp all the horses, Asses, Dogs, Cats, Rats, which the besieged place could afford, hides, parch-

ments, and other vile foodde (as is sayde of them of *Sanferre*, in the yeare 1573. who fed vpon the very tiles and flates, making bread of them, as I know not how.) Hauing lost the most part of his men, the wall all battered, and no meanes whereby to resist any longer; constrainedly (in the end) renders vp the Towne. Shall hee deserue lesse commendation (nay rather not farre more) then he that sau'd his own towne, being well munitioned and provided of all things needfull, which he preferred without any paine, & very easily might do so?

If this case should bee controuerted, it were easie to be disicided; provided, that the censurer be a man of iudgement, and not transported with affection; as the most part of men are, in being wilfully blinded. Whereuppon ensueth, that they will not bee perfwaded, but that there must bee a fault in the Physition, if the patient (of whom he is most carefull and diligent) amend not as they desire and hope. Nor doth this case differ from the Captaines, that was the Gouernor of the lost Town, against whom remaineth continuall rancour and discontentment; because he did not sufficiently foresee the sieges affaires; but thus is all his paines baffulde in particularities of opinions, euen to the valere of a straw. Whereas contrarywise, he shal bee accounted for a valiant man (although hee bee the basest villaine in the world) if hee haue but good successe in his enterprizes.

Assuredly, it is no meane matter, for a man to bee happie in his attempts; but this happinesse dependeth not vpon his knowledge or sufficiency, because it is an especiall gift of God; without which, he may be called to succour such as shal escape, continuing and effectuating the vertues giuen to remedies; as also, in not being called to such as shal dye, to whome the greatest paines and skill profiteth nothing. It is then verie ill done, to censure the sufficiency of a Physition by successe, which is more due to happinesse, and to the grace of God, then to all the knowledge that can be in man.

And yet wee may not from hence inferre, or conclude, that it is all one, whatsoever Physition is called, to say; If God will that the sicke man shall recouer, hee will bestow his blessing on the remedies, if they bee ministred by the most ignorant

No thanks for a Generall to saue a Town, when he is able to withstand all resistance.

Men are our much addicted and led by their own leuersion, & wilfully blinded.

It is a great matter for a man to bee happy & successful in his affaires.

man

man in the world, and they shall prooue happy. It is very true, but yet it is to tempt God, as we haue formerly alleadged. As if we would haue him, that of stones, he should make bread; and, of a remedie to no purpose, make it profitable. It is a common saying: *Helpe thou, and God will assist thee.* Let all the best meanes bee sought that may be vsed, and referre the issue to God, in whose hands are all things.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Against such men, to whom all things are suspected, and Physitions slandered, in the most part of those accidents, which happen in diseases.*



A heauy burden to the very best Physition.

Accusations vpon the patients weakness, and imputed to the Physitions error.

For such as despise all good meanes ordained for their health.

Imputation laid vpon diseases, by ignorance of such as are sincere censurers.

**O**Ne of the very great paines, which a Physition (beeing the most generous, and of the best spirit) hath, is, to support the reproaches, and false accusations of the sicke person, or of his assistant friends, who are so vnreasonable; that all the accidents which do happen in sickenesse, they attribute them to the remedies; and those of good successe, they doubt whether they are due to the Physition, or no.

For, first of all, when they see the person very weak, they accuse the abstinence and paucitie of food, appointed to him by the Physition: or else letting him blood, or the purgation, and that they are the causes of the weakness; imputing no vertue to the remedies, which (in diminishing the euill and bad humours) sustained the sicke body in farre greater strength; for, but by the vse of them, his estate would be a great deale weaker. That this must needs be so, do we not see some, who, condemning abstinence, bloodletting and purgatiues, become in farre more feeble condition? If they that make no vse of such remedies, maintaine themselves in greater strength then other; one then might better say, that the remedies are the occasion of weakness: but on the contrary, we behold those despirers to be more feeble, and (in the end) to die sooner then the other.

So is it of the other accidents, imputed vniuually to the remedies; as vomiting, flux of the belly, distaste of meates, alteration, paine, want of sleepe or watching, raving

and such like, happening by reason of the disease properly, & from the nature thereof: but not from applied remedies as ignorant people suppose. For, if after the patient hath taken something, by ordination of the Physition, or onely some matter is applied vnto him, and then (quickly after) he hath a casting, or fluxe in the belly: this was the cause, by reason he did it not before. After such a medicine received, this Syrope, that Restorative, this Cordiall potion is so distastefull, as nothing can be more, alteration hath made the impresseure far greater then before.

It is true, that these occurrences happen after, but not thereby caused. And is it not as ill argued, if a man should say: Since it snowed, my cloake grew more warme then it was before; therefore the snow was the cause thereof. Or otherwise? Since I sed on that Capon, I haue had the head-ach, the Collicke, or fluxe in the belly; therefore the Capon caused all these accidents. Sillic capacities, whatsoever cometh after, proceeds not from all that which hath preceded. The fluxe in the belly, the casting, distasting, alteration, lacke of sleepe, raving, and the like other causes (to you vnknowne) which produce such effects in their due time was, as the learned Physition knew how to direct the medicine, by breaking the course of the disease, foreseeing the dangerous accidents, and diminishing them. All which notwithstanding, in despite of what hee hath doone; the sickenesse will make his part good against him, and increase it selfe to a certain point commonly called, the estate of the disease: but that may grow on more gently, then is to be permitted.

And if alteration, distaste, and other accidents doe encrease, after the vse of some medicaments well appointed: beleaue assuredly, that they are from the diseases further progression, notwithstanding all the re-trenchings and resistances formerly made. Credite also, that the sickenesse would haue bene more furious, and the aforementioned accidents lesse supportable, if no meanes had bene made against them: as wee see by good experience, in such as mis-prise those remedies. For if it be true, that many do die through want of helpe (which is a Maxime receyued generally) it must needs fall out then that

Of idle Arguments, pretending causes without any true fence or reason.

When the sicknesse is violent, it checketh much skill in the physition.

Willfull refusal of helpe killeth many, and diuers dy for lacke of helpe.

that they haue had more accidẽts, & more tediousnes, then such as escape in the like perils. There is no need then of fufpẽcting, or calumniating the remedies, which haue bin followed by some accidents, olde or new, and then to fay; This frontall (after the vse of it) he hath left lesse, or raied more; for the frontall was no cause thereof, but the sickenes it selfe, that could not by the best meanes then be tamed.

Next, after the Cordiall potion, he had the hiccokẽ, the diffenterie, or the cramp. It is very true: but this taile belongs not to this Caffe, as we say in the common Proverb, this is another maner of straine. I deny not, but remedies may be shrewd occasions sometimes, for they may be ill ordered, and but badly to the purpose. But I euer presume, that the Physition should be learned, diligent and affectionate: of all which he should continually relish, for the better interpretation of his ordinaces, and receiuing them in the more respect, attributing rather to the disease, or the expresse will of God, those accidents which happen (be they new or olde) then to the remedies. For there are diuers sodaine encounters, and which cannot any way be foreseen, to make a garde or preuention of them: as sometimes of a very light medicine, we shall proceed so far as blood, because the patient was then vpon the poynt, of hauing the fluxe in his belly.

The Physition, who can not diuine, especially on a neutrall body, neither sicke nor sound, that keeps not in bed, because he would be no sicker then he listeth: if nature make some euacuation of it selfe; hee (knowing it needfull) makes his medicine light enough. It hapneth hereupon, that after the operation, nature passeth on further, and makes a flux in the belly, which continueth inordinately: because the expulserix vertue, being pricked by the eagre and mordant excrements, cannot of her selfe restrain them. And the matter being corrosiue, cuts out the way as it passes along, that blood ensueth of it. The medicine muir endure the accusation of all this, which (notwithstanding) gaue but two or three small sieges: all the rest was but a surrounding, & as a meere torrent of humours, gathered together of longer time. As sometime it comes to passe, that a man pulling but one stone out of a wall; a fadome or two follows after, because it was

so old and ruinous. Against a strong wall, there needs a Cannon or double cannon; but for a weake and feeble wall, a field-piece there will make a great breach.

And also, to iudge well of the effects of medicines; their true condition & estate must first be knowne, which none can so well do as the Physition, and not to iudge only by the effects. For, if during the operation, or soone after, we see that happen, which is not of that nature, caried or forced from the medicine; it is not to be attributed thereunto. No more then as if a child, should giue a blow with his fist to a drunken reeling man, and hee should sodainely fall to the ground. It was not the stroke of the hand, that had such strength; but the wine or strong drinke which had overcome him, whereby the fall happened to him.

Neuertheless, some one may reply by the selfesame comparison, that in like manner, to a sicke man (very weake) a light medicine being giuen, it hath the power to ouerthrow him to the ground. Then may we well couple therewith this other comparison; If a man should giue a fillop on the arme, to a woman being great with child, immediately after she should miscarry. Hapned this by the fillop? The arme is far enough from the belly, & the fillop too light to enforce it: It is to be vnderstood then, that from some other inward occasion, this so sodaine mis-hap receiued such vigour. Euen so, many other things doe meet together of themselves, not any way depending one vpon another; but casuall & accidentally, & the causes (commonly) neuer preceded, or by any means discerned.

### CHAP. IX.

¶ That there are more store and plentie of Physitions, then of any other sort of people.

¶ Finde recorded, that *Alphonso de Este*, Duke of *Ferrara*, being on a time in familiar conference, demanded; of what trade or profession there was most people. One answered, of Cordwainers or Shoemakers; another saide, of Tailers; another, of Carpenters; another, of Mariners; and another, of Lawyers. *Gonello*, a famous

The quality & condition of remedies must be knowne rather then their effects.

Comparison that hold no true correspondence with the rules of physick.

## Chap. 12. Of fuspitious Detraçtours.

Buffone or Iester, replied, that there were more store of Physitions, then of any other kinde of people: and waged agaynst the Duke his master (who was far off from any such conceite) that he would approue his wordes, within the compasse of foure and twenty houres.

On the morrow morning, *Gonello* went from his lodging, with a great Night-cap on his head, and a Kerchiefe binding vp his chin, and then a huge hatte covering them all, beside a warme cloake about his body. In this furnishment, hee tooke the way towards the Pallace of his Excellencie, along the streete called *La rue des Angers*. The first man he met withall, demanded of him, what he ayled? Where to hee answered, that he had an outrageous pain in his teeth. O my good friend (sayde the other) I know the best receit in the world for it, telling him the matter & the means. *Gonello* wrote downe his name in his Tables, making shew, as if he had set downe the receipt. Not two paces further had he gone, but hee found two or three talking together: who demanding of him the same question; each man declared to him a seuerall remedy; he writing downe their names, as hee did the first.

As he held on his way along the same street, going a soft and gentle pace, euerie man he met withall, still gaue him counsel for seuerall receipts, and no one agreeing with another; yet still each friend assured him, that (what he spake off) had bin approued certaine and infallible; and still he wrote downe euery mans name. Being come to the low Bulwarke of the Pallaces; hee was round engirt with many people there attending; because he was most familiarly knowne to them all; and euerie man pitying to see him thus distressed, (vnderstanding the reason of his pain) aduised him to many receiptes, which each man auouched to be the verie best in the World: he writing downe their Names, gaue them infinite thanks at his departing.

Being entred into the Dukes chamber, his Excellencie no sooner sawe him, but running to him, saide: How now *Gonello*, what aylest thou? In pittifull manner hee replied (euen as if he had bene scarce able to speake:) Ah my Lord, I haue the tooth-ache, in the most cruell manner that euer man had. Whereupon, his Excellencie

saide vnto him; Alas poore *Gonello*, I know a thing that will helpe thy paine presently, yea, if thy teeth were spoiled and rotten: *Messer Antonio Musfa Brassano*, my Physition, neuer found a better in all his practise; take it, and it will immediately helpe thee. Sodainely, *Gonello* threw off all his sickely outside, saying out aloud: How now my Lord, what are you become a Physition too? See heere my roll of Physitions, how many I haue met withall, betweene mine owne Lodging, and your Court: they are in number almost two hundred, and yet I haue past through but one streete only. I will gage as much more to my wager, to finde about ten thousand in this Cittie, if I should but go thorow it, as I haue done this one streete: finde you out as many more my Lord, of some other profession.

A history well met withall to our purpose, and verie true; for, euery man will be a Physition for one thing or other, and there are very few people, but they pretend to knowe enough, may more then some Physitions do. I fet aside some Chirurgeons, Barbers, Apothecaries, Nursses, or attendants vpon sicke persons, wise women, Mountebanks, and other Empiricks, euen to very Merchants, who, to make some profession of a part of Physick become meere Polypragmons; pretending to vnderstand more then Maister *Mauche*, making great outward shewes, and meddling with many diseases, accompanied with shamelesse assurances, and no meane promises. I would leaue them, but that they are such a goodly number, and daily they encrease by multitudes, out of the basest mechanical trades; as it is most lamentable to behold, and many liues perishe by their meanes.

There are diuers of them, that will controule the directions of a Physition, presuming to handle the patients pulse, and obserue his Urine. Deliuering their own aduices, quite contrary to that which the Physition appointed. If there be any, who are better aduised heerein; I thinke the number of them to be so small, as a man had much rather write of those presumptuous companions, making vp a role of so manie vnderakers, as (indeede) they would appeare to be infinite. Some of the are so bold and impudent, as before the learned Physition (yea, euen in his presence)

The policy of *Gonello*, to make good what hee promised to the Duke.

Many are medlers in giuing counsell but fewe or none can giue right direction.

The fool cunningly beguileth the Duke his master, for the winning of his wager.

Euery man peritwadeth himselfe, to haue much more knowledge then diuers Physitions haue.

The name of a cunning lugler, a Mountebanke in France.

Among verie base mechanical Trades, there are plenty of these Physicke professors, leauing their owne, because they cannot liue by them.

Faults are easily found, but few good reasons can be shewne for them.

Of diuers encounters, no way to be foreseen or preuented.

Nature will haue her free passage in the body of man, beside all application of physicke.

A pretty question mooued by the Noble Duke of Ferrara.

fence) they will deliver opinion, whether the patient should be let blood, or no; and when he bleedeth, that so much may be taken, and no more: That it is not good to purge, the season is not proper, but fitter for nourishing; when to minister restoratives, diets, coullises, prestis, *Orges mondes*, &c. which must be given by their order, or else the patients friends will neuer be quiet.

In brieft, the great controller, even the prime and cheefest Iudge of all, is, the ignorant vulgar, most vniust and vniindifferent, who (as *Terence* saide) *Think nothing to be well done, but what they do themselves*. And if their aduice be not followed, it is attributed to the Patients death, or to the prolonging of his sickness, if that some other course is not taken. Let the but imagine, and the Patient be perswaded (by them) that it must be so; all other proceeding is absolutely erroneous, and things else is blamed, be they applied to the true purpose indeede. Is not this a miserable case? In other Arts, which are lesse obscure and difficult, and all things (well-neere) apparant to euery eye; the Artizan is permitted to follow his owne mind. In Physicke, the most secret and hidden of all, and wherein the people cannot discern a jot; euery man will domineer, like Rats in straw. Nor shall wee euer see better successe by the order of Nature, for the most part of diseases, in persons of degrec, that haue great visitation of followers: but alwayes they haue health soonest of whom the least account is made.

## CHAP. XIII.

*That it is not for the sicke Patients profite, to haue many Physitions, as in ordinarie: but one Physition sufficeth, being assidue and skilfull.*



His proposition may be vnderstood, by what we haue lately saide, touching vulgar estimation of Physitions: but I would not be mistaken, because my meaning here properly is; of such as are truly Physitions, in

skill, knowledge, and profession. It is very reasonable and necessary, that the aduice of many should be had, in difficulties, and matters doubtfull concerning a sickness. For (as the common saying is) *Four eyes may see more then two*; that is, supposing them all to see clearly; for, one may aduise one thing, and a contrary party another; whereby, their meeting and agreement, is to the profit of the patient. But to haue many Physitions, in ordinary (as it were) and all to haue equall care of the sicke person; can no way bee for his good and profit. For, in euery purpose, they may contradict one another in some thing, or else about a matter indifferent, one in enuy of another, and more for ostentation then necessity.

*Pliny* did very well obserue and note this writing thus. *It needs not to be doubted, that Physitions (counting reputation by some novelty) make a sodaine Traffick of our souls. Hence enueth those miserable contentions, about sicke bodies; none of them being of one and the same opinion, because no repetition must be made. Thence came that supercription on the vnhappy Tombe: I was spoiled by hauing too many Physitions. Meaning thereby the Emperor Adrian, who (in dying) cried out: That the multitude of Physitions had kild him.*

The reason of this mischeefe is diuers waies vnderstood. As first, the enuy or ielousie, which (commonly) one man beareth to another; especially such, as are the worst created, ambitious, and courteous, beyond the ordinary course of other Artificers. For, it is usually seene: *That one Potter is enuious at another*, according to the ancient Adage. But much more (without comparison) the Physition, because he desireth, that the whole honour should be referred to him, of well predicting, well ordering, and well finishing the disease. Wherefore, hee cannot willingly endure, that any other should share a part with them. I speak of the courteous ambitious man: who is likewise (commonly) quarrellous, a detractor, and insupportable.

You haue some men very modest, but yet ielous of the honor, which they conceiue is due to them; chiefly, in such occasions, which they thinke may be done by themselves, as being cases light, common, and ordinarie. They can bee well

Aduice of one Physition to another, cannot be hurtfull to the patient.

Physiagat.

The words of the Emperor Adrian on his death bed.

One Beggar is too, another by the doore doth go.

Of courteous, ambitious, & quarrellous Physitions.

con-

## Chap. 14. Of employing many Physitions.

contented, not to be contradicted; & yet notwithstanding, they will giue consent, and yeelde to the desire or pleasure of the Patient, or those friends that are about him. But this is not for the sicke parties profit, as I haue vnderaken to proue. For, although there be three or foure Physitions, one assisting to another for cure of the man, being all modest, peacefull, and skilfull: yet notwithstanding, wee knowe not how to preuent and auoide, the most part of such inconueniences as I will sette downe, and are (oftentimes) ordinary. For I leaue to them, who haue obserued it by others, to iudge, how much this manner of proceeding is incommodious, and hurtfull to poore patients.

First, if there be but one or two Physitions ordinarily employed: they will (no doubt) be most carefull, most diligent, most affectionate, to come off with their credit and honour. And yet one man alone, who shall haue the charge layde on his shoulders, may be there much more attentive, because the trust is wholly reposed in him, and all the worth must redound to him. If that man haue a good heart, he will studie and labor, to do much better, then if he were comforted with another; considering euerymore (as he ought to do) that in all difficulties he may quickly haue counsell.

Another difcommodity is; that manie Physitions can hardly meete together, to visit the sicke patient, and all at one hour. For each of them haue other cures of visitation, beside some hapning in the meane while, and other affaires of importance: whereby, men are oftentimes compelled, to faile of the appointed time, that all cannot be present with the sicke person. In this case, the Physition most vsed, or such as meete there, are greatly hindered in giuing their aduice, or for ordering against some occasion which may happen; fearing least the absent parties or parties, shall not allow their iudgement; whereupon, it may breed an error in the patient, or his assisting friends, who will after knowe his opinion, and demand it alone by himselfe. Sometime, this may chance but about a Cherry, or a difference of as small moment, deseruing (of it selfe) not to be spoken of; but yet all must agree together, and giue consent in the case. This keeps the attending Physitions in no meane af-

fliction, and many times the patient in much more.

In like manner (comming now vnto a third point) they may endure many small things, which the ordinary and present Physition would order otherwise, following such occasions as present themselves at euery moment. I do call them small of themselves, yet often might bee brought to the patients great benefit; but hee dare not apply them, dreading discontentment in them which are absent. Hereby the patient may passe thorow diuers afflictions (from which hee might haue bene freed) as, during too much drought, or being kept ouer-hot, or too much pressed with foode and Medicines, or prohibited of some pleasure and recreation, no way preiudiciall to his healing, and such like. I hold my selfe satisfied, in setting downe these three inconueniences, which are ordinary in the plurality of Physitions, to shew and approue, that it is much better (without comparison) to haue but one Physition; provided, that he be assidue and carefull.

It is the greatest happinesse for the sick man (that can be) to haue but one Physition, that goeth not away from him; For, by visiting him once or twice in a day, the patient cannot bee well cured: this may be called healing in grosse, and not exactly. For the present Physition, obserueth many particularities, which causeth him to change opinion euery houre; as well of his nourishment, as in other Remedies. Wherefore *Celsus* saide very well, where he sheweth, what diligence a Physition ought to vse, in well directing the patients foode, for due houre, and measure of them, because it is one of the cheefest points in the whole cure. For (as he writeth) *Food fitted to purpose, is a most singular Medicine and remedy: it ought alwayes to be obserued, and generally, that the attending Physition do continually respect the Patients strength: When it shall be good & able, to vse abstinence; and when hee begins to doubt his weaknesse, then to make supply of food. For it is his duty, that he surcharge not the sick body with superfluous matter; neither to keere it to fastenesse, by famine, or starving, &c. Hereby may easily bee vnderstood, that many (together) cannot bee cured by one Physition: by that he (if he vnderstand truly his Art) is most proper, that neuer par-*

The 3. inconuenience.

Many afflictions hapning, to a man in sickness, yet easily holpen.

Great happiness to a sick patient, in having but one Physition, that shall attend him al dayes.

The words of *Celsus*, a most learned Physition.

seth

The verie cheefe controller of all Arte and knowledge.

All Arts else but Physicke, are not subiect to so much controule & obloquy.

The Author writeth heere to shew as are Physitions in deede.

teeth from the sicke person. But such as are addicted to gaine, because much is to be had by a multitude of people: they willingly embrace those Rules, which require no such great curiosity, as in this case. For it is verie easie, to account daies, and houres, and other times of accessse; especially in such, as are not often to see their patients. But is behooueth him to be attendant, that must haue a care of all needfull things, and when the patient shall bee once feeble, so see that hee haue good nourishment.

The great importance of the sick mans seruice.

Hereby you may perceiue, how important the sicke mans seruice is, that he must alwayes be assisted by a good Physitian, both for his gouernement, and also for the vse of remedies. For, by being present, hee may aduance or tardie, encrease or diminish, and doe many things in other manner, then when the sick-man is seene but by starts and leysures, as is too much practised vpon the people. Wherefore, it is best to haue but one Physitian, though he be of the lesse sufficiency or reputation (and consequently of lesse presure, so that he be honest, most frequent, and diligent. For diligence, vigilancy, & careful obseruation in the ordinary Physitian; may counterpoize one of greater knowledge, that is not halfe so much imployed.

## CHAP. XV.

Against such as complaine on the ouer-flour visitation of some Physitions.



Vr life is full of contrarieties, according as Democritus declared to Hippocrates, in the conference which they had together: as Hippocrates writeth to Damocetes in his Epistles. For, that which pleaseth vs now, will discontent vs within an houre. The labourer would be a souldier, and (in short time) fall to his former condition againe. The Merchant would be made a Gentleman, and (soone after) returne to his Merchandize againe. But contradiction is yet more palpably discovered, when wee see contradictionarie quality in one and the same thing. As, to

be a souldier, and yet not engaged to follow war, to be a great landed man, and yet not subiect to suites in law; to haue Varlets and Drabs in the house, and yet to be free from robbings to liue disquietly, and neuer to be sicke. So is it in many, who would haue Physitions of greatest following, and most reported of for practise, (of whom the vulgar giue great iudgement, that they are men of singular knowledge, as oftentimes it so falls out, though not alwayes.) And sodainly they make complaint, of their too short or seldome visitation, and that they come not (so often as they ought) to see them.

This is a complaint commonly made of our Parisian Physitions, being the most famous, who in so great a Citie, haue ordinarily such plentie of patients, as it is vtterly impossible, that they should stay long with any one of them. For, if a Physitian haue twentie patients to visite in a day, is not much, if hee abide with each one a quarter of an houre at a time? For, in the longest day, which may consist of xvi. houres, I would haue him begin to visite at five of the clock in the morning, and so continue vntill ten: then begin againe at noon, and hold on till five in the euening, heere are ten houres imployed in visitation. It is verie necessary, that hee should haue some time of rest, as from tenne to twelue for his dinner, & refreshing from five to seauen in the same euening, and then to sleepe in quiet: for if he cease not day nor night, it is not possible for him to haue long continuance.

I will yet allow six houres for the morning, and six more after dinner. For, to go from one house to another, to mount and descend againe all the staires; importeth wel the space of two houres, in visiting of twentie seuerall persons. For no man whatsoever, can ride in poste quite thorough a Citie; and then in the Sommer, when the dayes bee long, the swiftnesse of motion is very dangerous, by ouer-heating, sweating, alteration of body, and other such like accidents. There remaineth then ten houres wholly cleere, that the Physitian may bee by each sicke mans bedde, and that is the most for such imployment: And howe much time is heere allowed then to each of the twenty? If I could account well, there were (for euery one) a quarter of an houre in the

Contradiction contrary to themselves

Complaint made of Physitions visitings.

The Physitions of Paris in France.

Allowance at times, for visitation.

Six houres for morning, and six more for afternoon for visitation.

A very short time for visiting twenty patients.

morning, and as much againe after dinner.

But very certaine it is, that the most famous Physitions, haue to visite (som such dayes) about thirty patients; and besides that, to vse consultations, where a man is constrained to stay longer then a simple visiting. Whence ensueth necessitie, yea, and inuitably, that each of the other visitations, cannot bee halfe a quarter of an houre. For, hee must content euery man, and he that imparts himselfe among so many, must needs allow euery one a little. Thus the Physitian, doth but enter and depart, and (cursorily) informeth himselfe of the patients estate; feelles his pulse, obserues his vrine, speaketh a word of that which is to be done, and then away to another.

He is not iustly to be blamed, for his celerity and summarie visitation, seeing it is not possible for him to doe otherwise; and they that call such men to their cure, are not well informed. Nay more, if the Physitian answer sometime, that hee can haue no leysure, considering the great number of patients he is to attend: some one or other will reply, O good Sir, if you do but wake to a doores, and then depart; the sicke man will thinke, that he shall bee healed by your verie sight only: if you would but once in a day see him, as you passe along, hee were well satisfied. As much saith another, yea, three or foure: What shall we say to such a man?

But some one will answer mee: He ought to haue regard of the persons quality, and make longer stay with a great Lord, Bishoppe, Abbot, Earle, Baron, President, Councillor, Treasurer, Generall of the Finances, and other men of Honour, who haue wherewithall to acknowledge and recompence him better, then ordinarily other men doe or can. I heare one make reply, that he ought to do his duty towards all men, and to acquite himselfe faithfully of his Charge. Beside, that (by some) he is to be much more considered; as his parents, neere Kindred, Friends, Familiars, and some to whom he standeth in high degree obliged. Such persons indeed (according vnto humane sense and iudgement) ought to be preferred before the other, what ranke or degree soeuer they hold. And such, of whom no money is to be taken, in regarde of the

fore-named obligation; do iustly require of the Physitian, much more care and diligence, then they from whom hee may expect recompence. And therefore, it is no small matter, to haue a learned & wise Physitian obliged and affected vnto anie one, who will alwayes make more regard of friendship, then of greatneesse.

And although the most part of our greatest personages, haue no other knowledge of the Physitian, but by his Fame onely, and are much lesse knowne to the Physitian; yet such knowledge being not reciprocal, and having no familiaritie, friendship, nor mutual Obligation; the Physitian is no more proper to them, then any other beside of the same profession, who hauing fewer crowds following the, may (happily) as soone minister succour, and giue more respect. But passion is so prevalent in these our dayes, as none must bee had, but hee that is in most request; and euery man would very willingly haue him, which properly is no way possible, and yet they complaine of his slack attendance too.

If a man say, I am none of the meanest persons, and I haue wherewithall to pay him, as well as another: you shall haue an hundred to speake the same Wordes: What shall the Physitian then doe? But diuide his visitations into so many pieces, as euery one may haue a little. But euer more let him referre the longest, for such to whom hee is most obliged, and standeth engaged; as reason and humanitie commandeth him.

Wherefore, it were much better (in my minde) that men heerein would take more aduise, and to desire, which they may haue: that is, a Physitian easier to bee had, among them that are accounted learned and expert, and yet haue not such busie imployment; because their season is not as yet come, being post-pozed to others, that haue more name, and longer time. And if there bee any difficultie in the disease, it may as iudiciously bee consulted on, as they that bragge most, and performe least. Beleeue it vndoubtedly, that if the Physitian be an able man, he can soone vnderstand, and hath fewest words, which he had rather should appeare by proofe, then waste the time in vaine lip-labour.

This is the best aduice that a sicke patient

Great men are guided by the fame of Physitions.

When all will haue one man onely, what vnderstander is there left?

Men of lesse note may haue as good experience as greater boasters, & what they prolong, performe in lesser time.

Famous Physitions haue many cures to attend on.

Physitions that vse summarie visitations, with nimble celerity.

That great persons shall bee more respected, when in such manner quality.

Parents and united christi-ans haue no mean prouidence in ceremony and respect.

Hip in Epist. ad Demag.

All conditions are full of contrarieties.



tient can take, of what quality focuer hee be, for his soonest helpe and succor. And if his meanes be such, as to haue the Physition full with him, or that hee goe but little from him: it will be much the better for him, imitating what hath bin discoursed in the precedent Chapter.

## CHAP. XVI.

*How much it importeth, that the sicke patient should repose confidence in his Physition.*

The Authors clearing himselfe concerning the former chapter.

**S**OME may mis-vnderstand, that which I haue set down in the neighboring Chapter; as if I reprehended the affection which many haue to be visited by the most famous Physitions, and who (for their great reputation) haue most access in the best Cities. God forbid, I should therein do wrong to very venerable and rare persons, who (by their merit) haue acquired such renowne: And I should also offer iniurie to the sick if I perswaded them from affection, and recourse to the healers of their harmes. For, on the contrary, if men may ioy plainly, and so much as neede requireth; none in the Worlde may better doe it than they.

I take onely vulgar complaint, and in such as (to their owne shame) are discontented, because they cannot enioy what they would haue. I alwaies maintain, that they are onely the meekest men, in regard of themselves, and for their respect. Onely this is my desire, that men of such fame and reputation, remaining alwaies in so great request: should also be most skillfull and expert, happy in their practises, and conformable to their patients. For otherwise, their high failes will strike, and their reputation (badly grounded) will flie vp in smoke.

But for the choise men themselves, they are verie meeke, apt, and correspondent, to cure the greatest diseases, and in the worthiest personages: in which respect, they holde reputation, and the cheefest ranke among Physitions, onely for happinesse in their cures. Because opinion conceived of them, giues certaine confi-

dence to the sicke man, to bee recovered better, and more securely by their means, then any other whatsoever. Whereupon, we commonly say in our schooles. *Hee healeth most diseases, in whom most confidence is reposed.* And this proceedeth from strong imagination, which hath mightie power, to make impression in vs; as I sufficiently haue shewne, in the Preface to my 2. booke of Laughter.

It is a power of the soule, which strongly moueeth the blood and spirits, in such a strange manner; that if the walke along (hand in hand) with firme opinion and confidence, the very powers of Nature assemble, to fight against the sicknes. And thereupon, great changes are noted in the Patient, onely at the very presence of a Physition devoutly attending. For, desire and hope being satisfied, the soule releueth it selfe, and re-enforceth against the sicknesse. So that (verie often) Nature maketh some braue fall and effort; chasing the matter of offence impetuoussly, by a *Crisis* as we vse to call it, which is the conflict of Nature and Sicknesse. Contrariwise, if the Physition be not verie answerable in liking to the patient, perceiuing him not so succourable, as hee desireth or would haue: such a Physition shal neuer proceed successfull, and the sicke man (contristing and discouraging) will become much more feeble then euer hee was. For his spirit is being danted, they haue no vigour at all; onely by the feare and distrust which hath before seized vpon his heart.

There is another benefite, which returneth to the patient, by hauing a Physition at his owne deuotion, and according to his wish and liking; because from him hee hopeth to haue great comfort. For, hee willingly apareth and accommodateth him selfe, to whatsoever he ordaineth for him: with a chearefull confidence, that all this will surely helpe and heale him. As on the contrarie, what hee receiueh (from another Physition) all is in dislike & disdain, whereby, nothing can be profitable vnto him. For, although it were the best, and most delicate thing in the world, if hee haue not a good opinion of it; the stomach falls to a loathing, and neuer can it come so glad some to his heart, as when he takes it with a chearefull disposition. Wine, the brothe of a Capon, and the Braine of a Par-

Confidence in the patient is halfe a helpe to the Physion.

The power of Desire and hope on their satisfaction.

An vnpleasing Physition can do no good to his patient.

Nothing can be welcome to the patient, if he be out of loue with his Physition.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Of such as will haue Physitions, and yet desire to do as they appoint and direct them.*

**N**OT long since, I met at *Narbona* with a Gentleman of *Perice*, who was Ambassador to the Seigneury, and he talking purposely concerning

Physitions, pleasantly said: That he would beleeue them well in their Negatiues, but not in their affirmatiues. This was a good old man, gallant and pleasantly disposed, who came from *Spaine*, having accomplished the tearme of his legation with King *Phillip*. Hee thus interpreted Negatiues prohibited by Physitions: As not to drink Wine, nor cate fruit, nor to feede on windie meates, and such like. And their affirmatiues were, to take medicines, glysters, Ielleps, and other things by them appointed. Was not this a goodly proposition, which many put in practise, to their extreame harme. For, they are willing to haue Physitions: but go looke for such as shal do as they direct them. Hardly will they keepe within the boundes of this *Pemian*, who (at least) would abstaine from what he was forbidden: but the most part of patients now a dayes, do quite contrary. What auaileth it to haue a Physition, if a man bee resolu'd, not to execute and accomplish his counsell, for the defence of his owne life?

Some will answer, that the presence of the Physition comforteth, delighteth, and increaseth courage; whereby they feeble the infirmity to diminish, & their strength to augment. Another saith, I will doe something that the Physition doth aduise mee, at least of foode and gouernement; but of his Drugges I will not heare him speake.

Well may wee compare this case, vnto people besiedged in a Towne or Citie; calling some good and expert Capitaine for Commander, for their succour and defence. Hee being come to them, they will not obey him, nor accomplishe any of his

The Negatiues of Physitions better credited then their affirmatiues.

The Physition may be kindly welcome, but his counsell nothing respected.

Fruitlesse answers in denying the Physitions counsell

Partridge, are most excellent nourishments, delicate, and dainty: but if a man take them frowningly, with an ill opinion of the Butlers bringing them, or that the Cookes dressing them is not agreeable; all will doe no good, the stomach being directly opposite vnto them. What will he thinke then of things, which (are of themselves) very vnpleasing, and sickness abhorreth naturally, as medicines & other druggeries?

It followeth moreouer, that the patient will endure many annoyances, wherein he shall be greatly impatient to his owne prejudice: if he haue not a good opinion of his Physition, and be confident in him. For, hee may approue him to bee such a man, as the credite of any other could neuer perswade him. Therefore, it is not in vaine, that poore sicke men should desire such as holde great reputation, and of whom (commonly) passeth good opinion; for such haue the best efficacy in their proceedings and directions. But yet they are not so much to bee affected, as no respect at all should be vsed of other: whereof choyle also may bee made at a second or third time of occasion, and they then must needs bee vsed, for want of the former. When any such man happens to be called: the patient must likewise repose his trust, confidence, and affection in him, without desiring any other; relying onely vpon God, who giueth vertue to remedies, at his owne good will and pleasure.

For, in marriage, Maids couet to match in great houses; but if it will not come so to passe, they must content themselves with meaner place, giuing all their loue and affection, to the husbands chosen by themselves. And God may giue them as much (or more) happinesse and contentment with their meane match, then if they had the richest husbands in the Worlde. This may redound to an honest household life, whereas the other might haue procured iust nothing like the Physition, standing out of his patients affection, being daily desirous of another.

Marriage vsed as a comparison with the present argument.

ordinances, but say: That they are well pleased with his presence, and they are sufficiently fortified; it is enough for them, if he but take order for victuals, & be provident in policie. As for fight, mounting the Artillery, and other needfull preparations, they will not heare a word of that. Is this any thing else, but merely to mock a braue soldier for his paines, & send him away with losse of credit?

Ecclesi. 38. 4.

I durst not rearme this folly, if Ecclesiasticus had not taught me, saying: *See that is wife, will not abhorre the Physician.* Oh, but Physicke (say some) is very tykecome to take. It is true, and God hath so ordained it, that it may the better fight against the euill. For, as health is pleasing and acceptable, so is it entertained with as acceptable things: and as sickness is vnpleasing, so must distastfull things helpe to conquer it. It is not wisdom, if we apply not our willes, to whatsoever the Physitian appointeth, without condemning any thing. For oftentimes, thorough defect of one obseruation, which may seeme but small: the disease impaireth, euen to death. Like as a Towne may (sometime) bee lost, by lacke of a Sentinell; or by the meanes of a little hole or passage, which appeared to be of no importance. Sometime a sparke of fire enflames a whole heape of Straw, and thereby a house, and of one house, a whole Burrough or Towne. If a small fault grow into excessse, or faileth of help in due time, no meane disorder ensueth thereon.

Small errors  
may grow  
out great  
to be easily  
repaid.

What then shall become of such as despite the Physitian, when he (many times) hath worke enough to doe, to saue them, that are willing to doe whatsoever hee would haue them? Commonly it falleth out with them who are so difficult, that (in the end) they would yeeld to all, & more, euen then when there is neither meane, nor time, and can no way bee preferred from death, as they might haue bene before, by Gods gracious assistance. Euen like to besieged people, that began but coldly in their owne defence, not employing all their means; but sparing their bed-rickes, ballies of Wooll, Chests, Cuppeboards, and other moueables, for re-impairing their victualles and money, that their Soldiers, Armes, and persons might be the better secured, and to fight valiantly. But at length, beholding themselves

constrained; then they can offer bags of Gold, Plate, Jewels, yea, all to their verie bowels, onely for safety; when there is no remedy at all to sted them, but become wise too late, with the *Physicians*, according to the Prouerbe. Wherefore, let euery man determine with himselfe (euen in the very beginning) to doe willingly what the Physitian shall counsell and ordaine for him, without restriction, or distinguishing Negatives and affirmatives, that God may the better giue his blessing, to concurre with the Physitions true endeavour.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Of such as in their sickness, will admitte no medicine or remedy; but only for the present paine and anguish.*



Obserued this opinion, in a Gentleman of *Vinures*, affected greatly to his pleasures. He made no particular account of infirmities, which were without greauance, thinking remedies to serue little or nothing at all for them; euen as if it were necessary, that the disease should haue his course. And whatsoever was done, the infirmity would passe his fourte times, if it were recoverable: but if it were deadly, then there was no remedy that could bee proper for it; which were erroneous speeches, grounded on those folies heretofore refused. In breefe, he would not allow of any Physitian, nor any medicine; but to take away instant anguishes. But, if he wer false into a palsey, which is a disease without paine, I beleue he could gladly haue desired, that it might be cured by medicin, or any other helpe else whatsoever.

Now, concerning dolorous and painefull diseases, it is to bee vnderstoode, that greefe there is not the principal (although of very great importance) and that the euill must and ought to be taken away, in which the anguish proceedeth, if men do deale iustly in their cures. For, if one stand trifling simply vpon the paine, & the cause is mistaken (which is the source, root, and mother of euill:) there are then but two

Delay in such  
cases is euer  
more dan-  
gerous, & hardly  
recovered.

No applica-  
tion of reme-  
dy, but to the  
place of pre-  
sent paine.

Concerning  
dolorous and  
painefull dis-  
eases, wherein  
anguish is not  
chief.

## Chap. 19. Subiect to sickness, subiect to Physick.

meanes; the one is by *Anodyne* medicines, which diminish the pain in some measure, and cauteh the party to endure the rest more patiently.

The other is by *Arctick* medicins, that is to say stupifying, making the member sleepe, in attorning the Naturall heate. Which is not to be vsed, but in extreme necessitie, and very wisely: but, as wel the one, as the other, do not let passe or lessen the greefe, but onely for a time.

Euermore, wee should come to Cure the principall, otherwise it is still to begin againe. And if our remedies serue not to take away the euill, which is without paine, or which cauteh paine: that were the greatest fallshood in the worlde; as I haue apparently proued before, where I ouerthrew the idle imagination, that Phisitions serued to no purpose, but abused the world. If any yet shall reply vnto me, that many are well re-cured, both without Physitions and Medicines: I answer also in the same manner, that as many lose their greauances, without Physicke, or any other applyed remedies, whereby that proposition is merely confounded of itselfe.

The ground  
cause of euill  
is not to be  
taken away, or  
else all our la-  
bour is to no  
purpose.

## CHAP. XIX.

*That such as are subiect to diseases, are in like manner subiect to Physicke: and others not.*



ANY throw aspersions of blame and reproofe, on such as obsecute some orderly rule and gouernment, subiecting themselves to certaine remedies, to maintaine their healthfull condition, and prevent some knowne euilles, whereto they are subiect. They that condemne those meanes, are (double) verie healthfull, and of good Complexion: in which respect, the position is verie true, according to that which is saide in Sacred Scripture, *The law was not giuen to the iust.* But more exprefly, where it is saide, *The whole need not the Physician; but they that are sicke.* These words likewise do confirm the contrary, to wit, That such as are sick, haue need of the Physitian; & such as are

Men strong &  
healthful, con-  
demne such as  
are weak, and  
sickly.

Math. 9. 12.

subiect to any sickness, are also subiect to some rule. Euen according as we are subiect to sin, so are we subiect to the Law.

I shall alwaies giue consent with most eloquent *Celsus*: That the healthfull Man, while he carieth himselfe well, and is truly himselfe: needeth not to be tyed to any Law or Gouernment, nor to imploy the Physitian. It is very expedient, that he should haue diuers manners of life; one while in the field, then againe in the City, but more often in the field.

To Nourish, hunt, to be at rest, and ease sometimes, but yet to exercise himselfe more ofte. For, sloth and idleness, maketh the body drowy and dull; but trauell confirmeth it: The one is the hastner of Age, the other is the continuer of iolly youth.

It is good also sometimes to bath, and sometimes to use colde waters; one while to amoint, then againe to forbear. Feare no kind of meues, that are vsed among ciuill people, to be sometimes present at Feasts, another while to refraine them. One while feede somewhat immeasurably, and afterward soberly. Make two meales a day more often then one, and alwaies eate well, so long as it may haue digestion, &c. As concerning carnall Copulation, it may not bee desired too much, nor too much feared neither: That which is rare and sildome, exciteh the body; that more frequent dissolueth it, &c.

These rules are to be obserued by such, that haue their health firme, and can so keepe themselves; that remedies ordainned for euil carriage be not employed & consumed in vaine. In this manner are men of sound health indifferent to all, and subiect to nothing, while they beare themselves well, and are so firmly in health, as *Celsus* hath limited. It were very great shame for a man, to make himselfe delicate, soft, and tender, slouping and encreasing his good and strong Complexion; which would extend it selfe a great deale more, by bolde, valiant, and manly exercises. But for valeudinarie personnes, vnhealthfull, subiect vnto manie Diseases, as Epilepsies (commonly called; *Mal de St. Iean*) Megrimmes, Rheumes, Catarrhs, Shortnesse of breath, Ache in the bones, Oppilations in the Liuer or Spleene, the Winde Collicke, or Stone, Cows, and the like infirmities (whereof the most part are Hereditarie, yea, and the Leaprofite too) who makes any doubt or question, but that such men ought to liue

Celsus lib. 1. c. 1.

Excellent ad-  
vice giuen by  
learned Celsus,  
to a healthfull  
man.

He that is well  
& cannot keep  
himselfe so, the  
blame is his  
owne.

Many diseases  
and infirmi-  
ties, that are  
saide to be he-  
reditarie to  
some men.

Concerning  
Students and  
men in pub-  
like offices.

within rule, if their owne ease they be not envious of, and desire to see manie dayes?

Such also as addict themselves to studie, or vnto publike charges in the Common-wealth, because they are subiect to many necessities, ought to be gouerned; otherwise, they often fall into diuers infirmities. For they tie & constraîne themselves to store of things, which are verie hurtful for them. And *Celsus* in the words before alledged, presupposeth, that the healthfull man, must also be wholly himselfe in all respects.

How we are  
to vnderstand  
our being sub-  
iect to sickness

Now, in the position formerly alledged, saying, *Subiect to diseases*; we vnderstand a particular subiection & aptitude. For all men in the world are subiect to all kinds of sickness, euen as we are all subiect to death. But we say, some are subiect thereto particularly, that haue an inclination and disposition to some euil, the rudiment wherof is in them: not that they are already sicke, but because a small matter will throw them into sickness; and therefore, they ought the more respectiue, to carry themselves. By example of him formerly spoken of, who being the only sick man in his time, made shift yet to liue an hundred yeares, by great cunning, and exquisite manner of life.

## CHAP. XX.

*That such as know some little matter in Physicke, are more dangerous to be neerer sicke personnes, then they that know nothing at all.*

In the 13.  
chapp. before.



Must confesse, that this error ought to haue followed a former Chapter, where we declared, that there were more Physicians, then of anie other profession. But fearing to offend any succorable people, I had a long conflict with mine owne cogitations, whether I should take and reprove them in such publike manner. At length, I concluded to holde on my course; knowing, that ther is more danger (then we wold easily think) in such

as know something, and imagine to know all things. For out of this ouer-weenings, either they presume, & vnderake the very greatest cures; or withstand and hinder Physicians, from being employed in principall remedies, necessarily requiring quick and sure healing. But these insolent controllers, keep them so engaged to fear; that they neither dare, nor will aduventure.

There are some persons, who know not any thing in Physick, in regard of discourse and reason; as ignorant women, who can neither write nor read; but onlie haue certaine obseruations and rules, knowing how to make a good Broth, a Cullise, a Restorative, to make a bed well, and knit a kerchiefe about the sick mans head. Beside, they know some infant remedies, against itch, scabs, burnings, falling of the *Vulua*, wormes, the Mother, &c. Hereupon, they imagine themselves compleat in knowledge, and make many things out of their owne braine and fantasies; and if their experiment succede ill, they spare not to vaunt, that the Physicians great Gowne shall couer all this.

It were very good and expedient, that assistants about sicke patients, did know nothing else, but to obey the Physicians directions. It were a knowledge very beneficiall to the patient; for, such as do not presume of themselves, will neuer attempt to execute any thing, but what is prescribed, ordained, and commanded. Others, that dreame they haue knowledge; they will adde, diminish, alter, or else do iust nothing at all. Like to lewd Apothecaries, who execute the Physicians directions at their owne pleasure, as presuming to know the curing of the disease, and the nature better in course, then he doth: being drunke with some opinion concerning the like; as hauing obserued diuers the like sicknesses, attended many Physicians, and seene the successe of the like receipts.

O dangerous ouer-weening! see here the verie ruine of most sicke personnes. It were much better (before God I speak it) not to know any thing, then to know thus in this Empericke manner. What more unhappinesse for the patients life, and honour to the Physician, then to haue an Apothecarie so ouerweening, temerarious, and presumptuous? In *Italy*, and in *Spain*, the

The left skill  
or knowledge  
in some small  
matter, pre-  
sently misleadeth  
to presumption.

Of ignorant  
women Physi-  
cians, that can  
neither write  
nor read, yet  
haue know-  
ledge in some  
pecity cures.

There should  
be no prela-  
mers about  
sick persons,  
when they lie  
vpon their  
sides besides.

Better to know  
nothing at all,  
then to haue  
knowledge in  
dangerous  
manner.

A great inue-  
dine against  
ouer presu-  
ming Apothe-  
caries.

For Nurses,  
keepers, and  
attendants at  
sick patients,  
presuming to  
haue no mean  
knowledge.

Opportunity  
is the greatest  
matter, belong-  
ing to the  
life of man.

the sicke are in much better manner serued. For, the Apothecary goeth not to see the sicke man, except it be in courtlesse and friendship; and yet not as an Apothecary neither: nor do the Physicians vnder write their bills of receipts, by or for who the remedies were compounded. Whereby, the Apothecarie knowes as little of the Physicians intent, euen as if hee were acquainted with nothing. By this meanes, hee cannot abuse the Physicians directions; or, much lesse then our Apothecaries, to whom all is imparted ouer familiarly.

Next to Apothecaries, I speak of those vile and bad (not good, prouident, modest, and honest people, that meddle not, but what they haue to doe withall) yea, most dangerous keepers or seruants, attending about poore weak patients, who thinke they haue more knowledge then the Physician (especially, if they be anciently traded in the businesse) touching nourishing principally; because it ought to be of inestimable importance, qualitie, fit hours, and measure. True it is, of the quality they credite enough by the Physicians order; but for the houre and measure, they do all at their owne liking. I spare the druggeries they couertly vse, and the omissions of Ordinances appointed to them, when they meete with patients fitte for their purpose. Such people are most dangerous, and much better to haue them that know no such cunning, neither haue learned any other lesson; but to doe what they are appointed, which is the main article of their duty.

## CHAP. XXI.

*The manner of knowing Opportunity truly, for vnderstanding or performing such actions, as we would haue to be well done: And how our graue Elders used to depit or figure Occasion.*



Here consisteth no meane wit and iudgement, in knowing howe to make vse of Opportunity; & to perform our actions in due time: be-

cause great care is to be had, either for doing, or not doing a thing at a time; in regard there is no alteration or returning backe, when defect falleth vpon the aduventure. Hereupon, the Grecian Philosophers leste vs many notable sentences in writing, making to that purpose: in regard that they truly vnderstood, what wisdom depended vpon knowledge, for doing a businesse in apt opportunitie, and taking occasion when it is fairly offered.

Salomon faith in his *Ecclesiastes*: *To all things there is an appointed time. There is a time to be borne, and a time to dye: A time to plant, and a time to plucke up that which is planted: A time to kill, and a time to beale: A time to builde, and a time to ruinate: A time for warre, and a time for peace.* In breecfe, many examples might be alledged, whereby to demonstrate, what losse relyeth on dooing any thing out of due time; and what benefite redoundeth vnto men, when things are accomplished aptly to time and place.

Menander, a Greeke Poet said; *That all things done to purpose, & in time, haue great grace, for Opportunity hath more power then Law.* So that a little attendance giuen on time, is esteemed highly worth. *Hesiodus*, a Greeke Authour also, appointed vs to keepe meanes and obseruation of times: *For, the importance of all affayres* (saith he) *consisteth in attending on time and opportunity.* Pindarus said; *Time hath great power in all things.* Also (according to *Horace*), *A man should alwaies see forward his affayres, when he seeth due time.* *Socrates*, writing to *Democritus*, said; *All things are naught, being done out of due season.* In breecfe, there is no man of iudgement or experience, but will pursue his busines in fittest times.

All which notwithstanding, it is to be noted, that as it is good to waite on Opportunity, and aptest times to performe any thing: so likewise, the point or instant is not to bee slipp, for exact executing any matter when it cometh. This is that which hath commonly beene sayde, *Occasion is neuer to be surprized.* For, all things & are done out of their constellation, & consent of the stars (although occasion cometh other wise) can neuer grow to good perfection.

And to speake seriously, occasion and opportunity for our actions, was in such

X x x high

Ecc. 3.1, 2, 3, 4  
A discourse  
made by Salo-  
mon concern-  
ing times.

The wife say-  
ing of Menan-  
der.

Hesiodus.

Pindarus.

Horace.

Socrates.

Democritus.

Opportunity  
must by no  
meanes be let  
slipp, but taken  
while it may  
be.

high esteeme with our Ancients, as well Greeks as Latines; that they had alwaies her portraiture, like as a Mirrour before their eyes. The Latines figured Occasion in the form of a woman; but the Grecians figured her in the shape of an infant, holding one foot vpon a turning wheele, and all before the face couered with Hayre, dangling downe in long tresses; but all the head behind was bald and shauen. This shape was giuen to occasion or Opportunity, by *Posidius*, or *Posidippus* as some called him, a Greek Poet, translated into Latine by the learned *Erasmus*, and *Anthonius* the Lombards Poet. Whom Sir *Thom. More* of England, a man much renowned for wisdom and learning, traduced into the *Castilian* tongue, in forme of a dialogue. For *More* said, that Occasion, standing so vpon a wheele, declared thereby her inconstancy, and hauing wings both at her bandes and feet, shewed, how lightly shee past away, without tarrying. Moreover, said he, her forehead and face being couered with hairy long locks, expressed, that she might easily be held, by such to whom she presented her selfe; but being vnwilling to be known to others, shee kept her face so couered, because she would escape away vnknown: being also bald and shauen behinde, for feare she should be stayed, after shee was once past. Whereby may be comprehended, that Opportunity once lost, is not to bee recovered, by all our paines applied afterward.

*Anthonius* making a further addition to this picture, placed the figure of Repentance, sitting vpon the shoulders of Occasion: declaring thereby, that whatsoever happeneth by the losse of Occasion, may well be repented. And truly there are two kinds of people, who might make good vse of this example. For, some are so faine in their affaires, that they can neuer bring them about, by not tarrying for opportune time. And others (on the contrary) are so long and tedious in concluding their businesse, being troubled with so many inconueniences, which may happen; that in the time of this lingering negotiating, Occasion hath past by. Both which extremities are to bee auoyded by men of good iudgement, who, in waiting the time for best performing their businesse suffer no occasions (in the meane while) offaire offer, to ouer-slip them. For other

wife, they may fall into a tardy repentance, which will be little to their credite and benefit.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Of Favour, Grace, or Good opinion: How it hath bene described by picture, and also concerning the Morall signification.*



The precedent discourse, concerning the portraiture of Opportunity, or Occasion, hath brought that to my remembrance, which the ancient *Romanes* gaue and granted to *Fauour*, Grace, or good Opinion: as well for the great conueniency which these two things hold together, as also because the true time and very occasion of well-doing any thing is, when *Fauour* standeth fairest for him; as much to say, as when the Prince lendeth an attentive eare, and vouchsafeth (withall) a gracious countenance: For, a man that is in credite with a Prince, is very much made of by all men, euerie one thinks well of what he doth, or saith; because all things succede to his good and honor: for all are full of fauour towards him, either with an honest heart, or else in outward ceremony.

Little need is there to produce Histories or examples to this effect, considering that (at all times) it hath bin in practise, & euerie yeare is a breuiate thereof; wherefore it shal suffice me only to represent the true figure of *Fauour*, according to the draught of our graue Elders, which may som way conforme it selfe with that of Occasion. For, in their truest picturing *Fauour*, they figured a yong infant blind, being alone, & without any company. *Bartholomew Dardanus*, moralizing vpon this picture (introducing himselfe) speaking to the Painter *Apelles* by way of dialogue, in this manner.

*O Apelles! Perceyuing the great paines that thou hast taken, to portraite truly the Image of Favour: I pray thee tell mee, of what race shee is descended? Whereunto Apelles* (sodainly replying, saydes) *Her Race is knowne, but to vertue few people. And indeede, the Originall of Favour is hardly*

The excellent correspondence betweene Opportunity and fauour.

The fauour of Princes areno meane blisings to such as haue them

The true picture of Favour, according as it was drawne by Apelles.

The lamentable difference betwene Favour and Apelles.

## Chap. 23. Of Fauour, Grace, or good Opinion.

to be found. For some say, that fauour cometh by corporall beauty: Others hold, that she cometh by aduenture, or good hap. Yet some will haue her to be the daughter of Fortune, or of accident. And yet neuertheless, many are of the minde, that shee ysseeth from true Noblesse of the minde. As is easily discerned, by this short Dialogue following, where a Poet, speaking to *Apelles*, beginneth thus.

**A** discourse Dialogue (according to Morall sence) betwene a Poet and *Apelles*, concerning the true Image of *Fauour*.

**Poet.** What is that Woman, standing on yonder side, who is neuer forsaken, but still hath store of company?

*Apelles.* Her name is Flattery.

**Poet.** And what is shee that attendeth, or followeth after her?

*Apelles.* Her Name is commonly called Enmie.

**Poet.** What people are they that so round engire her?

*Apelles.* They are such as continually keep company with *Fauour*, and are especially obedient to her: As namely, Riches and Pleasures, the source and originall of all vices.

**Poet.** Why hast thou (in figure) giuen wings to *Fauour*?

*Apelles.* Because she cannot step a foote abroad, but she mounts aloft, when the wind of good Fortune raiseseth her.

**Poet.** And wherefore hast thou painted her blinde?

*Apelles.* Because such as are in credite, will no more take knowledge of their ancient Friends.

**Poet.** And why hast thou placed hir feet vpon a wheele?

*Apelles.* Because she followeth the steps of Fortune, being euer more as inconsistent as shee.

**Poet.** But why dost thou make her puffe and swell so proudly?

*Apelles.* Because prosperitie blindeth the vnderstanding of all men.

This Dialogue, reported in the Language belonging to it, would haue much more grace, then any tongue else can be-

flow vpon it. Neuertheless, the most gracious *Fauourites* may heereby take aduice, to know, what companions attend vpon *Fauour*, and the instabilitie both of them and her. To the end, they may the better gouerne themselves with modestie in their credit, without puffing or swelling vp into pride. For, ouer and beside, that God is greatly there-with offended, there are many other dangers else, by the obseruation of passed times: as true testimonie hath bene made, by the vnhappy and lamentable end of many Princes *Fauourites*, that knew nor how to vse their credit so wisely, as they should haue done.

The greatest Fauourites of Princes haue bene subiect to many misfortunes

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Of those seven Wise men of Greece, commonly called the seven Sages: With many notable Sentences which they left behinde them in writing.*



Among the ancient *Grecians*, such were called Sages, or *Wise men*, as now we vique terme *Philosophers*. But *Socrates*, accounting the title of Sage or wise to be ouer-arrogant (because it was only proper and peculiar to God, to bee absolutely called Sage or Wise) inuented the name of *Philosopher*, as much to say, as a louer of wisdom; and being somewhat better qualified, and more moderate then the name of Sage or Wise; so that all *Wise men*, which were since the time of *Socrates*, were well contented with the Title of *Philosophers*. Notwithstanding, there were seven seuerall men, vnto whom the name of Sages or *Wise-men*, were attributed, by common consent of all Greece, in regarde of their Knowledge and Vertue.

And indeede, many Authors (as well Ancient as Moderne) do make mention of them, and of notable sentences left by them for memory: whereof (I purpose) to set downe heere a breefe summarie, that vnderstanding Readers (yet ignorant in the originall Language) may the better be acquainted with their witty sayings.

Socrates first inuented the name of Philosopher, as thinking the title of Sage or Wise, to be ouer-arrogant.

The Authors intention, concerning this Chapter.

Setting aside then that vaine and foolish Booke of the Seauen Sages, which hath runne thorow too many Countreies, with many opinions divulged, concerning their liues (which yet were difcredited, and rent in peeces by *Diogenes Laertius*) I will shap my courſe, according vnto that which hath bene auouched by *Saint Augustine*, *Erasmus*, *Philiſt Melancthon*, *Beroaldus*, *Raphſell*, *Volateranus*, and many other Authors of great fame. The names of thoſe ſeauen men, were *Solon*, *Chilo*, *Cleobulus*, *Thales*, *Bias*, *Pittacus*, and *Periander*, and they are all liuing together at one time: although ſome of them were more aged then the other, and (happily) liued longer then the reſt did. For, all of them were in perfect being, during the reigne of *Cyrus* King of *Perſia*, at ſuch time as the Iewes remayned captiues in *Babylon*: which was about the ſpace of ſiue hundred and fiftie yeares, before the coming of our Lord and Sauour Ieſus Chriſt, as *Eusebius* ſaith.

We purpoſe to ſpeake of them particularly, and likewiſe of ſome of their principal Sentences, which they left reſpectively for vs: albeit memory hath embred infinite common ſayings of theirs, as ordinarily all Authors haue concluded in their writings. *Auſonius*, a famous Poet of *Lombardie*, verie elegantly reduced into verſe, many notable Sentences of thoſe Sages, whereof he maketh very ample relation, in three ſeuerall Bookes published by him.

Fiſt then, we will begin with wiſe *Bias*, who was borne in *Priene*, a Sea-coaſt towne of *Ionia*, a Region in *Greece*, hauing a very poore man to his father, named *Totamus*. This *Bias* was a great Oratour, a good Aduocate, and well ſcene in all the Sciences; being otherwiſe endued with many vertues. Among which, he held in higheſt eſtimation, to contern the riches and honors of the world. *Cicero*, ſpeaking of him, ſaith, that when the enemy deſtroyed the towne where he dwelt, and euery man labored to ſaue and carry away the beſt of his goods: *Bias* would not ſaue any thing belonging to him. And being demanded, why he was ſo reſpectleſſe of his goodes: he answered, *All my goods I carry with mee: meaning his wiſedome, which (indeed) is the greateſt wealth of all.*

About all things, this man fought ſtill to maintaine loue and amity, & therefore he was held the chiefeſt in the Common-wealth: he would ſay, he had much rather be a iudge between two of his friends, then between two of his enemies: for in condemning a friend, he ſhould looſe his friendſhip; but in iudging betwixt two enemies, hee for whom the ſentence was giuen, would become a friend.

A lewd man once demanded of him, what was to be pittied in religion; wherto *Bias* answered not a word: the man growing angry, mooued the ſame queſtion againe; and *Bias* replied, *Why doſt thou aſke ſuch a queſtion of me, as concerns not thee at all?*

He ſeld oft-times to ſay, that the greater part of men, were the worſt men; and *Auſonius* took great paines in confirming this ſaying. But it is ſo maniſeſt and true, that it needs no other confirmation, then what is auouched in the Goſpell, where it is ſaid: *Many are called, but few are choſen.* *Cicero* alſo maintaines it to be true, affirming the race of the wicked to be great. *Plato* alſo ſaide to the ſame purpoſe, That good men were gone, and growne to nothing: but contrariwiſe, the vices of the wicked increaſed daily, euen as if they were watered hearbs.

There are ſome Authors, who alledge many other ſentences of *Bias*, very ſingular, and neceſſary; as, *Attribute to God all the good thou doeſt: Neuer be enuious at the rich. Hee may well be called a good man, that hath no remorse of conſcience. The greateſt danger that happens to a man, cometh from man: The very richeſt gift in a woman, is to be vertuous and honeſt.*

*Ariſtotele* attributeth this to *Bias*. Degrees of honor and offices, do moſt maniſeſt what a man is: for, many appeare to be honeſt men (as indeede their actions ſhew no leſſe) being private perſons: but hauing power to command, doe maniſeſtly declare the malignitie of their hearts: He addeth alſo. That a man ſhould ſo carry himſelfe to his friend, as if (another day) he ſhould become his enemy: and ſo to deale with an enemy, as hoping (one day) he may be his friend. Yet *Ariſtotele* himſelfe reprobeth this ſaying, in his *Rhetoricks*. Notwithſtanding, in due conſideration of managing friendſhippe in theſe dayes, wee ſhall finde this Sentence to be moſt true.

There

Of Friends and Enemies.

Irreligious ſocieties ſhould alwayes be ſo ſuſpected.

Aſonius in lib. 1. c. 9. 5.

Cicero in Tull. 3. c. 1. 2. 3.

Plato in Timæ.

Many worthy ſayings attributed to *Bias*.

Ariſtotele in 1. 2. c. 4.

Ariſtotele in Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 2. 4. 1. 2.

There are many other ſayings, well deſeruing memorie, which are attributed to this Philoſopher, & would aſke too much time heere to infer: and therefore I will leaue them, hauing firſt informed the Reader, that after the death of *Bias*, his funeral was ſolemnely performed, at the coſt and charge of the Common-wealth, in ſigne of his perpetuall honour.

The ſecond Sage or wiſeman of *Greece* was *Solon*, although ſome ranke him in the prime place. *Plutarke*, and many other haue written at large of his life, ſaying: That hee was borne in *Salamina*, an Iſland in ſubiection to the *Athenians*, iſſued of an ancient and moſt Noble houſe; his fathers name being called *Aceſtides*. The *Athenians* made ſuch pretious eſteem of *Solon*, aſwel in regarde of his wiſedom, and the victories which he had obtaigned againſt them of *Myſtione*, with ſundry other enterpriſes, which hee had finithed very dexterioſly; that they limited themſelues to his ordinances, which were great (as *Plutarke* affirmeth) recording many of them by particular mention.

Eſpecially he moderated the Lawes of *Draco*, which were very rigorous, ſo that for the very leaſt fault committed in *Athenes*, life depended thereupon. For, *Demas* the Oratour ſayd, *That the Lawes appointed by Draco, were written downe with the blood of men.* *Solon* therefore conſidered them, and confirmed in *Athenes*, the Councell of the *Areopagites*, according as *Ariſtotele* and *Plutarke* do plainly maintain.

Hee had a concurrent or corruall in *Athenes*, a kiſeman of his owne, named *Piſiſtratus*; ſo that, the more *Solon* labored the libertie of his Countrey, ſo much the more did hee ſtudy and endeavour to oppreſſe it. Neuertheleſſe, in conſequence, the cloquence of *Piſiſtratus* had more power, then all the approved goodneſſe in *Solon*, whereby hee poſſeſſed himſelfe of the Seignorie and Rule of *Athenes*; which *Solon* might haue done (much more eaſily then hee) if he would haue viſed but his owne meanes. For, when the men of *Athenes* offered him the ſoueraigntie of their City, hee made them anſwer thus: *The houſe of tyrannie is very pleaſing, but it muſt haue a winking ſlayres to mount it: And therefore, I will neither be a tyrant, nor*

ſubiect to a tyrant.

Heereupon, after that *Piſiſtratus* had gotten full poſſeſſion of *Athenes*, *Solon* departed thence, and trauelled Countreies for the ſpace of tenne yeares, as well in *Egypt* as in other places. Till at the length, he came to the Court of *Craſus*, the rich and powerfull King of *Lydia*, who hauing ſhewed him his abundant treaſures, demanded of him, if euer hee had ſcene more Royall poſſeſſions? Whereto *Solon* (like a Philoſopher and Free-man) replied: That hee had ſcene the poſſeſſions of diuers Fowles, Cockes, Capons, and ſuch like, which ſeemed goodlier to him, becauſe they were naturall to them. Againe hee demanded of him, if euer hee had ſcene any man more rich, or ſo happy as hee was? *Solon* anſwered him (without flattery) that hee had ſcene a man in his owne Countrey, named *Tellus*, who (in his opinion) was more happy then *Craſus*; for hee was an honeſt and vertuous man, and had ſcene his children, and the children of his children ſo well aduanced, that hee receyued ſeruiſe from them in his age. Nay more, being growne into the extremitie of yeares; he dyed in the defence of his Countrey, and repelling the enemy.

The King being much diſpleaſed at the anſwer of *Solon*, ſayd vnto him: Why doſt not thou attribute to me ſome degree of happineſſe? Wherunto *Solon* replying, ſhewed him the great traueſes and mutations, which may enſue vnto ſuch as are conſtituted in great Eſtates: and they being ſubiect to ſuch alterations, he could not tearme them truly happy, alledging a common Proverbe, viſed among the *Athenians*: *That the end of life muſt firſt be ſcene, before any iudgements of happineſſe paſſe ſheron.*

Of moſt notable ſaying, though to *Ariſtotele*, it ſeemed not receivable: for, while a man continueth in life, hee is alwayes vncertayne of his eſtate and condition, as alſo of his fame and reputation: as it was well approved by the Wiſe man, who ſaid, *Commend no man before his death.* And our bleſſed Lord alſo, would haue his Apoſtles and Diſciples to make ſtay in no place, or to ſalute any body by the way: which ſome expounded according to the ſaying of *Solon*, who affirmed, that man (in his life time) could not aſſure himſelfe.

ſelfe

Solon left Athens &amp; trauelled Countreies.

Hee coming to rich Craſus, King of Lydia and his conference with him, about his riches and happineſſe.

Craſus would haue ſome degree of happineſſe granted to him.

A witty Athenian proverb.

No man can be happy before his death.

Ecclie. 12. 14. Math. 8. 19.

The saying of  
Solon appro-  
ved by many  
good authors.  
Plutarch. 14.  
c. 10. 10.  
Ovid in Meta-  
morph. lib. 3.

selfe from falling into many inevitable in-  
conueniences. *Pliny* also conforming him  
selfe to *Solon*, sayd: *One day iudgeth another,  
and the last day iudgeth all. One maketh  
the like affirmation, saying: Whosoever con-  
sidereth the last day of man, which is conser-  
uative, it is not possible for him to say, that he  
can be any way truly happy.*

Solon departed  
from his  
Crew, as a  
man vinegar-  
dized.

But returne we againe to King *Craesus*,  
who, notwithstanding the wife answer  
*Solon* had made him, he regarded him not,  
neither what great benefit might after be-  
fall him, by enjoying the companie of a  
man so worthy, as neuer respecting future  
occasions to follow. Whereupon *Solon*  
departed from his Court, with very vin-  
dicke entertainment: but afterward, such  
an adventure happed, as made him deare-  
ly acknowledge his error, and well to re-  
member the words of *Solon*. For, Great  
King *Cyrus* waging new warre against  
him; and hauing vanquished and taken  
him prisoner, gaue Sentence, that hee  
should be burned alive. Hee being vpon  
the pile of wood, and fire making readie  
to consume him: cryed fadainely out a-  
loutde, *O Solon, Solon, remember*

Craesus found  
Solons words  
true, to the an-  
nouncement  
of his life.

now in this extremitie, that his saying  
was true, and that no man could be hap-  
py while he liued! *Craesus* commanding  
the Officers to stay, and to keepe the fire  
from the pile: would needes vnderstand  
of him, wherefore he vied that innocen-  
cy vpon *Solon*, or expected thereby for  
deliuerance from death? *Craesus* reported  
the whole History to him, what *Solon* had  
sayd, concerning his imaginarie happi-  
nesse; the truth whereof he had now too  
apparently proued. *Cyrus* being much  
amazed therat, and entering into mature  
consideration, of the strange and vnaoid-  
able mutabilitie of Fortune, deliuered  
King *Craesus* from death & captiuitie, do-  
ing him to great honor, that he made him  
his associate in his kingdomes. Wherby  
we may perceiue, that this wise and wor-  
thy saying of *Solon*, was the meanes of  
freeing one mighty King from death, and  
made an other also much wiser then hee  
was before.

*Craesus* giueth  
life to *Craesus*,  
and made him  
Companion  
in his King-  
domes.

*Solon*, hauing attained vnto the age of  
four score yeares, dyed at *Rhodes*, ordain-  
ing by his testament (as *Aristotle* sayth)  
that his body should be burned, and his  
ashes scattered in the Isle of *Salamina*: be-  
cause they should not be carried to *Athenis*,

for contraying them (by that meanes)  
to keepe his ordinances. Because, before  
he departed from *Athenis*, he made the *A-  
thenians* to take an oathe, that they should  
keepe his Lawes inuioiably, vntill he was  
returned from his voyage. And indeede,  
according vnto *Aristotle*, the Common-  
wealth of the *Athenians* maintained them  
felices very prosperously, so long as they  
kept the Lawes of *Solon*.

Now, as concerning the sentences and  
sayings of *Solon*; for the most part, they  
were conformable to Christian Religion,  
and all Ciuillitie. As, *Honour God: Be help-  
full to thy neighbour: Maintain the vertue  
of thy friend: Obey the Lawes: Bristle thine  
anger: Honour thy father and mother: Swear  
not: Keepe thy selfe from Envy: Be not too  
light in confirming a friend, but learne to keep  
him when thou hast him. Marrie with time  
equall: Reprooue thy friend in secret, but pub-  
licly thou mayest commend him: Shunne the  
company of wicked people: Praise and follow  
vertue. Hee sayd moreover, that Lawes  
were like to Spiders webs, wherein poore little  
Flies were soone entangled, but such as were  
great and strong, could easily breake throu-  
gh. Such, and the like notable Sentences, are  
found among his Lawes and Ordinances:  
And so much for *Solon*.*

Solon saying  
conformable  
to Christian  
Religion and  
Ciuitie.

*Chilo*, son of *Amaratrus*, was also num-  
bered amongst the seauen Sages of  
*Greece*. He was of *Lacedæmon*, a city high-  
ly renowned in *Greece*, where he was ele-  
cted in the Councell of the *Ephori*, in re-  
gard of his great wisdom & knowledge:  
this was an Estate among the *Lacedæmoni-  
ans*, as the Conseruatours and Tribunes  
were among the *Romains*. *Chilo* was ve-  
ry summary and succinct in his Discourse,  
as (ordinarily) all the *Lacedæmonians*  
were: and hee was likewise called *Ariste-  
goras*, in regard of that qualitie. When  
any one compiled an Oration, in few and  
witty words, they vied to say; That he had  
written a *Chilonical* Oration. He liued so  
long (as *Pliny* and some others say) euen  
till nature fayled in him. Neuertheless,  
he dyed with a conceit of ioy, seeing one  
of his sonnes, to winne the prizes of Ho-  
nour in the Olympian games, and after  
his death, the *Lacedæmonians* performed  
his funerall with great solemnitie.

The singular wisdom of this man, ap-  
peared sufficiently, by the notable Sen-  
tences

*Chilo* the  
third Sage of  
wife man of  
*Greece*.

*Chilo* called  
*Aristagoras*,  
for his suc-  
cinct discur-  
sing.

*Pliny* lib. 6. c. 10.

*Chilo* entru-  
sted all men  
to know the-  
felices.

tences which he had written; but especi-  
ally in this, that he exhorted every man  
to know himselfe. Which being heedful-  
ly obserued, men would not bee too vaine,  
nor so proude and inordinate, as usually  
they are: because all vices and disorders  
do proceed from selfe-conceite, and no  
man truly knowing himselfe. Hee cupon  
the Christian Church tooke an order,  
that every yeare (in the beginning of Lent)  
all men should bee admonished to reme-  
ber, that from dust they came, and to dust  
they should returne againe.

*Plat.* in lib. de  
legib. 3. cap. 9.  
Iuuenal.

*Plato* recordeth, that this saying of  
*Chilo*, *Know thy selfe*, was written in letters  
of golde, vpon the portall of *Apollos* Tem-  
ple. *Iuuenal* saith, *That this saying came frō  
Heauen. Macrobius*, in his Tract of *Scipios*  
*Dream*, saith; That the Oracle of *Apollo*  
being demanded the meanes, what course  
should be taken, for attaining to felicity,  
answered: *Only teach a man to know him-  
selfe. Democritus*, being asked, at what time  
he began to be a Philosopher, answered;  
*When I began to know myselfe. O most ne-  
cessary rule; for if a man would consider  
himselfe well, and study but to vnderstand  
his condition, estate and vacations, and  
frame his life accordingly thereto: hee  
could neuer bee so changed, to attempt  
such things, as he neyther shold or ought  
to do, neyther would there bee so much  
disorder in the world, as now there is.*

Things fit and  
necessary for  
all men to  
know and v-  
derstand.

*Chilo* also had an accustomed kinde of  
Proverbiall speeches, to wit: *Remember  
thou must dye, and therefore provide for  
thine owne saluation. Honour olde men. Be no  
murmurer. Speake no euill of an offendour.  
Chuse rather losse, then dishonest gaine. In vi-  
olence and constraint bee milde and humble.  
Labour rather to be loued, then feared. Try  
Gold by the touch; for a golden-songed mā,  
who speaketh all that comes into his mouth,  
men may often heare from him, such things  
as they would not.*

Witty and  
gaue senten-  
ces written &  
vied by *Chilo*.

*Chilo* being asked by one, named *Æ-  
sop*, what God had done, answered; *Hee  
exalted humble men, and suppressed proud &  
ignorant Fooles. Being demanded also, what  
was the hardest thing in the world to bee  
done, replied: To rise and employ a mans  
time well, and to pardon injuries and outrages  
received. In briefe, he would vially  
say, that he would so dispose the course of  
his life: That the greatest persons should not  
despise, nor the meanest feare him. Finally,*

*Chilo* both wrote and spake many notable  
things in his time, which would require  
ouermuch leysure to report: And there-  
fore, we will take our leaue of him, making  
way to entertaine our 4. man of *Greece*.

*Cleobulus*, who was also one of the se-  
auen Sages, was borne in *Lindus*, a Ci-  
ty in the Isle of *Rhodes*; or as some others  
say, in *Caria*, a Towne of *Anchima*, a Re-  
gion in *Greece*; and his Fathers name was *E-  
zagoras*. This *Cleobulus*, beside his being a  
very singular wise man, was also of very  
goodly bodily feature, and wonderfully  
active of his person: so that eyther, or  
both these happy blessings together, made  
him admired, and esteemed generally.  
The loue of learning preuailed in such  
fort with him, that he forsooke his Coun-  
try, Parents and Friends; traauiling into  
*Egypt*, where (in those times) were many  
goodly and famous Vniuersities.

*Cleobulus*,  
the fourth  
wife man of  
*Greece*, a mā  
of learning  
and excellent  
composure of  
body.

He had a Daughter named *Cleobolina*,  
that could inuent and write in prose, be-  
yond ordinary compass of men or wo-  
men, and very skilfull shee was beside, in  
propounding questions of difficult reso-  
lution; as this one for an example: *A Fa-  
ther had twelue children, and each child had  
thirty sonnes, all white by nature, and thirty  
daughters, all of them naturally blacke: all  
which were immortal, and yet (notwithstan-  
ding) were discerned to dye daily. By which  
Enigma, shee vnderstood the yeare, that  
hath twelue Moneths, and eury Moneth  
thirty dayes and thirty nights.*

*Cleobolina*,  
daughter to  
*Cleobulus*, a  
woman of  
rare ingeniu-  
rity.

But come we againe to *Cleobulus*, who  
after his returne out of *Egypt*, defended so  
highly by his learning and iudgement, as  
to be ranked among the seauen Sages of  
*Greece*. And many of his learned sayings  
and sentences, were held as rules and di-  
rections for mens liues. Among other, he  
vied most of all to say; *That Mediocrity  
was without compare. And assuredly, these  
words greatly confirmed the saying of  
Chilo, who would haue every man to know  
himselfe: For if we knew our felices well,  
and as we ought to do, a meane then in all  
things would easily gouerne vs. By this  
sentence then of *Cleobulus*, making such  
precious account of Mediocrity, we may  
well conclude, that all extremities are vi-  
cious. As much to say, when there is too  
much, or too little: whereupon our an-  
cient Philosophers vied to say; Beware of*

Her witty  
Enigma.

*Cleobulus* his  
commendati-  
on of Medi-  
ocrity.

Omne quod est  
nimis viciū  
in vitium.





Diuers wife  
sayings often  
referred by Tha-  
les.

see what was under thine owne feet upon the ground. And yet notwithstanding, he was knowne to be an admirable wife man. He was wont to say; *That ouer-great assurance and confidence, was euermore accompanied with repentance.* For many times, such as trust too much to others faithfull promises, are faine to pay the debts, from which no other caution could preuaile with them. He sayd moreover; *That the true meanes of liuing vertuously, is, by not doing such things, as we condemne in other men.*

Being demanded, what was the easiest thing in the world to doe; he answered; *To know others faults, and none of our owne.* He sayd also; *That few Tyrants liued to be old.* Diogenes following the opinion of *Hermippus*, sayd; that *Thales* vied to thank God for three things (though this Sentence is fathered on *Socrates*;) *First, that he had made him a man, and not a beast. Secondly, that hee had made him a man, and not a woman. Thirdly, that hee was borne a Greeke, and not a Barbarian.*

Periander the  
last of the ten-  
uon Sages of  
Greece.

Now we come to speake of *Periander*, the last of the Græcian Sages, of whom I haue no great matters to relate; because (according to diuers authors) he was not in the rancke of the seauen Sages, and yet a man of singular wit and vnderstanding. *Periander* was King of *Corinth*, and the son of King *Cypselus*: the manner of his life being rather tyrannicall, as liuing like a Soldier or Captaine, rather then a Philosopher. And hence it ensued, that *Heracledus*, and many more beside, esteemed *Periander* to be none of the seauen Sages of Greece: but another *Periander*, who was (indeed) a great Philosopher; and a man highly renowned for vertue. Neuertheless, the most voices gaue the title of Sage to *Periander*; for although hee reigned by power at *Corinth*: yet notwithstanding, he was so discrete, valiant and so absolute vnderstanding; that thereby he won the name of Sage among the *Greeks*.

His answere  
when he wold  
not leaue his  
Kingdome.

It was demanded of him, why he did not depart from his tyranny & kingdome; because (quoth he) I may fall into as great danger, by willingly leauing my kingdome, which none other can dispose me of by force. He vied continually many notable Sentences, and had the word *Consideration* very frequent in his talke, as declaring thereby, that the principall thing

we should haue care of, is, to consider well what affaires we vndertake. The Poet *Ausonius*, expounding the word *Consideration*, saith; *A man should thinke some times on any thing, before hee presume to attempt it.* For men (often-times) fall into great daungers, through much inconsideration: especially, when they will not be gouerned by wisdom or counsell, but rashly follow the persuasions of Fortune.

*Vertue* (sayd *Periander*) is immortal, but the pleasures of this world are of small continuance. In times of prosperity, be wise and modest; & in aduersity patient and constant. Live in such sort, that thou mayest haue honour by thy life, and that after thy death, men may account thee happy. Let ancient Lawes and Ordinances be rules for thy gouernement, inducing no nouelties into the Common-wealth. Profite should alwayes be accompanied with good grace and honestie. Performe that chearefully, which thou canst not preuent but cowardly.

Complete he was in these, and infinite other of the same nature, which breuily maketh me spare to speake of.

Ausonius, ex-  
pounding the  
word Consi-  
deration.

Wise & lea-  
ned Senten-  
ces of Peri-  
ander, refer-  
red to eternals  
memo-  
ry.

### CHAP. XXIII.

¶ *That Sight is the chiefest and principall Sense of all the rest. And of many be-  
ing blind, who neuertheless were men  
of great honour and renowne.*



*Aristotle* had great reason to say; *Sight is the very principall Sense of all the other corporeall senses.* For, it is seated in the maine Cittadell, in the high & most eminent part of the body, where by we may vnderstand, that it partaketh greatly with fire: by vertue and power whereof, it is placed aboue all the other senses. Touching hath a terrestriall participation; for the earth is most touchable and tractable; and of all the Elements, Tasting holdeth with Aquositie and humiditie: for, without humiditie, a man cannot taste any thing. As for Smelling, *Aristotle* attributeth it to fire, saying; *Heat is the foundation of odour, and heat consisteth in vapour, ioyned to an Ayre grosse, and full of exhalation.* Concerning

Aristotles lib.  
Animal cap.  
The eminent  
seate of sight

The Element-  
ary qualities  
of the body  
senses.

Hearing,

Sight holdeth  
more of Fire,  
then all the o-  
ther senses.

Hearing, euerie one well knoweth, that it partaketh with ayre, which entering into the eares, by found, causeth hearing; but sight participateth with fire.

And although that the Eye were composed of a moylt and waterish bodie, yet notwithstanding, without Fire, it wer not possible to haue sight: whereby wee may perceiue, that Sight or Seeing holdeth more of fire, then all the other senses doe beside. And because the eye (as *Aristotle* saith) doth more present the figures of things to a man, then all the other senses: to it is granted, the beginning of contemplation, and knowledge of all things. For from sight proceedeth admiration, and the consideration which a man hath by seeing, occasioneth a desire in him, of coming to vertue: So that (by good right) we may call the Eye, the Author and Inuentor of all Arts and Disciplines.

In the prime place, by the Eye, a man considereth the admirable Architecture of the heauens, & of all the other bodies: by the Eye we discern their colours and greatnesse, their formes, number, proportion, and measure; their sense, motion, & their resting. And although Hearing had some concurrence in this case with Seeing, so that it might be reamed a sense of doctrine and of discipline, because men learne vertue by hearing and vnderstanding: yet (for all this) that title appertayneth principally to the sight, as vnto her, that giueth the meanes to the vnderstanding, to enquire by the plenitude of things which she heareth, to come to the true knowledge of them; to the end, that this knowledge may afterward be communicated to other. Hereby then we may observe, that the first sourse or spring of instruction, cometh from the Sight, who afterward maketh Hearing mistress of the worke, by comprehending those admirable things: presented first to the eyes sense. Wherein also may be noted, that Hearing can comprehend nothing of it selfe, without vying the means of another; but the Sight comprehendeth all things (as it were) euen of it selfe.

Hearing com-  
prehendeth  
nothing but  
by anothers  
help.

The swiftness  
and celeritie  
of the Eye in  
her operations,  
in regard of  
stardines in all  
the other sen-  
ses.

Moreover, Seeing surpasseth all other senses, in swiftnesse and promptitude of her operations: for in an instant, and with no more then a cast of the eye, she perceiveth her desseignes: whereas the other senses are long, & laborious in their wor-

king. For, Touching must haue one thing or another, to execute her power and office vpon, before thee can expresse her prerogative. Tasting also must needs tarry, for some things answerable to hir palate. And Smelling requirith such a leysure, in receiuing an ayre qualified, as may penetrate into her nostrilles: As the like doth Hearing, to comprehend a voice entering into the eares. But Sight only worketh instantly, and presently comprehendeth the images of things presented to hir in an vnspokeable and gracious manner. For, blowes may be seene giuen a great way off, and although the sound or noyse of them bee not heard so soone; yet notwithstanding, there is nothing that can conceale sight of the strokes, for they are sodaine and apprehensive vnto the Eye. And therefore, Seeing surmounteth the other senses, because it extendeth it selfe so farre.

In this respect, by many Histories and examples reported by *Pliny*, wee may easily gather, that Sight hath a farre larger extent, then all the other senses, without any comparison, or wearing her selfe tediously, as all the other do. For the Taste tirieth it selfe by too much feeding. The Ear is easily offended, by talkative babbling. The Smell is trauailed extremely, by continuation of sweete Odors. But Sight folieth, hath no sense of paine in her operations. Nor doth she at any time wearie her selfe, as to close her lids retiredly; but rather, she is neuer satisfied with Seeing. In briefe, the excellency of Seeing is so great, that the name of Seeing is attributed to all the other senses, in their severall operations. For, men ordinarily say, Beholde the excellencie of this sweete Odour a little while; or the Delicacie of this Musick; or the rare taste of this Fruite.

The name of Seeing, extendeth it selfe to the operations of the vnderstanding; for it is an vniuersall saying; Marke how my intention will come to passe. It is likewise sayde in the Gospell, that our Lord and Sauour saw (that is to say, knew) the thoughts of the Scribes and Pharisees. And verily, among the miracles & workes which our blessed Sauour did in those vnworthy Countreys; it is helde for the most especiall and singular, that he gaue sight to the blind. And therefore there is no

The Eye discerneth along way off from where the person is, so can none of the other senses.

The name of Seeing attributed to the other senses in their kinds

Seeing extendeth to vnderstanding.

Matth. 23. 30.

Christ hit giuing sight to the blind most commended.

Yyy 2 labor

A History of  
Fredericke  
King of Na-  
ples.Of the enu-  
ous man.Spectacles  
helpe to pre-  
seue the  
fight.A gluttonous  
Feeder.A Gentleman  
of Spaine al-  
wayes wiled  
him Spectacles  
at his myales.Diuers blinde  
men of great  
honour and  
excellency.Blinde Appi-  
us Claudius,  
Censor of  
Rome.Cicero in Tus-  
culan lib. 5.

labor, wherein our Physitions more gladly study and take paines, then to preferue and maintaine the sight of men.

I reade of a holy man named *Asarius*, who being present in a consultation, that diuers Physitions made before *Fredericke King of Naples*, concerning the maintaining of mens sight. When it came to his turne to speake, he said; *There is nothing better to comfort the sight, then enuy, because it will alwayes make the goodes of an other man seeme greater then they are.* This agreeeth with *Ouids* saying, *Enuy euer thinks his neighbours Corne, more goodly then his owne.* Notwithstanding, according to the opinion (almost) of all men, Spectacles doe greatly serue to defend the sight: and surely, they were a very good inuention, though the first deuiler neuer knew it.

I haue heard of a great Lord in *Spain*, that would alwaies eate Cherries with his Spectacles on his nose; onely to make them seeme the bigger and more nourishing: but yet this gourmandise was exorbitant. An other Gentleman, being quipt by *K. Philip*, because he fed ordinarily with Spectacles on his nose; answered the king, Sir you count it not strange, that I vse my Spectacles in reading a Letter, in which can be no danger at all: why then do you blame me, because I eat with Spectacles on my nose, wherein are such an infinite number of bones, as the very least is able to strangle me, & which I cannot see without my Spectacles? Spectacles then serue to very good purpose many times. But to our former purpose againe concerning Sight.

Although Sight is the chiefe guide of man; yet notwithstanding, I haue read of diuers blind men, who were of no meane fame and reputation: Nature supplying their vnderstanding, for whatsoever wanted in their sight. *Appian Claudius* the great Orator, highly honored and esteemed of *Cicero* and *Titus Livius*, although hee was blind, was elected Censor at *Rome*, which office hee managed with so singular authority, as he only hindered the peace the whole Senate had concluded with King *Pyrhus*, *Cicero* discourseth amply in the fifth Booke of his *Tusculan Questions*, concerning the blindness of *Appian Claudius*, and of remedies against diseases in the eyes.

*Caius Drusus*, the most famous Lawyer and Advocate, was blinde; and yet neuertheless, his house was continually full of clients and suitors, who rather affected to be guided by his darke wisdom, then by their owne eye-sight. *Caius Aspidius*, a great companion with *Cicero* in his youth, was Praetor of *Rome*; and yet left not to opine in the Senate, and all his friends receiued counsell from him, in their very greatest and weightiest affairs. And notwithstanding this blindness, yet he digested a very notable Chronicle, of his own writing, whereof was made most high estimation. *Diadorus* a Stoical philosopher, was greatly renowned in his darkenes, and for all that imperfection, he could study in the night time, & play on his viol in the day; nay more, he taught Geometry publickly, a matter almost incredible, considering that it can not be practised but by the eye.

*Antipater of Cyrenica*, and *Asclepiades* the Critike Poet, were both of the blind; and yet bearing their disaster with patient soules, they neuer gaue ouer studying Philosophy, but therein spent their time to the benefit of many. And when certain Ladies (grieving at his hard fortune) sate weeping by *Asclepiades*, hee said to them: *Forbeare (noble Ladies) because you know not what a pleasure it is, to dwell in darknes: they then demanding of him, what profit he receiued by his blindness, he replied; I haue a boy more now to keep me company then I had before. Homer*, the Prince of Poets, was blind also, as his name imported; according to the saying of *Cicero*: neuertheless, tis vknowne when he lost his sight; but true it is (as *Ouid* saith) that this disaster happed to him in his olde age.

*Didimus Alexandrinus*, may likewise be ranked with them that haue gone before, who being blinde euen from his youth, became (neuertheless) a most perfect Logician; studying besides, in all other humane disciplines; and hee made a very notable Commentary vpon the *Psalms* of *David*. Such then, as wee haue before spoken of, perceiving themselves to be deprived of their sight, did yet strive and labour to performe them: memorable, as Necessity is alwayes said to bee industrious.

But that which *Democritus* did to himselfe, made the world both astonished & smile

Caius Drusus  
a famous law-  
yer blinde, &  
yet wrote a  
worthy Chro-  
nicle.Diadorus a  
Philosopher  
who taught  
Geometry in  
his blindness.Antipater  
Cyrenicaeus,  
and Asclepi-  
ades Criticus.Homer being  
blinde, was  
called the  
Prince of  
Poets.Didimus A-  
lexandrinus,  
the famous  
Logician.

## CHAP. XXV.

¶ That Auarice or Couetousnesse, is a most enormous vice, and subject to great dangers: With sundry examples of diuerse persons, who were extremely couetous.



He Auarice of our instant dayes, induced mee to discourse on this sin, as a case of most perillous and extreme danger: and to intermeddle among my relations, certaine histories of many couetous men, which may serue as exampls to other yet liuing. Desiring all Readers (in the meane while) to consider the estate of a couetous man, with the like eie, as common people doe diligently looke vpon a monster, which foue luggler or Mountebanke bringeth into a city, for singularity & obseruation.

As entrance then into our discourse, it is to be noted, that *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and many other Authours beside, haue diuersly defined what Auarice is; neuertheless, we may deriue this resolution from their definitions. That Auarice is an inordinate desire of a mans enriching himselfe, without sparing part of his goods to any other; so that we may well say, this vice is excessiue in desiring and griping, but very cold and slowe in giuing or parting with any thing. Vnder the cloake of this sinne, march a thousand disorders, infinite iniustices and abominations, sheltering themselves there so safely, as they cannot doe the like in anie of the other vices. For, as *Virgil* saith; *Execrable famine of gold, is there any vice, which thou inducest not into the heart of man?* *S. Paul* also saith: *Couetousnesse or Auarice is the foule or roote of all euils, hauing made many to wander from Faith, which otherwise would haue kept and followed it.*

That Auarice is a sinne most abhominable, appeareth sufficiently in this, because it makes a man hated both of God and men, being (of it selfe) quite contrary to Charitie: which is such a vertue, as conioyneth God and men together, euen as the opposite sinne maketh a man hateful vnto himselfe. For, the loue of our selues is so rooted in our hearts, that wee respect not any thing, in regard of our

Y y y 3 selues

Democritus  
the Philoso-  
pher, plucked  
out his owne  
eyes.Zisca, chiefe  
Captaine and  
Commander  
of the Bohem-  
ians.Belus, the se-  
cond King of  
Hungaria,  
was blinde  
by his owne  
vncle.John, the  
blinde King  
of Bohemia,  
who assisted  
Philip of  
France, against  
King Edward  
of England.

smile at together: For, (as *Lucretius* and *Aulus Gellius* do affirme) he plucked out his owne eies, to enjoy the more freedom in his contemplations. But *Tertullian* (who was an Author worthy of credite) maintaineth, that he did it, onely to auoide the inordinate appetites of the flesh.

Above all other men, subiected to the infelicite of blindness, *Zisca* the Bohemian deserueth no meane remembrance, who being blind, was chosen chiefe Captaine and Commander of the Sect hee professed among the Bohemians; and so well executed his charge, that he obtained many victories against his enemies, and carried himselfe so woorthily in his place, that hee atchieued immortal memorie.

*Belus* also, second king of *Hungaria* being elected chiefe of the *Hungarian* army; had his eyes plucked out by the meanes of *King Colomanus*, his owne vncle. Being blinded thus, hee withdrew into *Greece*, where he made such plaine apparence of his manly spirit and wisdom: that king *Stephen*, sonne to king *Colomanus*, repealed him, and gaue him in marriage the daughter to the count of *Servia*. In which dignity he carried himselfe with such rare integritie, as (after the death of King *Stephen*) hee was chosen King of *Hungaria*. And being blinde, reigned nine yeares; during which time he had diuers warres, and especially against *Broccus*, the bastard sonne to King *Colomanus*; whom yet he vanquished, so that he left the kingdom of *Hungaria* peaceably to his sonnes.

The last blinde man, whereof wee will speake at this time, was *John*, King of *Bohemia*, who reigned in the yeare of our Lord 1350. or thereabout. And surely, it is almost myraculous of this Prince, that blinde *Zisca* should maintaine his Commanders place so woorthily, being General of the Bohemian army, against *Belus* then reigning in *Hungaria*: yet I hold all nothing to blinde *John* of *Bohemia*, who had so much valour (after his owne victories) to succore (in person) *Phillip* king of *France*, his kinsman, in his warre against King *Edward* of *England*. For, this blind King, euer affected to make one in the field; assisting also the Earle of *Flanders*, and many French Princes.

The reason of  
inerring this  
Chap. by  
the Author.Aristotle,  
Cicero,  
Thot. quinas.  
The defini-  
on of Auarice.Virgil, his ex-  
clamation on  
Auarice.  
Rom. 9. 14.Auarice cau-  
seth contemp-  
t both of God  
and Men.

felues, louing alwayes our owne profit, more then any others. And yet notwithstanding, Auarice hath gotten such preeminence ouer man, as he cares for nothing but getting money, being so forgetfull of himselfe, that hee will neither eat, drinke, nor clothe himselfe decently; but rather is content to fast, and almost starue himselfe, because he will not allow the least leisure from the scraping goods together. Nay, he feareth not to hazard both his soule & body, so he may be sure to get money; which is a thing repugnant to the Lawe of Nature, who ordained and instructed vs, to affect and maintaine our felues, and contemne all things, before our owne liues. And yet the couetous man cares not to loofe and condemne his owne soule; yea, and a-bridge his life, which he will endanger in a moment, for the getting of a Crowne.

Vndoubtedly, it is much to be lamented, that a man should not respect himselfe, nor his parents, wife, children nor friends; provided that he may wallow in wealth and mucke of the world: such an one was the Rich man, spoken of in the Gospell. What a miserable and wretched follie is it, to endure hunger, thirst, colde, ill cloathing, and neither sleep by day or night, but every houre to endanger life, and yet make no vse of golde when it is gotten? It ought, and should serue for the sustentation of life, and to that end riches were ordaind. Obserue the words of our blessed Sauour; *What awayeth it a man to winne the whole world, and loose his life, that is, his soule?* Surely, I am of opinion, that this happeneth by the Diuine permission, casting such couetous men into a reprobate sence, to the end they may die in that avaritious will and desire.

And yet notwithstanding, God often permiteth, that wealth scraped together, by such toyle and trauaile: shall fall into the hands of other, to scatter as prodigally, as it was gotten wickedly, and wonderfully sparing. This is that whereof Salomon speaketh in his Ecclesiastes: *Such as heape up riches, gotten by iniustice, leave them for other to spend.* For, can that thing bee good for an other, which is euill in him who hath it? I haue all also vpon the very same words speaketh thus. *Some doe gaine and make profit, only to maintaine their*

*life; and there are others, who liue not but to gaine.* In brieft, this wicked vice doth so capriuate a man, that it robbes him of all lone and respect to himselfe: so that there is not any wickednesse in this world, but it may well bee expected in a couetous man.

\* Dion the Philosopher said; *Auarice is the head of all wickednesse.* Euripides saith, *An ambitious & couetous Iudge, can neither thinke or desire any iust thing.* Saint Augustine saith, *who euer suffereth himselfe to be gouerned by Auarice, becometh subiect to all vices and wickednesse.* And this is conformable to good reason. For, the couetous man (by Auarice) becometh a tempter, periured, an euill payer, an vsurer, a deceiver, a traytor, a turne-taile, a thiefe, a tyrant, and an idolater: so that it is not possible, that a couetous man should haue any good being; neither as Lord nor vassalle, gouernour nor subiect, father nor sonne, nor friend or coufine, and in the end, neuer doth good, except when he dyeth.

\* Lucilius sayd, *An avaritious man is good to no bodie, because he is wicked to himselfe.* Democritus maintained, *That extreme Auarice, is worse then extreme Pouertie.* Aristotle in the first Booke of his Politiques saith: *Desire to become rich, neuer hath ending; and therefore riches serue as powertie to a couetous man: because hee dare not vse them, for feare of empaying his estate.* The Stoicks had a saying, *That wisdomes and necessitie came not of powertie, but of abundance: for, the more that a man hath, so much the more needy is he.* Concluding, *It is good to haue a little, because as no time to be needie.* Plato gaue this counsell to a couetous man, to become rich indeed, hee should not encrease his wealth, but rather decrease his auarice or couetoufnesse.

All these notable Sentences before remembered, are intirely conformable to the sacred Scriptures, who declare; *That the eyes of a couetous man are insatiable.* Salomon also saith in Ecclesiastes; *A couetous man is neuer satisfied with money: And that who euer addictheth his mind to riches, shall neuer enjoy them.* Saint Augustine compareth the couetous man to hell, which can neuer be glutted enough, and neuer saith it hath sufficient, although it hath beene so long time in filling. Even so, the greedy

\* A Philosopher of Be-tylhene.

Aug in lib de lib. arbit. cap. 5.

Theretic picture of a couetous man.

\* A famous Latine Poet, liuing in Italy.

The opinion of the Stoicks concerning wisdomes and necessitie.

Sentences of Scripture, as touching couetoufnesse.

Aug in Chast. de lib. 9. cap. 4.

S. Ierome, his comparison of a couetous man.

S. Augustine, concerning desire in men, and other creatures, but (as he saith) all in the avaricious and couetous man.

Aug in Psal. lib. 1. c. 10.

Examples of miserable wretched couetous men. Iudas Iscariot one of Christs Apostles.

greedy couetous man is neuer satisfied, but the more he gaineth, the more he gapeth still after gayne; thinking himselfe poorer and poorer. Saint Ierome sayth: *The couetous man is so needie of that which hee hath, as if hee had it not at all.* And alwayes his auarice encreaseth, as fire doth, being continually fed with dry wood. As much or rather more, haue many other holie men sayd; all in vtter detestation of this damnable sinne.

Neuertheless, because I will no longer weary the Reader, I shall conclude this point with the saying of Saint Augustine: *How strangely insatiable is this desire in men? Other creatures haue their appetites limited; for they hunt when they are hungry, and being satisfied, they leave their prey. But hee that coueteth the riches of this world, is insatiable: for hee seeketh and hoordeth up daily, taking wealth from all hands, without fearing, either God or men. Hee knoweth neither father nor mother, he maketh no account of his brethren, or any friends of his; hee neuer careth for keeping his word: Hee oppresseth Widowes, robbeth Orphanes, and serues his turne with free-men, euen as if they were slaues: He is commonly a false witnes, and cares not how hee engroffeth up dead mens goods: Are not these commendable qualities in a couetous man? Let vs flee then from this accursed vice, which (ouer & beside the former notes of wickednes) is incurable (according vnto the saying of Aristotle) for it encreaseth with age: so that Auarice is in his full reigne, when bodily strength faileth in man.*

To shunne one falling into this slauiish sin, I will alleadge some examples of wicked couetous men, among whom, Iudas Iscariot marcheth in the first rancke; he being an Apostle and Disciple of Christ Iesus, was so subiect to Auarice: that he would robbe the money from the rest of his fellowes and companions, by bearing the bagges, and hauing the money in his owne possession. This wicked passion had so farre blinded him, that he accounted the precious Oyntment to bee lost, wherewith Mary Magdalen anoynted the feete of our blessed Sauour. For, if the Oyntment had bene sold, hee would haue stolne part of the price. In the end, he was so strangely led by this sinne, that (for money) he solde his Lord and Master. This onely example were sufficient

to approue whatfoeuer hath bene said concerning couetoufnesse: neuertheless, I am content to report some other, among which, *Tiberius Caesar* Emperour of Rome is the formost man; and questionlesse, there is no other vice in the world, better to be exampld in the *Romain Emperours*, then this of Auarice.

This Prince, among other his notorious vices, (whereto hee was very easily moued) was so subiect to penurious gripping, and piaching, that although he was Lord of the whole world; yet notwithstanding, he put to death *Cnaeus Lentulus* (whom he had instituted to be his heire) onely to enjoy his wealth. As much did he to the King of the *Parthians*, who did come to liue with him vnder his safe-conduct; onely to possesse himselfe of the riches and treasure, belonging to the simply abused Prince. He so heauily charged the poore with taxes and toyles, that they were enforced to forsake their countries, in such sort; that the Cities and Townes remayned desert and vn-inhabitable. In the end, pursuing on still his variable inclination: *Caligula* smothered him between two pillowes, and so hee dyed.

*Domitian* the Emperour was more couetous then he: And the Emperour *Commodus* (therein) exceeded them both: for he (ordinarily) vsed to make port-sale of iustice: and therefore heauen iustly permitted them to be stabbd to death by *Poynyards*. *Achelous* King of *Lydia*, was so ouercome with couetoufnesse, that hee could not be contented with his Crowne lands, and very large ordinary reuenues; but layd (beside) such taxes and impositions vpon his subiects, that they arose in Armes against him, and hauing taken him, murdered him most miserably, and (afterwards) hung him up by the heeles.

*Pontanus* maketh mention of a Cardinal, who was so extraordinarily avaritious, as he would often disguise himselfe like vnto a poore groom or slaue, and steale away the prouender from before his owne horses. *Horace* saith, that there was a man in Rome, named *Ouid*, who was so abundantly rich in money, that he could measure his gold and Silver by many bushels: and yet notwithstanding, hee would goe starke naked, and neuer did eate halfe so much as would suffice him; as fearing still

Example of couetoufnesse in diuers of the Romain Emperours.

Tiberius Caesar, who couetously put his own heire to death, to enjoy his reuenues.

He was found smothered by Caligula.

Domitian and Commodus, two extreme couetous Emperours.

Achelous, King of Lydia.

A most extreme couetous Cardinal.

A wretched, and miserable couetous man in Rome.

Auarice maketh me careless of themselves in getting money, yea and to endanger their bodies and soules.

Men care neither for Parents, Wife, Children, Friends, nor themselves, so they may get riches.

Luke 16. 13.

The niggard oftentimes gets goods together, for the prodigall to spend vnprofitably.

Eccles 7. 9.

still least he should fall into poverie, lived most wretchedly all his life time.

Many other might be spoken off, too much added to this detestable sinne, as \*Primalcon, the brother to Dido, who slew his cousine, onely to enioy his riches. *Po- litus* also, King of Troy, who put to death one of King Priams sonnes, being sent to honour him in his Court: but such prolixity of examples may prouoe offensive. We will content our selues then, to know how we ought to shunne this sin, which is the occasion of infinite euils: and so much the rather; because men are continuallie more enclined to Auarice, then to Liberality.

## CHAP. XXVI.

A verie singular reason, deliuered by Phauorinus the Philosopher, concerning Astrologers; that it is not good to demand any Question of them, hauing relation vnto future matters.

**O**ur Ancient, yea, and more moderne writers, were euermore doubtfull in the act of Iudiciall Astrologie, which discouerseth of things to come, and accidents happening to men, as wel in particular, as generally throughout the world; some condemning it, and vterly reiecting it; others approouing it in part; some beside maintaining it by strong reasons, and by experience. Moreover, there are store of bookes, which I could produce here, as warrantable prefidents: but I mean not way that to trouble my selfe, although I haue studied sufficiently in that part of Astrology, which discouerseth on the course and motion of the Starres.

Being willing then, not to touch the honour and reputation of any person, I will onely alledge, what the Philosopher Phauorinus saide, according as *Aulus Gellius* relateth. He being desirous to retreat and turne mens mindes, from reposing any trust in Astrologers, Caldeans, or Mathematicians, concerning the knowledge of things to come: vied a reason very in-

genious and acute, speaking in this manner, and as himselfe hath sette downe the words.

*Be well aduised, that thou giue no credite to Astrologers, in any manner whatsoever: For, although they tell thee true, that which they say, will be either good or ill for thee, and being good, it must be truth, or a lye. If it be truth, thou must receiue double damage by knowing it: for first of all, thy desire runs into further paine and trouble, what good thereby shall happen to thee, and how soon. Secondly, a good or benefite to come (whereof thou hast thus receiued intelligence) is alwaies reckoned the lesse, because it cannot bee so complete, as if thou wert possessed thereof instantly. If it be a lye, thou expectest in vain, the benefite which the Astrologer promised thee, in regard it shall neuer come vnto thee. What if that which the Astrologer foretold thee, is ill and hurtfull for thee? Being euil & certaine; what more great disgrace can happen to thee, then to be possessor of an euill turne, which thou must embrace, and is out of thy power to shunne or auoid? If it be a lye, why should a man be afflicted, or driven into sadness, by feare of a mischance that shall neuer come neere him? Be it therefore in what sort soeuer, it is not good to enquire after future accidents.*

For mine owne part, I finde the counsel of this Philosopher to be so good, that I hold it agreeable vnto the holy Gospell, which sayeth: it is not for vs to know times, seasons, nor moments.

## CHAP. XXVII.

Diuers examples of sundry accidents, whereby great plots and designements of great Politicks, haue bene dissipated and overthrowne. Also, concerning Policies, that (for a time) haue bene profitable, and yet in the end haue proued pernicious.



**E**E read in *Plutarch*, that the people of Sicily (being oppressed with diuers Tyrants) craued assistance of the *Corinthians*, who sent them (for their succour) a Capitaine of theirs, called *Timoleon*; a man famous, not onely

The admonition giuen by Phauorinus against confidence in the saying of Astrologers.

The Authors judgement of the Philosopher counsell.

## Chap. 27. Of great Policies preuented.

onely for Militarie discipline; but also for morall vertue and piety. This *Timoleon* had (within a while) such good successe, that the Tyrants despairing of ability eyther to overcome him, or to defend them selues by force against him: One of them (being named *Iecet*) suborned a couple of desperate companions to kill him. And they perswading themselves, that it might best be done, as he should bee sacrificing to his Goddes; watched on opportunite for that purpose; and finding him one day in the Temple, ready to sacrifice; they drew neere him, to execute their intent. But as they were ready to strike him, one of the standers by (who suspected nothing of their intention) vpon a sodaine, gaue one of the Conspiratours such a mortall wound, that he fell downe dead in the place. The other (seeing his fellow slain, and thinking that the conspiracy was discovered) fled into the Altare, and taking hold thereof, craued pardon of the Gods and *Timoleon*, promising, that (if he wold saue his life) hee would discover all the practises.

In the meane time, hee that had killed the other Conspiratour, being fled; was taken and brought back, calling God and Man to witness, that he had done nothing but a most iust and lawfull acte, in killing him that had slaine his Father. Which being knowne to some that were present, and testified by them to be true: filled all the assistants with admiration of Gods providence; who by such a sodaine and vnexpected accident, had not onely overthrowne the pernicious plot, and designement of the wicked Tyrant, and preserved *Timoleon*, but also had executed his iustice on a murderher.

Heereupon, *Plutarch* maketh a notable discourse of Fortune, following the opinion of the *Platonists*, concerning the same (which they define to bee *Demoniacum potestatem*, Sec. An Angelicall power, connecting diuers and different causes, to produce some effect.) And therefore, he noteth in this History, how the good Angel of *Timoleon*; did (for his preferuacion) assemble, and (as it were) chaine things together, that had no coherence of themselves, making one of them to be the beginning of another. For, although the murder of his Father that slew the Conspiratour, had no connexion with this con-

spiracie against *Timoleon*; yet, neither that murder had bene reuenged, if this Conspiracy had not followed; nor this Conspiracy had bene discovered and overthrowne, but by occasion of that murder committed long before. Thus discourseth *Plutarch* vpon this accident; which although he referred to Fortune (speaking thereof, according to the opinion of the *Platonists*) yet he ascribed it principally to the providence of God, who by the ministry of his good Angel, protected and preferred his seruant *Timoleon*, in respect of his great piety and deuotion: and this beeing well vnderstoode, is no way repugnant vnto Christian Catholike Doctrine.

But to come to examples neerer our time, *Charles Duke of Burgundie*, beeing at Warre with *Lewes* the eleuenth, King of France, had (for his Confederates) the Dukes of *Guienne* and *Britany*, whereof the first was the Kinges owne Brother. And hauing bene (in former time) twice deceiued by the said King, with false treaties, and now desirous to quite him with the like; offered him to abandon his two Confederates, vpon condition; That he would restore vnto him certaine Townes, which he had of his vpon the Frontiers. Aduertising his Confederates (in the meane time) that his meaning was not to forsake them, ot to keepe any Couenant with the King; but onely to recouer his owne, and then to delude him, as he had bene importuned by him.

The King (suspecting no deceit) according to the conditions, and sent his Ambassadors to Duke *Charles*, to take his oath for performance of the Couenants on his part. The Duke swore, or rather forswore himselfe (promising vpon his Oath, that which he meant not to performe): & then sent his Ambassadors in like manner vnto the King, to take his oath. In the meane time, before the Ambassadors arrived where the King was, it pleased God so to dispose, that the Duke of *Guienne* the Kings Brother, and Confederate to *Charles*, dyed. Which the King vnderstanding and seeing himselfe already deliuered (by his Brothers death) of the danger of Ciuill Wars, which he most feared: refused to sweare, and stand to his couenants. And so, all the crafty deuice and subtle plot of *Charles* was overthrowne, by the sodaine acci-

*Plutarch* ascribeth both the preferuacion of *Timoleon*, to the providence of God, by the means of his good Angel.

*Phil. Com. c. 58.*

Another example of great deligence of *Charles* D. of Burgundie, ouerthrowne by a chance.

A false Oath taken, iudly requited by a Confederates death.

An attempt against *Timoleon*, overthrowne by a strange accident.

These are the mercies of God, to preserve the liues of virtuous men.

Murder is a sin too heinous that often is reuenged by strange means.

The device of Fortune according to the *Platonists*.

Prokes in Couenants on *Timoleon*.

*Plutarch* vnto *Timoleon*.

\* Or Pigmali- on, as some writers call him.

*Politus*, King of Troy.

Iudiciall Astrology continually misdoubted.

The Author himselfe a student in Astrologie.

*Aul. Gel. in At. tic Noct. l. 5. c. 7.*

The ouerthrow of Cesar Borgia (Machiavel's emulor for a Prince) by a sodaine chance

Guicim Lib. 6

Borgia the great politician preuented

Guicim Lib. 6

Cesar Borgia thinking to poison another, poisoned his owne Father & himself

accident of his confederates death, which he neuer dreamed of; and he himselfe forsworne for nothing.

Heere to I will adde *Cesar Borgia*, Duke of *Valentia*; whome *Machiavel* so highly admitteth, that he propoeth him for a patterne or example to his Prince. This *Cesar*, being become exceeding rich and potent, by the helpe and Authority of *Alexander* the sixt, his Father; and fearing nothing so much as his Fathers death, whereby it might chance, that some enemy of his might be chosen to succede him; (studied and laboured by all meanes possible to preuent that inconuenience, & to procure, that the election of his Fathers successor, might fall into the power of himselfe and his friends. Which when hee had provided sufficiently, as he thought; it chanced by such meanes as I will declare.

After a while, not onely his Father died; but he fell likewise so extremely sicke at that time, that hee could execute nothing of that which hee had before resolved. Vvhereby it came to passe (God so disposing in his iust iudgement) that an enemy of his fathers and his (being chosen to succede) he was within a while vtterly overthrowne. In which respect, he himselfe was wont afterward to confesse, and lament the imbecility of mans witte, because when hee thought, that he had foreseee all inconueniences, which might happen to him by his Fathers death, and provided to preuent them: hee neuer so much as imagined, that he should bee so sicke at the same time, that he should not be able to put any of his delignements in execution.

And herein is also to be noted, for further prooffe of the matter in hand, that he himselfe was the cause, as well of his owne sickness, as of his fathers death, and consequently of his owne overthrowe, by a wonderfull chance, which hapned contrary to his expectation. For, hauing invited his Father, and Cardinall *Cornetti* to a Vineyard, with intent to poyson the Cardinall, so the end to inherit his goods; hee re-commended a certaine Bottle of impoisoned wine, to a trusty seruante of his, with speciall charge to keepe it safe, and giue it to none without his expresse order. But it so fell out, by his seruants negligence (or rather by Gods iustice)

that as the Psalmist saith; *Incident in foueam quam fecit: H: fell into the pit himselfe, that he had made for other.* For his Father, coming into supper very hot and thirstily, by reason of the great heates, and calling for wine; the seruant that had charge of the Bottle (not knowing it was poysoned; but imagining onely, that it was some speciall wine, more precious then the residue) & not hauing any other ready (because the prouision was not brought from the Pallace) gaue him of that wine, whereof not onely he, but his son *Borgia* dranke. And being both poysoned therewith, the Father (who was old and weake) died presently: but the Sonne being young, and more able to resist the force of the poyson; had time to take great and potent remedies, whereby (after a long and dangerous sickness) he hardly escaped. Thus was his bloody plot and pernicious purpose preuented, by an accident which he neuer mused.

But let vs come now to an example in our Countrey of *England*, which manie yet may well remember. The Lord *John Dudley*, Earle of *Warwick*, and after Duke of *Northumberland*, in the time of *K. Edward* the sixte, meaning to aduance himselfe and his Family; married the Lorde *Guilford Dudley* (his fourth sonne) to the Lady *Jane*, daughter to the Duke of *Sussex*; pretending to make her Queene after King *Edward*, in preiudice of the Lady *Mary*, daughter to King *Henry* the 8. and eldest sister to the sayd King *Edward*. For, by reason of the Kings lingering sickness, he had time to vie all the meanes, which he thought convenient for the accomplishing of his desire. And therefore partly for friendship, and partly for feare, hee had here in so farre preuaited, that there seemed to want nothing for assurance of his intention: but only to haue the Lady *Mary* in his hands; whome therefore hee procured the Councell to send for in the Kings name; vpon pretence, that she should come to comfort the king; where to the obeyed, not suspecting any sinister meaning in the Duke.

But as she was vpon the way, and somewhat neere to *London*; before she fell into the snare prepared for her, it pleased God, that shee received aduice of the Dukes delignement, from one of his owne counsell: wherupon she returned sodainly,

Psalm 7. 15.

Guicim Lib. 6

The plotte of the Duke of Northumberland, against the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to K. Henry the eighth.

John Stow in his Booke 6.

Lady Marie auerted of the reacherie intended towards her, by one of his owne counsell.

The Duke of Northumberland his ouerthrow by gods prouidence and iustice.

These are commonly the ends of high and ambitious hopes.

ly, and within a while after, that she arrived at her owne house; she had newes of the King her Brothers death. And although the was destitute of men, money, counsell, and all other meanes to enable her, whereby to resist so great an aduersary as the Duke (who was not meanly provided) yet such was her trust in God, as also the iustice and right of her cause; that she provided her household seruants to proclaim her Queene presently in the countrey Townes thereabout. Whereupon, first the common people of the countrey adioyning, and (afterward) diuers gentlemen of account repaired vnto her in so great a number: that the Duke of *Northumberland* and the Councell (who had already proclaimed the Lady *Jane* in *London*, and in diuers parts) thought it conuenient to leuy forces, and to make a royal Army, whereof the Duke himselfe (for the authority of his person) was General.

The Duke then presently put himselfe into the field, leauing the charge of the City & Tower of *London*, to the Lords of the Councell: who, vpon his absence, and vnderstanding the great concourse of people, to the assistance of the Lady *Mary*, and the equity of her cause iustly considered: they agreed amongst themselves, to proclaim her in *London*, as presently they did, and committed to prison the Lady *Jane*. Then sent they order to apprehend the Duke, who was so dismayed therewith when he vnderstood it; that he vtterly lost his high and hopefull courage; and being taken prisoner at or nere *Cambridge*, was brought to *London*, and there afterward executed.

By these examples, and infinite others which might bee alleged, it is verie euident, that there is no surety in the plottes and contriuings of men, be they neuer so wise, except they be guided by the Spirit of God particularly. For, when they haue built (as a man may say) Towers of policy, as high as the Tower of *Babel*; a sodaine blast of an accident vnexpected, shall cast them downe to the very ground, to the confusion (many times) and ruine of the builders and contriuers.

But what shall we say of counsellors and policies, that seeme not only to be grounded vpon great reason, and continued also with as great prudence; but also suc-

ceede (for some time) notably well; & yet in the end proue to be pernicious? Vvhen of we haue seene sufficient experience in the *Romane* Empire, which was ouerthrowne in course of time, by that (which for many years) seemed to bee the strength and security thereof. For, whereas the first *Romane* Emperors, hauing oppressed the Common-wealth by Armes, perswaded themselves, that their state was to bee established and conserued, by the selfesame meanes as it was gotten, and therefore resolved, that the safety thereof, & of theyr persons, consisted in strong Guards, garisons, Legions, and Armies of soldiers, to be distributed throughout all the parts of their Dominions: it is euident, that the same was (in the end) one of the principall and cheefest causes, of the Emperors vtter ouerthrow, though (at the first) it seemed greatly to establish and assure the same.

For, after the death of *Nero* (when the Family of the *Cæsars* was ended) not onely the Guards departed for the custody & safeguard of the Emperors persons, called *Prætorian milites*; but also the Legions & Armies, disposed and placed in diuerse quarters of the Empire (seeing as well the personnes of the Emperors, as also the strength of the Empire in their own hands) did arrogate vnto themselves, such authority and liberty to chuse new Emperors: that they set them vppe, and pulled them downe at their pleasure. Vvherby in lesse then one year after *Neros* death, foure Emperors, *Galba*, *Otho*, *Vitellius*, and *Vespasian*, were chosen by the Guardes, who forced the Senate to admit and confirme them. And their insolency grewe to such extremity in time, that after the death of the Emperor *Pertinax* (whom they killed) they made offer of the empire (by publike proclamation) to whosoever would giue most for it.

And whereas there was but onely two that offered money for it, *Sulpicianus*, and *Didius Iulianus*; they gaue it to the latter, partly because he gaue them ready money, and partly because *Sulpicianus* was Father in Law to *Pertinax*, whom they had slain. And, whilst not onely the Emperours guards, but also the soldiors of euery army tooke vpon them to make Emperors: it fell out sometimes, that there were as many Emperors chosen at once, as there were

The *Romane* Empire ouerthrowne by the same meanes that preferred it for a time.

The factious election of Emperors, by guards and armies of soldiors.

Suetonius, Plutarch.

Elins Sparte.

The Empire sold to such as would giue most money for it.



Trebel, Policies  
triginta tyranni

were diuers Armies in the Empire. Infomuch, that in the time of *Galen* and *Valerian*, there were no lesse then thirtie Emperours declared in sundry places, within the space of fifteene yeeres. Whereupon it followed, that the Empire (being pittifully rent and torne with ciuill warre) was so weakened, that it became a prey to the *Gothes*, *Vandales*, *Alans*, *Hunnes*, *Lombards*, and such other barbarous Nations.

The ruine of  
many Emper-  
ors by their  
owne Guards

Thus was the Romane Empire ouerthrowne, by the same meanes, that were not only ordained to conserue and maintaine it; but also did indeede (for a time) preserue it from many dangers, both domesticall and forraigne, to wit, as well from inuasion of forraigne enemies, as from rebellions of Subiects: which by the Emperours Guards, and the ordinary Legions, dispersed through all parts of the empire, were either easily preuented, or speedily repressed. For which cause, the Emperours themselves were content, to stand (as it were) at their mercy, to the end that they might (by them) rule and command others; which although to some it was a safeguard and security, yet to manie more it brought ruine and perdition; as to *Caligula*, *Pertinax*, *Caracalla*, *Heliogabalus*, *Papianus*, *Balbinus*, *Galen*, *Seuerus*, *Macrinus*, *Aurelianus*, *Julius Maximinus*, *Probus*, with diuers other; some of them being slaine by their owne Guards, and some by their Soldiers.

The Turkes  
great Guard  
of Janizaries,  
dangerous to  
his State.

This inconuenience, the Emperours of Turkes doe seeke to remedy, in their Tyrannicall Dominion (which they also vphold by force, as the Romans did, though with lesse danger.) For, although they have about three hundred thousand horse, and foote euery in readinesse, vnder their Colonels and Captaines, in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*: yet they keepe them alwayes fundered, and farre dispersed, that they neuer come together in any number, vnlesse they are to be employed in some forraigne Warre. Neuerthelesse, they Guardes of Janizaries, which they have alwayes neere about them, for the security of their persons, to the number of thirtie or foureteene thousand, haue proued (many times) no lesse dammageable, then dangerous to their States. For they haue not onely sometime set the younger Brother against the elder, and holpe the

Let vs see  
how in his Ot-  
toman power.

sonne to depose the father: but also (when in our Age) haue taken the most confident Officers, and greatest favorites of the Turke from him by force, and smote off their heades; and compelled him to pardon them, yea, and to giue them whatsoever they would demand, to appease them.

Whereupon, two considerations may be gathered; the one, the infelicities of Tyrants, who while they seek rather to be feared, then louingly affected: are forced to make themselves subiects & slaves to those, by whome they keepe other in subiection and slavery. Whereby we see, how true it is which *Seneca* saith; *Quod alieno metu magnum est, suo non vacat. That which is great by others feare, is not void of feare in it selfe.* The other consideration, is, how tickle the state of Princes is, how weak their policies, how vncertaine the successe of their plots; and consequently, how needfull it is for them, to craue and haue the especiall protection of Almighty God, in all their designements and actions; seeing the meanes where by they labour to preserue themselves from dangers, proue many times more dangerous in the end, then the dangers themselves, which they seeke to auoid.

This may further appeare, by the policie which *Rodericke* King of *Spain* vied, to assure his state against the children and friends of King *Ysida*, whom hee had deposed. For, fearing lest his subiects might rebell in their fauour, he dismantled all the strong holds and places in *Spain*, and disarmed the people. Whereby, though hee strengthened his state, in regard of domesticall danger; yet he weakened it, in respect of forraigne attempts. Insomuch, that the Moores inuading him shortly after, and ouerthrowing him in battell, found so slender resistance afterward, that in feauen or eight moneths, they conquered almost all *Spain*.

The like also may be saide of the Brittaines, to whom their owne policie proued most pernicious; for, being mollified by the *Picts* and *Scotts*; they called in the *Saxons* for their defence, who (for some time) serued them to good purpose; but in the end, they conquered them & their Country.

In like manner, the Queene of *Hungary* thought it good policie, to procure the

Pauli, in  
Common re-  
turne, to Ba-  
pista.

Tyrants are  
ruined by those  
by whom they  
keepe other  
in slavery.

The danger-  
ous & tickle  
state of Prin-  
ces, without  
Gods especiall  
protection.

Rodericke K.  
of Spain, o-  
uerthrowne  
through his  
owne policie.  
See in *Isidore*,  
*Ann. 713.*

Let vs see  
how in his Ot-  
toman power.

The very  
worst kindes  
of policies to  
successe, are  
the deuisers  
themselves.

the ayde and assistance of *Solyman* the Great Turke, against *Ferdinando* King of the Romanes, brother vnto the Emperour *Charles*, the fifth of that name; and (for a certayne time) hee was selected and supported thereby: but in the end, *Solyman* comming into *Hungarie*, in his owne perloyn, with a pretence to succour her: he depriued both her and her sonne of their Kingdome: Also *Amurath*, one of *Solyman* Ancestours, conquered and subdued the greatest part of all *Greece*, euen by the very like kinde of meanes and occasion.

No policie  
preuaileth a-  
gainst the will  
of heauen.

But peraduenture you will say, that this was for good a follicie in Christian Princes (to put confidence and trust in the helpe of such potent and perfidious Infidells) that it is not to bee alledged for an example of policie. I graunt that it was follicie; but such kindes of follicie may bee committed and doone, euen by the wisest Princes and their counsellors, when Almighty GOD will punish and afflict them. For, hee eyther taketh from them their politticke wittes, to the end they may erre and precipitate themselves: or, hee ouerthroweth their wisest designements, by such kinde of meanes as they cannot imagine: or else, he doth bring them to such exigents, that they are forced (sometimes) wittingly, to take in hand some dangerous and desperate resolution, whereby they are disgraced and ruined.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

A briefe Discourse concerning the first foundation of *Ierusalem*: What fortunes (from time to time) befallen there to: And of the Kings that there did reigne.



The admir-  
able graces &  
priviledges of  
*Ierusalem* in  
precedent  
time.

Neuer was there any Towne or Cittie (of what estate or condition soeuer) that had so many especiall graces and priuiledges from Almighty God, nor euer had such store of sacred mysteries therein performed, as in the

Cittie of *Ierusalem*: although it had not had that (onely chiefe) note, that our blessed Lord and Saviour was there crucified, dead and buried; and that the mysteries and secrets of our redemption, had not bene there accomplished: Contrariwise, there is not any City in the world, that euer endured so many miseries and mischances, or fell into such slavish seruitude, as hee, and as is to be discerned at this day.

As concerning her riches, and sumptuous buildings, no Cittie vpon the earth could euer equal them; as *Pliny* extollet it about all the Citties in the East: And *Cornelius Tacitus* amply describeth the situation thereof: whereby wee may easily collect, that it was one of the most potent Citties in the world. As much affirmeth *Iosephus*, who describeth the three wals wherewith it was ingirt: which neuerthelesse were adorned with goodly Towers, Bulwarkes, and buildings most rare; besides the excellencie of the Temple, a thing beyond all compass of comparison. All which considered, I thought it not vn-necessary, to make some briefe report, concerning the first foundation of this Cittie, with what fortunes happened thereto (as well good as euill) by a summarie Collection, of such things as I find recorded in her owne Chronicles.

*Ierusalem* was situated and founded, in the very midst of *Iudea* or *Ierrie*, at the toppe or knap of Mount *Sion*, which is helde or reputed (commonly) to be the middle or centre of the earths superficies. *Ezechiel* also saith, *That it was seated in the midst of Nations.* *David* likewise saith, *That the saluation of men was perfected in the midst of the earth.* Which *Saint Hierome* declareth, writing on that passage of *Ezechiel* before specified. Moreover, it is written in *Genesis*, That *Melchisedech* (which, according to the interpretation of *Saint Paul*) is as much to say, as Iust King, or a King of Iustice. *Abraham* hauing conquered foure Kings, that kept *Lot* prisoner mett him and made a sacrifice to God, and that this Prince baptized this City of *Salem*, or (as some say) *Salem*, which is as much to say, as Peace: in regard wherof, he was called King of Peace.

*Salem* then was the first name imposed vpon this Cittie: although *Saint Hierome* is of the opinion, that it had the

The wealth  
and sumptu-  
ous buildings  
in *Ierusalem*.  
*Plin. lib. 2. c. 9.*  
*Cor. Tac. in*  
*lib. 3. cap. 4.*  
*Ioseph. de Bell.*  
*Iudaic. lib. 6.*

Concerning  
the leasing or  
plantation of  
*Ierusalem*.

Genes. 14. 18.  
Hebr. 7. 1. a. 3

*Salem* the  
first name gi-  
uen to *Ieru-*  
*salem*.

name of *Iebus* at the beginning. *Strabo*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, and many other Authors besides, called it *Solima*, speaking otherwise of the foundation, then formerly hath bene sayd.

This City likewise was called *Iebus* and *Ierusalem*, as wee may reade in the sacred Scriptures. Saint *Hierome* writing to *Dardanus*, doeth giue it three names: Notwithstanding, it was (in the end) called *Aelia*, in regarde of the Emperours name *Aelius Adrianus*, who caused it to bee re-builde and fortified. Saint *Hierome* sayth, that it had the name of *Iebus*, in regard of the *Iebusites*, who had founded it, vntill the time of the holy Prophet *Dauid*.

*Iosephus* and *Agesippus* say, that *Melchisedech* gaue it the name of *Ierusalem*, as much to say, as *Vision of peace*: making one word of *Iebus* and *Salem*, so that *Ierusalem* found it selfe to be composed of these two wordes, onely by changing *B* into *R*. Others say, that it had the name of *Here*, that is to say, *Vision*: by reason of the Angell which appeared to *Abraham*, when hee would haue sacrificed his sonne *Isaack*.

Some others say, that it was called *Ierusalem*, as much to say, as the house of *Salomon*: in regarde of the admirable buildings which King *Salomon* erected there: many other opinions are there vpon this point, which I passe ouer lightly; because I am of the minde, that as the *Iewes* called it in their tongue *Ierusalem*, so did the *Greekes* and the *Latines* name it *Ierosolima*, as wee may reade in *Iosephus* and *Agesippus*, Greeke Authors. Yet, *Nicholas de Lyra* will not haue it to bee so receyued, because hee sayth, that *Ierusalem* was first called *Luca* and *Bethell*: which I can giue but little credite vnto; for (according as Saint *Hierome* sayth) *Bethell* is twelve miles off from *Ierusalem*, as wee may see it also auouched by *Iosephus*. Notwithstanding all these opinions, it is to be noted, that *Ierusalem* (in former times) had many particular names; which were thereto attributed, in regard of the manifold high mysteries therein accomplished. As, *The Holy City*; *The Sacred Citie*; *The Citie of Dauid*; and many other such like Titles, besides her owne proper and peculiar name, *Ierusalem*.

But come wee now vnto the Historie. The *Iebusites* and the *Canaanites*, who were one and the same Nation (for *Iabuz* or *Iebus*, was the sonne of *Canaan*, the sonne of *Can*, Nephew to *Noah*, of whom these Nations tooke their name) were Lordes of *Ierusalem*, at such time as the Children of *Israel* (deliuered from the Captiuitie of *Egipt*) possessed themselues of *Palestina* and *Iudea*. And it came to passe, that in the diuision or partage, which the twelue Tribes of *Israel* made of the Land promised vnto them: *Ierusalem* fell into the portion of the Tribe of *Beniamin*. Neuerthelesse, because this Tribe of *Beniamin* (notwithstanding all their aduentures in *Ames*) could not wholly cleare the Country of the *Iebusites*: they were constrained to let them liue there among them, for more then three hundred and seauenty yeares after, euen to the time of *Dauid*. Hee being both a Prophet and King, and descended of the Tribe of *Iuda*; expelling the *Iebusites*, wonne their Fortresses from them, building them new againe; and erected there a goodly Pallace, as wee may reade in the Booke of *Kings*, and also in *Iosephus*. *Dauid* hauing thus expelled the *Iebusites*, called *Ierusalem*, *The City of God*, creating it to be the chiefe and Capital City in all *Indea*.

During the Reigne of King *Dauid*, *Ierusalem* was in her triumphing iollity, and highly renowned among all the Nations, in regarde of the great victories which *Dauid* obtayned: after whose death, wife *Salomon* succeeded him. And although this King laboured to liue in peace, yet *Ierusalem* still increased in fame, riches and sumptuous buildings: for *Salomon* enlarged the walles thereof, and erected there goodly fortifications. Hee builded many other costly Castles beside: but especially the Temple, so greatly renowned, in regard of the treasure and artificiall cunning bestowed thereon, as neuer could any other building be compared therewith. For, as wee may reade in holy Scripture, and also in *Iosephus*, the Furniture thereto belonging, was infinite and incomprehensible. So that the very fame thereof, incited the Queene of *Saba* to visite King *Salomon*.

Concerning the *Iebusites* and *Canaanites* the lords and possessors of *Ierusalem*.

*Ierusalem* fell to the tribe of *Beniamin* in the diuision.

King *Dauid* expelled the *Iebusites* out of the land. *Ioseph*, in Ant. lib. lib. c. 9.

*Salomon* succeeded his father *Dauid*.

*Ioseph*, in Ant. lib. lib. 8.

The Queene of *Saba* visited King *Salomon*.

Many

Many Kings likewise sent him choyle Presents to the same effect, Gold, Silver, and Treasure, which they brought to him by sea, and in such abundance, as no more account was made thereof, then as stones in the streete.

This King neuerthelesse, forgetting the great blessings which God had bestowed vpon him; became an Idolator, so that God suffered his kingdome to be diuided after his death.

Hauing reigned forty yeares, *Rehoboam* his sonne succeeded him, against whom the Tribes revolted, who elected *Ieroboam* to be their King. *Rehoboam* had there but two of the Tribes onely, to wit, *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, whereupon he fortified his Cities: and afterward, this Kingdome remaining to his successours, began to take and continue the name of *Ierusalem*, because of the Tribe of *Iuda*. *Ieroboam* and his successours, called themselues Kings of *Israel*, and chose *Samaria* to be the chiefe City of that Kingdome: and by this diuision, those Kings were alwayes at continual warre, each against other. Notwithstanding, although *Rehoboam* had but two of the Tribes subiect to him, yet his reputation was so great (because hee was descended of *Dauid*) that euermore hee prevailed in fight, and was much more feared and obeyed, then the King of *Israel*, so that *Ierusalem* became not a iote diminished, eyther in strength or riches. But when the Kings of *Iuda* and their people, grew offensive to God by Idolatry: then this goodly City suffered many miseries and calamities.

*Rehoboam* hauing strongly defended his Townes and Cities, and they flourishing in all pompe and prosperity; hee notwithstanding, fell to Idolatry, as wee may reade in the holy Chronicles; and likewise in *Iosephus*. In regard whereof, God raised vp against him, *Sufac* or *Shishack*, King of *Egipt*, who came and towred his Country with twelue hundred Chariots, threecore thousand horse, and a countlesse number of Infantry, belonging to the *Egiptians*, *Ethiopian*, *Troglodites*, with many *Lybians*, which came from *Gynicia*, to his seruice. Boldly they entred into *Ierusalem*, sacked the City and the Temple, from whence they caried infinite Treasures, as is to be obserued in his chronicle. After which chastisements, the

anger of God being appeased; *Rehoboam* remained peaceably in his Kingdome, all the remainder of his life: and being dead, *Abias* succeeded him, who ouer-came *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; in which conquest were slaine fifty thousand men belonging to *Ieroboam*.

After the death of *Abias*, who liued but a while (being also an Idolator; and yet God permitted him to haue this victory, in consideration of *Dauid* his grandfather) *Asa* succeeded him. This Prince was good, iust, and feared God, and therefore hee gaue him many great and signall victories, against *Zarab*, King of *Ethiopia*: who had entred so farre vpon his Country, that he kept *Ierusalem* besieged. In his time, the Kingdome of *Iuda* was so flourishing, that (vpon an account made) there were found five hundred and fourescore thousand men, able to beare Arms. I finde also in the sacred Scripture, that this King builded and fortified many Cities.

Hee being deceased, *Iehoshaphat* his sonne came to the Crowne, during whose Reigne, *Ierusalem* was in great reputation: chiefly in respect of Prophets, as *Abias*, *Micheas*, *Ostias*, *Elias* and *Elsesus*, who were all then at that time. This King found such fauour in the sight of God (according as wee reade in the holy Chronicles of the Kings) that the *Moadibites*, *Ammonites*, and the Mountaineers of *Sen* (being gathered together, with an infinite number of people, to runne vpon this Prince) God sent a dissention among them, that they converted thence, and employed their powers to spoyle themselves, so that without striking a stroke, King *Iehoshaphat* returned with great triumph to *Ierusalem*. Where hauing reigned peaceably, and in noiticane power, hee dyed, leauing the Kingdome vnto *Joram* his sonne, giuing also to his other Children, diuers Cities, with great summes of gold and silver.

*Joram* being come vnto the Crowne, hee followed not the Steps of his Father, nor of his Grand-father. But gaue himselfe to impiety and crudelly, putting to death his owne Brethren, he laboured also to haue alliance with *Achab*, King of *Israel*, whose counsell hee mainly followed in his affaires, and likewise tooke his Daughter in marriage. Whereat

After *Abias*, succeeded *Asa*, a iust and vertuous Prince.

A goodly number of men made in *Iuda*.

*Ierusalem* builded with many famous Prophets.

A mighty army presented by Gods provision.

The impiety and wicked rule of *Joram*.

The countrey  
of Iuda (p. 73)  
led & ruined.

Wicked lues  
were common  
by a wicked  
death.

God being displeased, suffered the men of *Edom* to revolt from him. The *Arabs* also made warre vpon him; which proved in such cruell manner, that the whole Countrey of *Iuda*, was thereby vicerly waited.

After his death, *Ahasia*, or *Ochozias* his Sonne, succeeded in the Kingdome, with his Mother *Athalia*: and, as they were both of most Wicked life, euen so, hadde they asynhappie an ending.

Next him succeeded *Ochozias*, who gaue good apparence in the beginning of his Reigne, to doe all things for the best, as well in regard of Religion, as for actions of policie. For, hee reduced the Temple into the first condition, and re-established all the damages and injuries which the Kinges of Egypt (and especially his Father *Ahasia*) had done. But soone after, hee fell vnto Idolatrie, so that (by common voyce of the people) hee caused the Prophet *Zacharie* to be put to death.

So highly was the goodnesse of Almighty God distasteth herewith, that he sent a terrible chastisement vpon *Ierusalem*, and that in the time of King *Amasias*, Sonne vnto this *Ochozias*. Who hauing Warre against *Iosab*, King of *Israell*, and neuer remembering the great Victories, which God had giuen him against the *Idumeans*, and manie other Nations: both hee and his people were ouercome, and being ledde Prisoner vnto *Ierusalem* his owne City, was compelled to yeelde it to the mercy of *Iosab*, who caused it to be dismantled, and foure hundred fadomes of the Vallies to bee beaten downe. Hee spoyleth the Temple also, and possideth himselfe of all the wealth and riches belonging vnto King *Amasias*: returning home afterwards (in Triumph) to his Citie of *Samarita*.

Furthermore, King *Amasias* being slaine by Treason, *Azarias*, or *Ozias* his Sonne next succeeded, who was a verie valiant and potent Prince. First of all, he strengthened *Ierusalem*, and all the other dismantled Cities, enriching his Countrey, by diuers great victories which hee obtained against the *Philistines*, *Arabs*, and *Ammonites*, making them all Tributarie vnto his Crowne; so

that the renoune of *Ierusalem*, encreased day by day, while hee reigned; and hee founded and builded many Townes and Cities beside.

Neuerthelesse, pride made him to forget his dutie; for, perceiving that he had three hundred thousand men subiect vnto him, and all in abilitie to carry Armes: hee grew so exceeding arrogant, that hee would needes vsurpe the High-Priestes Office. But as hee was performing his Sacrifice in the Temple; God smote him with a fowle Leaprotie, the which continued with him to the time of his death.

After his decease, *Iotham* his Sonne next succeeded him, being a Prince very wise, iust, and valiaunt; hee also enlarged *Ierusalem* verie spaciouly, by manie reparations and new foundations; besides, the building of some other Cities. Hee likewise ouercame and vanquished the *Ammonites*, from whom he brought backe great summes of Golde and Silver. But after his death, Triumphant things beganne to weare away, and all unhappinesse fell vpon the people of *Iuda*: For, his Sonne *Achaz*, sur-named *Elezazar*, being come to the Crowne; gaue himselfe to Idolatry, introducing the ceremonies and superstitions of the Pagans. In regard whereof, God chastised them by the hand of *Rasias*, King of *Suria*; and *Phezas* King of *Israell*, who slaughtered (in one day) fixe score thousand men. After which pittifull ouerthrow, they ranne thorow the Countrey of *Iudea*, robbing and spoyleing it in lamentable manner; and because *Ierusalem* was strong, it outstoode the sharpe besieging of these kings so long, til they despayring of their insufficiency, were forced (with great summes of Golde) to buy their succor of *Salmanazar* king of the *Assyrians*. And for the better satisfaction of him, they tooke the Vesselles of Gold and Silver, which onely were for the Temples service, to helpe them withall in this great distresse.

*Salmanazar* being come to assist the king of *Iuda*, vanquished and ouerthrew the king of *Israell*: and yet notwithstanding, ledde away with him a great number of the Iewes prisoners, to whom he gaue the Region of *Libna* to dwell in. And this was the first dispersion and captiuitie

Pride and arrogancy iustly punished by the hande of heauen,

Iotham succeeded Ahasia his father

Pagan Ceremonies and superstitions brought into Iuda.

Ierusalem reduced againe to distresse in wofull manner.

The first dispersion and captiuitie of

Ezechias the son to valour, iust King Achaz, succeeded him in the kingdom after his Father.

His rooting vp of idolatry and turning given to the Iuda Tribes.

Salmanazar and Senacherib, Gods scourges vnto the Iewes.

The dispersing of the Iewes into strange Countreys.

of the Iewes, since their miraculous deliuerance out of Egypt: and in short time after, the *Assyrian* king, compelled the King of *Israell*, euery yeare to pay them Tribute. At this very time, the Prophets *Osee*, *Esay*, *Amos*, *Micheas* and *Ionas* were in great reputation.

After the death of this vnfortunate *Achaz*, next came to the Crowne his son *Ezechias*, a man farre beyond the Nature of his Father; for, hee was wise, iust, religious, and one that feared God. *Ierusalem* also (in his reigne) recovered once more her former credite; policy becoming better reformed, and the seruice of God reduced to such perfection: that (as the Scripture it selfe amply declareth) the Realme of *Iudab* neuer had a better king; living in great prosperity, and honouring his Countrey, with many famous Victories.

Hee could not content himselfe, with renting vp the rootes of Idolatry, whereto the people were ouer-much enclined; and bringing them entirely vnto the true seruice of God: but hee also gaue summons to the ten Tribes of *Israell*, to lue according to that Lawe, which God had deliuered by the hand of *Moyse*. Whereunto many condiscending, they came to Sacrifice in *Ierusalem*, and to celebrate Easter, according vnto the ordinance of *Moyse*.

Notwithstanding, as the sacred Scriptures doe testifye, the rest perseuered still in their Idolatry, and made a mockerie of those gentle inuitations, as also the aduertisements which the Prophets had giuen them. For which contempt, GOD layde his correcting rodde vpon them, aswell by *Salmanazar*, as *Senacherib*, kings of the *Assyrians*, who oppressed them greatly, in the first yeare of King *Ezechias* his reigne.

Also in the fourth yeare of the reign of *Ozias*, King of *Israell*, the *Assyrian* brought so heauy a warre against seuen Tribes of *Israell*, for the space of three whole yeares: as he enforced them to forsake their countries, and to go dwell as slaues among the *Medes*.

Thus you see how the Iewes were dispersed here and there, among forrayne and strange Nations, without euer returning againe home to their owne houses, so that none knew what afterward should

become of them. For heere was the end and ruine of the kingdom of *Israell*, which had continued three hundred and seuentie yeares.

On the contrarie, *Salmanazar* sent his *Assyrians* into *Samarita*, to inhabit there; who (vsurpingly) got possession of all the Countreys (wherein the *Israelites* had formerly dwelt) and tooke the name of *Samaritanes* vpon them. Yet *Eusebius* taketh that name but as a Garrison, wherein his opinion (me thinks) is not warrantable: for they were called *Samaritanes*, after the name of *Samarita*, the chiefe and principall City of that Countrey. The *Assyrians* made a mixture of the Iewes Lawes with their Idolatries; yet held them in abomination, as excommunicated people. As concerning their actions, I shall be silent therein, because it no way concerneth my discourse: and if heerein I haue committed any error, I submit my selfe to the Churches correction.

After the ouerthrow and ruine of the *Israelites*, the Kingdome of *Iuda* onely remayned on foote: For the good King *Ezechias*, to saue his people from the fierce rage and furie of King *Salmanazar*, and to preferre his owne dominions in peace; gaue him great summes of gold, buying (by that meanes) peace for long time. Neuerthelesse, this Infidell King falsified his Fayth vnto him, and came with a mighty powerfull Armie, intending to ruinate the Kingdome of *Iuda*, as formerly hee had done the Kingdome of *Israell*. But GOD being pleased to defend his people, sent the Prophet *Esay* vnto King *Ezechias* to comfort him, (because this Prophet liued then) and in one night, the Angell of the Lorde, slew one hundred and fourescore thousand fighting men in the *Assyrians* camp: by meanes of which great slaughter, the rest retired thence. And *Ezechias*, hauing escaped this dangerous perill to himselfe, and his people, lyued the remainder of his dayes peacefully in his Kingdome. And God hauing evidently declared great Myracles, on the behalfe of this King, he dyed peaceably, leaving his Sonne *Manasses* successeur in his kingdome.

This Prince wandered from the good wayes of his Father, and added him selfe altogether to Idolatry, committing

How the Samaritanes first received that name.

The kingdom of Iuda remaining after the ruine of the Israelites.

One hundred and fourescore thousand Assyrians slaine in one night.

Manasses re-  
voked from  
the wayes of  
good King E-  
zechias his fa-  
ther, and was  
led captiue  
into Babylon.

many most abominable finnes, directly contrary to the Law of God, and thereto likewise induced the people. Whereat God growing offended, raised vp the *Affyrians* against him, who so well chastised hims that, ouer and beside the ouerthrow of his people, himselfe was taken prisoner, and ledde away captiue into *Babylon*. Notwithstanding, he repented him of his finnes, which caused God to deliuer him out of the *Affyrians* hands; so that hee returned home to his owne citates, and dyed there in peace. After him, succeeded his wicked son *Amon*, who was slain most miserably: the Prophets *Iel*, *Nahum*, and *Habbakkuk* succeeded in his time. Next him, came to the crowne his sonne *Iosias*, who was a Prince that feared God, & very vigilant for the reformation of his people; performing many other actions, rightly becoming to good and iust a King. For, he expulled all idolatry quite out of his kingdom, which had taken deepe roote in the hearts of men, and he repaired the Temple also. Neuertheless, the anger of God against the Lewes was not appeased, in regard of the abominable idolatries committed, in the reigns of the Kings *Manasses* & *Amon*. Notwithstanding, in respect of King *Iosias*, who (thorough his owne folly) dyed poorly; God deferred to chastise the Iewish people, in such manner as he did afterward.

The deeds of  
the holy king  
Iosias, repay-  
ring the Tem-  
ple, and expel-  
ling idolatry  
out of his kin-  
dome.

King Iosias dy-  
ed of a wound  
needlesse recei-  
ued in fight.

The lamenta-  
tions of the  
prophet Iere-  
mie.

This king dyed of a wound, which hee receiued on the day that hee had agaynst *Necar*, King of *Egypt*, when hee might haue bin better employed. For *Necar* had no matter of quarrell against him, but rather fought his friendship so much as hee could; and hauing no other intention, but to imploy his forces against the King of *Affyria*. Neuertheless, in a brauery of spirit, *Iosias* would needs meddle with him, which cost the deere price of his life. His death was very much bemoaned, especially by the Prophet *Jeremy*, who wrote his Lamentations on his behalfe.

*Iachaz* his son succceeded him, who was giuen to all iniquity and wickedness: wherefore God suffered him to reigne no more then three moneths: for *Necar*, who had before foyled his father, depriued him of his kingdom, making the country of *Iudea* tributary, paying an hundred Talents of Gold, and one of Siluer, euery yeare.

*Iachaz* being thus defeated of his king-

dome, and led prisoner into *Egypt*, where he dyed; *Iachim* his Brother, was entailed in his place, behauing himselfe verie wickedly; for hee was wholly affected to Idolatry, and prouoked his people to doe the like. In which respect, God stirred vp king *Nabuchodonosor* to be his enemy, who had already reigned forty foure yeares in *Babylon*.

This Prince hauing won the victorie against the Iewish people, ledde away the most part of the greatest personnes in all the Countrey, as captiue slaues and Vassals, and tooke away also the Vesselles of the Temple. The occasion of this warre grew, because *Iachim* gaue ayde vnto the King of *Egypt*, against *Nabuchodonosor*, contrary to the counsell of *Ieremy*. *Iachim* hauing reigned eleuen yeeres, and liued prisoner three yeeres, dyed in great poutery.

After whom succceeded *Iechonias*, following the steps of his Father, because hee was as wicked as hee. In his time, God began to display his rigorous rods of vengeance, prepared long time before against *Ierusalem*, but deferred in the regard of *Iosias*, according as the Prophets had foretold. For King *Nabuchodonosor* came in his owne person, with an exceeding great and powerfull Armie, to besiege the Citie of *Ierusalem*: but, *Iechonias* being not able to make resistance, submitted vnto his will, himselfe, his Mother, his Wife, and the principall personnes that were of his House. Moreover, hee made him a present, of the Vesselles and Treasures which remained (as yet) in the Temple. By which means, King *Iechonias*, and the cheefest men of his Court, were ledde away captiues into *Babylon*: But *Nabuchodonosor*, tooke all the assurances and fidelitie of *Mattathias*, vncle to King *Iechonias*, and made him king of *Iudea*, calling him by the name of *Sedechias*.

In speaking of this King, I must needs say, hee was one of the most Wicked and vnhappy Princes that euer reigned: For, not onely was hee ingratefull vnto Almighty GOD, for the great Graces which hee had bestowed vpon him (turning still his backe, and not willing to heare any thing which the Prophet *Jeremy* tolde him) but also did falsifie his word vnto King *Nabuchodonosor*; who

Iachaz dyed  
a prisoner in  
Egipt, led thir-  
der in capti-  
uities.

King Nabu-  
chodonosor  
ouerthroweth  
the Iewish  
people.

The long de-  
ferred anger  
of god against  
Ierusalem,  
now cometh  
to appearance  
in the war of  
Nabuchodon-  
osor.

Sedechias one  
of the worst  
Kings that e-  
uer reigned  
in Iudea.

The warning  
giuen to this  
vngacious  
King, by Iere-  
my, Ezechiel,  
and other  
Prophets.

The wrath of  
God executed  
vpon King  
Sedechias &  
his Children.

The utter ru-  
ine of the Te-  
mple of Ieru-  
salem.

The captiui-  
ty of the Iewe  
in Babylon, &  
how long it  
continued, as  
also the wofull  
depopulation  
of the City.

who had entailed him in the Kingdome, denying him his friendship. And if this Prince was no more worthy: much lesse then were the sacrificing Priests, and least of all the common people: so that all abominations and idolatries reigned in *Iudea*, euen to the prophanation of the Temple, which had bene held in such sacred esteeme. And notwithstanding all the aduertisements giuen to this King, by *Ieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and other Prophets: yet his obstinacy encreased daily more and more. Whereupon, God raised *Nabuchodonosor*, who, to reuenge the wrongs done him by *Sedechias*, in the ninth yeare of his Reigne, he came and couered the Countrey of *Iudea* with a mighty Army, and held *Ierusalem* besiedged, the space of two yeares, where King *Sedechias* had betaken himselfe for his more security.

The poore people languishing with famine & pestilence, were no longer able to endure the sidge; but being thus by extremity compelled, yielded to the enemies mercy: when hee entring into the City, put all to fire and sword. *Sedechias* was taken in his flight, and being brought before *Nabuchodonosor*; saw his own children slaine before his face; and as for himselfe, he had his eyes plucked out, and sent (in that miserable manner) captiue to *Babylon*. After the Conqueror was returned home, he sent to *Ierusalem* *Nabuzaradan*, who was one of his principall Captaines, with especial charge, vtterly to ruinate the Temple. This was foure hundred yeares after the building thereof by King *Salomon*: as he performed the like, to all the Fortresses and sumptuous buildings of *Ierusalem*, bearing downe the walles of the City, and defacing the Pallace belonging to the Kings of *Iuda*.

Hee carried away also all the mettall that was in the Temple, and ledde thence the Sacrificers, and all the chiefe men, as well of *Ierusalem*, as throughout the countrey beside, with their Wiues and Children; who continued Captiues in *Babylon*, for the space of about threecore and ten yeares. This was the Captiuitie of *Babylon*, which hath so much bene spoken of, and which happened about fixe hundred yeares before the comming of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ. Thus you see, how the poore City of *Ierusalem* remained desiert and desolate, except some

few of the meaner people, left behinde to till and husband the grounds: vnder the charge (neuertheless) of *Gadolias*, Deputy Gouernor in *Iudea*. But the people falling into mutiny, slew *Gadolias*, and then fearing the fury of *Nabuchodonosor*; such as remained of the *Iewes*, went and dwelt in *Egipt*, leauing *Ierusalem* waste and vnpeopled.

*S. Hierome* saith, that after the surprizal and lacking of *Ierusalem*, there passed well neere fifty yeares, when neyther Man, Beast nor Bird entred into it: whereby may sufficiently be knowne, what great punishments this people had deserved, that were so highly beloued and priuiledged by God. Seauenty yeares being passed ouer, it pleased God with the eye of pity, to looke vpon the Captiuitie of his people: being then, when the Empire fell into the dominion of the *Persians*, who thereof disseized the *Affyrians*, and in the time of the puissant King *Cyrus*. He, being moued by the Spirit of God, suffered fifty thousand *Iewes* to returne home into their Countrey, vnder the conduct of *Zerobabell* their Captaine, and *Iosiah* or *Iesús*, the foueraigne Sacrificer or High-Priest: who being returned into *Iudea*, began to repaire the ruines of their Cities, and especially *Ierusalem*, which they re-built with great ioy, offering sacrifices to God, according to the Ordinances appointed in his Law.

Here in Lib.  
Quint. Ezechiel.

At what time  
God began  
to commigra-  
te the dis-  
tresse of his  
people.

Fifty thou-  
sand Iewes  
related by  
King Cyrus,  
and sent into  
their Countrey

## CHAP. XXIX.

What difference there is betwene *Leasling* and *Lying*; And how a man may tell a *Leasling*, and yet not to be false, that it is a *lye*.



Ying, is one of the greatest vices that any man can haue; for it is not any way possible to negotiate, or to conclude any matter, with him that is a *lyar*, because *lying* maketh euery thing to be suspected. Moreover, the horror of *lying* sheweth it selfe sufficiently, in that it is directly opposite to truth, which is God: as likewise the diuell is called the Father of lyes. *Salomon* (in

How detestable a thing is  
lying, m. king  
men not to be  
credited when  
they speake  
truth.

his

The hatred to  
lying, both by  
Infidels and  
Christians.

his Prouerbs) placeth lying in the second ranke, of the seauen vices greatly displeasing to God. In briefe, this vice hath (at all times) bene so abhorred both by Infidels and Christians; that a man knowne to be a liar, was reputed as a plague to the Common-wealth, as we may perceiue in *Euripides*, according as is auouched by *Stobæus*.

The difference  
betweene lying  
& telling  
a leasing.

But not to make any longer stay, in shewing how pernicious and detestable a thing lying is, in regard that it is so common and vulgar: I take it as a matter conuenient, to declare what difference there is betweene leasing and lying, according to the saying of *Aulus Gellius*, and of many other Authors more; for oftentimes, there is a great difference in these two bad qualities. Obserue we then to this effect, that to tell a lye, is to affirme the contrary, of that which a man knoweth to bee true. But telling a fallacie or leasing, is to affirme lying, with an intention to speake truth: wherein a man cannot be saide to haue lyed, when he speaketh not against that which he holdeth for truth, & knoweth it so to be.

How a man  
may lye in  
speaking  
truth.

Contrariwise, a man may lye, and yet (notwithstanding) tell truth, when hee speaketh against that which hee thinketh, although that which he hath saide, be true. But when a man vttereth a leasing, knowing the thing it selfe to be otherwise then as he hath saide; hee lyeth, and then it is a dire & lye. From hence it ensueth, that it is impossible to tell a lye without vice or sinne; but he that speaketh a leasing, thinking to say the truth, lyeth not at all. This is that which *Nigidius* saith, according to the expresseion of *Gellius*: *That an honest man will neuer lye, and a wise man hates to tell a leasing*. For mine owne opinion hereen, I would aduise all men to auoide both the one and other vice, although they may imagine to speake truly.

*Aul. Gellius in lib. 1. cap. 9.*

*Ambrosius in Serm. de Genâ Dom.*

Heere it is to be noted, that although the tongue keepe silence, yet deeds sometimes may belye the person. For as Saint *Ambrose* saith: *He which makes profession of being a Christian, without conforming himselfe to the works of Christ, lieth, or is a liar*. As also that man doth, which makes a solemne promise to obserue Religion, and yet notwithstanding, obserueth none at all. As much may we say of some vgly women, as black as faire diuels, who paint

& paint to get them better faces, and look thereby worse the euer they did: And foolish olde men, that would be young againe by fantastick meanes.

I remember an old man, of whom *Theophrastus* speaketh, who being of great authority and credite, and hauing some important businesse before the *Lacedæmon* Senate; was very much greeued, to appeare there in such antiquity of yeares as he was slept into; which made him to cut and shau his head and beard, hoping by this meanes to seeme much younger. As the cause was in debating, *Archidamus* (speaking for his Clyent, against him) declared to the Senate, that no credit ought to be giuen to the words of him, that apparently carried lying in his head & face. So that, according to *Archidamus*, such aged fooles can lye, without speaking any words.

Of such liars  
there are no  
meane more  
in the world.

A pleasant  
history of an  
vill-headed  
olde man, be-  
fore the Se-  
nate of Lacedæ-  
mon.

### CHAP. XXX.

*Of the twelue Moneths in the yeare; how both Ancients and Moderne men vsed to figure them: And of some mysteries represented by them.*



**N**O great mystery consisteth in knowing the signification of the twelue Moneths by their figures. Neuertheless, considering that few or none haue written of them, in our vulgar tongue, I am the more willing to take a little paines, in acquainting some particular friends, that by looking vpon their portraictures, they may the better reach to their interpretation.

An argument  
discouraged by  
few or none.

First of all then, beginning with *January*, it was presented by a man seated at a Table, holding a Glasse of *WV* in his hand, as being ready to drinke. Whereby was intended, that in this Moneth, all creatures haue better appetite and desire to eate and drinke, then at any other time: because heat is retired inward, & strengtheneth the stomacke in such fort, that it is capable of the easier digestion.

January.

*February*, was a man heating his hands about his own body: for in this month, fire

February.

is very requisite, in regard of the great coldes in *Winter*, caused by the absence of the Sunne.

March.

*March*, was figured in form of a Gardiner: because (in this Moneth) the pores and spiracles of the earth, do open themselves, inso much, that the moisture of the earth commeth (of it owne accord) to all the Trees, Hearbs and Plants. In which respect, all superfluities are to bee cut away, that the nutritiue humour may extend it selfe to the liuing Branches, for bearing the fairer fruite.

April.

*April*, was made in the shape of a young man, holding a Nosegay of flowers in his hand: for in this Moneth, the earth hauing communicated his vertue to Trees and Hearbs, maketh euery thing to flourish, and bring forth Flowers.

May.

For *May*, a yong gallant Gentleman was portraied, being mounted on horsebacke, and brauely apparelled, bearing a Hawke vpon his Fist. Considering, that in this Moneth, the Trees commonly begin to beare fruite. Birds flye abroad merrily, and all creatures strue to haue their best pleasures, and make loue to one another.

June.

*June*, was painted, carrying a Scythe on his backe; because in this Moneth, the Medowes must be mowed downe.

July.

*July*, carried a Sickle in his hand, where-with to reape downe the ripened Corne.

August.

And because these Fruites are commonly to bee gathered in *August*, and then they are to be laide and lockt vp in Barnes and Garners: *August* was figured like to a Country Carter, standing by his laden Cart, with a whip in his hand, as hastening homeward with his sheaves of Corne.

September.

*September*, was in the habite of a Vintager; as the chy signifying, that the beginning of Vintage is to bee in this Moneth.

October.

*October*, was figured like a husbandman, carrying a Sack vpon his shoulders, and sowing Corne as hee passeth along. Meaning thereby, that as this Moneth is colde and dry, so is it very apt and conuenient, for the sowing of Seede.

November.

*November* stood in the shape of a Thrasher, labouring his Flayle vpon the Corne in the sheaves. He had another companion standing by him, who with a pole did beate downe the *Acornes* from

the Trees, because in this Month, *Acornes* serue best to fatten Swine, and then also they ordinarily kill Swine, for making Bacon.

December.

*December* stood in the likenesse of a Butcher, with a knife in his hand, and killing a Hog. Thus were the twelue Moneths vually figured.

The Yeare.

As for the yeare it selfe, they made the modell thereof, in the relemblance of a Serpent, withed into a rounde, & holding the tayle in the mouth: because the end of the yeare euermore is ioyned with the beginning.

### CHAP. XXXI.

*Of a strange Coniuration or Conspiracy, which happened in the goodly City of Florence, and of the slaughter which ensued thereon.*



**A**L L The World is naturally desirous to heare and vnderstand the greatest enterprizes, and such strange accidents as happen to men: to the ende,

It is the common use, of all men to listen after nouelties.

that they may the better defend themselves, from falling into such inconueniences, as waite vpon inconstant and mutable Fortune. And therefore I concluded with my selfe, to relate a very rare and admirable chauce, which happened in the wealthy City of *Florence*, and which (in mine opinion) is one that deserueth as much meruaile, as any other that euer I heard of.

In the yeare, 1478, the City of *Florence* was in great peace, abounding (day by day) in sumptuousnesse and riches, and the affayrs of the Common-wealth holding on such a prosperous course, that no imagination was so idle, as to thinke; that any misfortune had the power to alter this happinesse. In those Sun-shine dayes, the illustrious house of *Medici* (of whom the Duke was *Cosimo*, and all the Dukes of *Florence* to this day are descended) gouerned the said State and Common-wealth: so that all affaires passed through the hands and intelligence of the two Lords, *Juliano* and *Laurentio de Medici*,

The sumptuous and flourishing estate of Florence in those times

Juliano and Laurentio de Medicis, both Brethren.

vis, Brethren; who were highly esteemed among the people; in regard of their Ancellours, and especially for *Cosimo de Medici* their Grand-father, who had beene the onely and richest Merchant of Italy; although that in *Florence* wer very wealthy Merchants beside.

Now there were (at this time) in the saide City, many other Gentlemen and rich Merchants, who thought themselves every way as sufficient to manage and order the Common-wealths affaires; as those that were of the house of *Medici*. Neuertheless, the *Medici* still had the great opinion, being every day respected, hayled and louingly entertained of the people. In the ende, the house of the *Pazzi*, *Salviati*, and many other, issued of Noble and ancient Families in *Florence* (being moued by passion and particular affection (coupled with innatred enuy, which they bare to them of the *Medici*) contriued a secret plot, whereby to take the Common-wealths government from the *Medici*. And this their intent could not be accomplished, without the death of *Juliano* and *Laurentio de Medici*, because they were rich and potent Lords.

*Francesco* and *Giovanni de Pazzi*, Cousins-germaine to *Giuliano de Pazzi*, and chiefe men of that house, undertooke to kill the said Brethren of the *Medici*, and joyned with them the Family of the *Salviati*, especially Signior *Francesco Salviati*; Archbishop of *Pisa*, and they undertooke to kill Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, Vncle to them of the *Medici*, & likewise *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, whom they had constrained into their league: all verily perswaded, that being rid of them, they should not meete with any resistance in the execution of their purpose.

This complot fully agreed vpon, and all things provided to fit their enterprize accordingly; the Archbishoppe of *Pisa* came to *Florence*, where (vnder another colour) they entred into roule a number of Soldiours, all well knowen: yet without discouering to any one, what was to be done. The Archbishoppe of *Pisa*, of whom neuer any doubt was conceived, practised such means, that a young Cardinal, Nephew to Pope *Sixtus* (who then studied at *Bologna*) should come to passe the time a while at *Florence*, to sitte their turne (in the action) with him and his peo-

ple, yet neuer acquainting him with a thought of the intention.

Order being taken for all occasions, and euery thing kept close in the bolsones of the principall conspirators, the conclusion was thus; that the two Brethren of *Medici* should be slaine together, cyther in the great Church, or else where the Cardinall should heare Masse. *Francesco de Pazzi*, and *Bernardo Bandino*, tooke charge of killing the Lord *Juliano de Medici*: but the death of the Lord *Laurentio*, was committed to *Antonio de Volterra*, and to another, called *Stephano*, being a Priest. The houre or moment, assigned by *Giacomo de Pazzi*, for the execution of these two murders, was at such time, as the Priests should be at the elevation in Masse, holding the Host or Sacrifice aloft about his head, although the two brethren then were in diuers places.

Vpon the Sunday following, which was the third of May, 1478. this conclusion tooke effect thus. The Cardinall came to heare Masse, and with him the Lord *Laurentio de Medici*, without his brother. For they vfed to walke (as men suspecting ambushes) sildome or neuer together in the City, for feare of falling into any disalter together: knowing right well, that no man durst make an attempt offensively vpon them, if one of the two were left aliue. The conspirators perceiuing that Lord *Juliano* came not at all; *Francesco de Pazzi*, and *Bernardo Bandino* (who had sworne his death) vnder the shadow of Courty attendance, went to come along with him from his house, and bestowed so many embarrasadoes vpon him, that they brought him vnto the Church where his Brother was, and yet hee then sate farre enough off from his Brother. Conspiring eyes were still fixed on them both, enuying that they should sitte so farre asunder: but yet the time and place gaue the courage, that they might easily accomplish the acte; and yet not be prosecuted by any, for few or none tooke notice of them.

The point for performance being come, *Francesco de Pazzi* gaue a stabbe with his poniard to the Lord *Juliano*, which thwarted the stomacke, and issued forth at his shoulder, so that immediately he fel down dead; and *Bernardo Bandino*, by making haste (least Lord *Juliano* should not be thoroughly sped) wounded himselfe with his

The appointment how the sacrifice should be performed, & by what persons,

The signal for the deed to be done.

A care in the two brethren, to prevent mischietie.

Ceremonious Courtships, many times make way to dissuall practices.

Lord *Juliano* slaine by *Francesco de Pazzi*.

owne Dagger in the stomacke, albeit hee saw the Lord *Juliano* lye dead before him. There dyed also *Francesco de Nori*, slaine by *Bernardo Bandino*, because he laid hand on his weapon, in the defence of Lord *Juliano*. *Antonio Volterra*, and *Stephano* the Priest, sharply assailed the Lord *Laurentio de Medici*, but yet with such slender dexterity; that vsing his owne couragious defence, hee was wounded a little in the mouth, and (in despite of all they could do) by meanes of certaine friends, he got into the Sacrifistia or Vestrie, and there saued himselfe from their fury.

Lord *Laurentio* so saued his life in the Vestrie.

The young Cardinall hardly saued himselfe.

The whole Seigneyr runn halfe to the pallace.

The Arch-Bishop of *Pisa* cometh to the Pallace, to conferre with the Seigneyr.

This assault was so sudden, that it had speedier execution, then any knowledge could be had of them that acted it: for such was the cry of the people, as if the Church had fallen to the earth. The Cardinall had worke enough to doe, to get himselfe free, and in safety to the high Altar. All the City was vp in a furious vporre; for some cryed out, that the two Brethren of *Medici* were slaine, & others saide no, putting themselves presently in Armes. They of the houses of *Pazzi* and *Salviati*, began aloud to cry Liberty, Liberty, so that the Seigneyr resorted to the great Pallace with all diligence, where the *Gonfaloniero* ioyning with them, they fortified themselves with armed men in the house. The Councillors of the Citie, and such as tooke part with the *Medici*, went to seeke for the Lord *Laurentio*; conducting him home to his own house, where stood readily prepared, about eight thousand armed men.

As for the Archbishop of *Pisa*, hee pursuing on still the point with the *Salviati*, being accompanied with many of their league, and such as were the Cardinals followers; rode directly vnto the Pallace, with intent to make their meaning well liking to the Seigneyr. The Lords of the Seigneyr, although they tooke part with the house of *Medici*; yet notwithstanding they were so pressed, as they had not any leisure, for making any Armed prouision, nor to appoint a Garrison for the Pallace. Yet they knew well enough, that Lord *Laurentio* was not much hurt, and that hee had men about him valiant & hardy.

The Archbishop perceiuing, that the Seigneyr had no leisure to take a resolution, in some matters that he would haue

propounded to them: diuided the traine of his followers into two Companies, appointing one part of them to keep possession of the Pallace Gates. Hee, with the other company, ascended vp into the Pallace, and made it knowne to the Seigneyr, that hee had some what to acquaint them withall, for generall benefit of the Common-wealth. Whereupon, hee being admitted in, with some few of his people, that knew no part of his vile purpose: the Gates of the Pallace were made so strongly fast; that the Archbishop could haue no succor of his followers, nor the Lords of the Seigneyr themselves haue any assistance. So loudly did the Archbishop deliuer his minde, speaking of matters in such vnorderly manner; that the Seigneyr (well vnderstanding his bad intention) commanded the *Gonfaloniero* to take hold of him, as also of *Giacomo Salviati*, and *Giacomo*, the sonne of *Meister Poggio de Pazzi*. And so vnuly grew the tumult, that all their attendants were instantly slaine in the fury, and thirty dead bodies throwne out of the Pallace windowes, vpon the heads of them that were beneath in the Court.

The Arch-Bishop admitted to speake with the Seigneyr.

The Arch-Bishop seized on, and his followers most of them slaine.

The other part of the Archbishops attendants slaine, & hurled hanging.

Within a while after, the common people, who greatly fauoured them of the *Medici*, ranne in huge heapes and crowds to the Pallace: where all the other part of the Archbishops men (that had the trust of keeping the Pallace Gates) were taken and slaine presently, without any respect vfed towards them. As for the Arch-Bishop, and his two friends with him; they were hanged in the Market-place, to cause more terrour in the rest. *Giacomo de Pazzi*, and diuers other of the Conspirators, rode vp and downe through the City, crying Liberty, Liberty: but perceiuing none to make them answer, as leaning rather to the part of Lord *Laurentio*; they thought to saue themselves by flight. Only *Bernardo Bandino* excepted, who lay in his bed very sicke, by paine of the wound which hee had giuen himselfe; so that hee was not able to sit on horsebacke, or come come abroad out of his Chamber.

By this time the whole City was vp in Armes, to defend the cause of the Lord *Laurentio*, who extremely grieved for the death of Lord *Juliano* his Brother: causing seuerer pursuite after the Conspirators, so that many, who were but meere-ly suspected

The whole City maintained the cause of Lord *Laurentio* de *Medici*.

Emulation & hart-burning in some against the Medici, in regard of their authority.

The death committed of *Juliano* & *Laurentio* de *Medici*.

The combination for a most horrible murder.

A list of Soldiours prepared for the purpose.



(suspected in the case, could not escape, although no matter was proved against them; but no known offender could any way be spared. The young Cardoall, Nephew to the Pope, was kept prisoner in the Pallace, with very great perill of his life: but at length, his innocence being truly knowne, he was acquitted; continuing (neuertheless) long time prisoner. *Bernardo Bandino*, was ledde stark naked to the Pallace, and so hanged vp, next to the Archbishop. As for *Antonio de Palterra*, and *Stephano* the Priest, who should haue slaine the Lord *Laurentio*; they were trodden to death among the rude multitude, that ranne every where in the City, crying *Medici, Medici*, burning and pulling downe all their houses, whom they knew to be of the contrary Faction. In briefe, the disorder was such, and so confused, as it exceeded the capacity of writing; especially the furies and cruelties, committed in this horrid tempest.

*Giacomo de Pazzi*, was taken in his flight, & brought back to Florence: where he was hanged or fringed, and his body being cut in peeces, was after buried in prophane ground; all his lands & goods (which being of great value) were confiscated, and adjudged to the Seigneuries possession. And after condigne punishment inflicted vpon the malefactors, the body of Lord *Iuliano* was most honourably buried, and with very solemne Funerall pompe.

Such issue had the Coniuration of the *Pazzi*, which was a matter very strange. For, in lesse then three houres, the Lord *Iuliano de Medicis* (an extraordinary rich man) was slaine; the Archbishop of *Pisa* hanged, with some other of his confederates, and the houses of the aduerser part utterly destroyed. Pope *Sixtus*, and *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, conceived such a spleene against this action at Florence: that they (together) leuyed a powerfull Army against the *Florentines*, who (with the aid of their friends) defended themselves so well, that no other advantage was due to the disturbers, but that the war was long, and very cruell, great effusion of blood happening on eyther side. Behold the poore and vnfortunate issue of these conspirators, who thinking to winne honour, and high degrees by indiscreete meanes: lost their liues, disloynted the peace and

unity of their Country, and made their enemy much mightier then before, for Lord *Laurentio de Medicis* gouerned Florence so long as he liued.

## CHAP. XXXII.

A very remarkable and worthy History, deliuering in true and briefe discourse; the life and memorable actions of that famous Captaine, commonly called, Castruccio Castracagnio.



*Astruccio Castracagnio*, a Captaine of much fame and merit, in my poore opinion, may be ranked among the greatest and most renowned

Captaines of the world: considering the poverty of his originally, and the slender meanes he had, without the fauours of any, compared also with those strange trauesels, which Fortune put vpon him. Wherein I may well say, that very few Captaines or Generals are to be found, who with so poore & imperfect furnishment; did euer reach to those honours and estates, as this our *Castruccio Castracagnio* attained. Wherefore, I thought it no disparagement vnto our precedent best subjects, that his History should make one among them: not purposing to vfe any larger dilation therein, then already I haue obserued in the rest, because it shall suffice me, summarily to report the courage of this Captaine.

Beginning then with his originally, which was very strange, you are to vnderstand, that in *Luca*, a City of no meane fame in *Italy*, there was a Chanon belonging to the Church of *S. Michael*, named *Mesire Antonio Castracagnio*, who had a sister (of his owne) liuing with him, being a very honest and vertuous woman. Close ioyning to this Chanons house, was a little Close or Field of \* *Auntines*, which was plentifully furnished with variety of fruitfull Trees, as is the manner vied in *Italy*. The sister to this Chanon (by fortune) going one morning into this Close, to gather some Herbs for her vse, without dreaming on any such matter as after happened: as she was gathering Herbs heere

It is not poetry of birth that hindereth the merite of any well-doing man.

Here the Author briefly discourseth the originall of Castruccio Castracagnio, & in what manner he was found.

\* They are Vines tallned to Trees, according to the manner in Italy.

and there, heard a small voyce, as if it were of some new borne babe. And walking that way where she heard the cry; among the leaues and young bourgeons of the Vines, was an infant laide, appearing to bee very lately before borne, tenderly crying, as desiring aide in that wofull distresse.

The good widow, somewhat sadly moued at the beginning of this aduenture, yet prouoked by a womans louing compassion: carried in the tender childe, & shewed it to the Chanon her brother, who being amazed at so strange an accident, and yet ouercome with Christianlike pity, determined to prouide nursing for the Babe. And in regard that it was a manchilde, hee gaue it the name of his owne Father, calling him *Castruccio*. When the Nurse was come, he caused it to be nourished as if it had bene his owne: & after growing to a great boy, sent him to schoole, with full intention of surrendring his Chanons place to him. But when the Lad grew to 14. yeares of age, Learning and Bookes was the least part of his care; for he was no way addicted to letters, but rather delighted in handling of a sword; and in regard that he was very active of body, he gaue himselfe greatly to leaping, dancing, & wrestling with other strong Lads like himself. Speaking al in a word, he was so dexterious in whatsoever he did; as none of his companions could equall him, but *Castruccio* became respected in euery eye.

It so fortuned, that Captaine *Francesco Guinigo*, a man much renowned, for worthy actions of Armes performed by him in *Lombardy*, was then at *Luca*. He hearing such report of young *Castruccio*, & seeing him bold & brauely spirited; found meanes to haue him in his seruice. And *Castruccio* being now where he best desired, became (in lesse then five yeares) so expert a Soldier, as his like was not to be found, as well on horse as foot: for he could so cunningly manage any horse, that *Cannalcadore of Italie* hardly came neere him.

Being come to the age of 18. yeares, Captaine *Guinigo*, his Master, departed thence for *Milaine*, in aide of the *Piscontinies*, who were in Armes against the *Thurians*, and many other *Milaine* Gentlemen. He tooke *Castruccio* along with him, who caried him selfe so valiant and wisely in this war; that hee bare away the fame from all the Soldiours in the Campe. This war lasted five or sixe yeares, which being ended by peace

or truce; Captaine *Guinigo* returned to *Luca*, with his *Castruccio*, where he was most kindly embraced by euery one, as well in general as particular, in regard of the good report noised euery where of him. So that more account was made of him, then of *Guinigo* his Master; for hee was so humane and courteous to euery man, that affection increased towards him daily more & more.

Within a thort while after, Captaine *Guinigo* feeling himselfe sicke, & in some danger of death; gaue the tutelage & gouernement of *Pagola* his sonne, to his maneried himselfe so faithfully, that so long as he liued, he had at his command the affairs of *Pagola*, even as if hee had bene his owne sonne. After the decease of Captaine *Guinigo*, the credite and reputation of *Castruccio* wonderfully augmented. Neuertheless, because he was very fiery, impatient and vindicative, when any wrong had bene done vnto him: the men of *Luca* began to grow suspicious, that he purposed to make himselfe Lord of *Luca*, and not without some pregnant occasion; in which respect, the Seignery commanded him to auoide the City. Which disgrace *Castruccio* so much distasted, that hee resolved to be reuenged, euen with the ruine and confusion of his head-strong enemies. At this very time, the Factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines* reigned powerfully in *Italy*; and euen the alfo, the lord *Hugo Fagnola* was in some neuty of *Pisa*; *Castruccio* practised (by insinuation) to compass grace & fauour with this Lord *Fagnola*, & therefore comploted with the *Gibelines*, to make *Fagnola* Lord of *Luca*. Working this traine on secretly, hee preuailed so well with some of his friends in the City: that (at an appointed instant) he won a Port of *Luca*. By meanes whereof, the *Gibelines* entred, with such succor as the Lord *Fagnola* had giuen them, expulping thence the *Guelphes*, after they had done their very uttermost they could.

*Castruccio* was now in greater esteeme the euer, & in such fort, as he was held to be the Lord of *Luca*, although he was inferior to the lord *Fagnola*, to who hee made recourse in times of necessity. The *Florentines*, who deadly despighted *Castruccio*, vnderstanding the successe of his affaires; leuied a great Army, by helpe of such as were in league with the, purposing to ouer-run *Castruccio*.

A a a

But

The widow brought the Babe to her Brother the Chanon.

He called the childe after the name of his owne Father.

Young Castruccio not addicted to learning, but comonly excels only

The first enancement of young Castruccio in Louce.

Castruccio his first going with his Master to warre: Louce at Milaine.

Castruccio credited with the guardianship of his Masters sonne

He is committed by the Seignery to auoide Luca.

Castruccio comploteth against the City of Luca, by meanes of the difference betweene the Guelphes and Gibelines.

Castruccio reuenged the Lord of Luca.

The Florentines fought the death of Castruccio.

Bernardo Bandino hanged stark naked by the Archbishop.

Severity of law inflicted on the bloody offenders.

A briefe survey of the conspiracy, & the maine actors therein, with some of their accidents that followed thereon.

But Lord *Fagiola* and *Castruccio*, disposed so well for the meeting with them, that the warre grew to be very cruell & bloody. Concerning men of name in the *Florentines* Campe, there was among them *Don Pedro*, Brother to *Robert*, King of *Naples*, accompanied with *Don Carolo* his Nephew, sonne to *Phillip*. But the vertue of Lord *Fagiola* and *Castruccio*, serued wel to counterpoise the greatnes of the other. After that this war had continued for some space of time, the Lord *Fagiola* receiued intelligence, that there had happened a great commotion at *Pisa*, in redresse whereof, Lord *Fagiola* was faine to leave the Armies conduct wholly to *Castruccio*, who behaued himselfe so wisely and valiantly in this great trust, that after many sallies and light skirmishes, hee came to battaile with the *Florentines*. *Castruccio* maintained the fight with such good order and iudgement, that (although he was the most obdurate man that euer was born in *Italy*) yet notwithstanding, the victory remained to him, and the slaughter was so great, that there were slaine about tenne thousand *Florentines*, among whom, *Don Pedro* and *Don Carolo* his Nephew, were found in number with the dead. Which victory, assured to the Lord *Fagiola*, all those estates (held by him) in faire better security, and enlarged the credite and reputation of *Castruccio*, beyond all common expectation.

Winter being come, *Castruccio* returned to *Luca*, by the command of Lord *Fagiola*, towards whom he shewed himselfe very obedient. But, as it is a customary case, that wealth and great honors doe cause feare and enuy: so the Lord *Fagiola*, perceiving the credite of *Castruccio* to encrease daily more and more: determined his death, in recompence of all the worthy seruices he had done him. To effect this dishonourable businesse, he sent one of his sonnes to *Luca*, who caused *Castruccio* to be committed prisoner, vnder pretence, of some secret blame imposed vpon him. But the imprisonment of *Castruccio* was so offensive to the *Lucanes*; that the people began to mutiny against their Lord *Fagiola*: who hauing adiutment thereof, left *Pisa*, and marched thither with a potent Army.

But there hapned to him a very strange accident, and yet no more then hee iustly

deserued for his vnmanly dealing. When the *Pisanes* were aduertised, that *Castruccio* was deteined as a prisoner; they began so to stomacke the matter, that they slew the Gouernor, whom Lord *Fagiola* had left as his Deputy, and all such as were to do him any seruice; so that they enfranchized themselves from the tyranny of *Fagiola*. He receiuing intelligence of this mishap, and that (by this meanes) his returne to *Pisa* was bard vp against him: pursued on his purpose, to make all sure and safe at *Luca*. But therein he proved likewise as vnfortunate as at *Pisa*, for the *Pisanes* had informed the *Lucanes* of their affaires, and with such speedy diligence; that the Poste fro the *Pisanes* arrived at *Luca*, much sooner then the Lord *Fagiola* could do.

Hereupon, the *Lucanes* put themselves in Armes, so that they expulled the sonne of *Fagiola* out of *Luca*, with absolute purpose, of allowing no entrance to the Father; but gaue freedom to *Castruccio*, in mere despight of him. Yet some say, that *Fagiola* entred *Luca*, & very quickly was expelled thence; when losing all hope of recouering his estates, he was glad to saue himselfe by flight into *Lombardy*. But he it howeouer, this I am sure of, that hee lost his dominion ouer both the Cities in one day: which he might safely haue enjoyed still, if he had but kept faire friendship with *Castruccio*: who being thus set at liberty, was elected Capitaine and General of the *Lucanes*, by free consent of the whole Seignury. In which authority he being loath to liue idle, leuyed a great Army, wherewith hee recouered many strong Holds from the *Florentines*, which they had long vnrpured from the *Lucanes*: taking diuers other of their owne beside, in despight of their best Forces, albeit they were strong indeed. *Castruccio* returning then to *Luca*, was there most honourably welcomed in regard of his worthy victories obtained, and created absolute Lord of *Luca*. From which time forward, hee became much feared of the neighbours round about, especially the *Florentines*, who were the most powerfull in all *Tuscany*: For, he had many wars against them, and tooke many Forts and Castles from them, yea, and ouerthrew them in a plaine field of Battaille, equally appointed on either side.

As thus the fortunes of *Castruccio* grew daily better and better, the Emperor *Fredericke*

The Gouernor of Pisa slaine by the people, and intelligence sent by them to the *Lucanes*

The *Lucanes* ride in Armes against *Fagiola*, and exclude his son

*Castruccio* made General of *Luca* by common consent.

He was created sole Lord of *Luca*, and became much dreaded.

The Emperor *Fredericke* desired to haue the seruice of *Castruccio*.

*Castruccio* chosen Prince of Pisa, and enuied by the King of *Naples*.

The King of *Naples* & the *Florentines* foyled by *Castruccio*.

A City in the midle of *Tulcia*.

An Army of forty thousand men leuied by the *Florentines* against *Castruccio*.

ricke came into *Italy*, to be crown'd Emperor there: wher being entrusted of the many good parts remaining in *Castruccio*, hee laboured greatly to win him to his seruice. *Castruccio* then leauing *Pagolo Guinguo* (of whom hee had thus long bene Tutor) as his Lieutenant to gouern *Luca*: went to see the Emperor *Fredericke*, whom he followed so far as *Rome*. Some hold, that he came thither before the Coronation; but, after the Emperors return into *Germany*, *Castruccio* preuailed so well by good means, that they of *Pisa* chose him to be their Prince. Which newes being brought to *Rene*, King of *Naples* (his old heauy enemy) he began to grow doubtfull of *Castruccio*, and perceiving his power to encrease so greatly: hee made a league with the *Florentines* against *Castruccio*, intending now to see the vtter ruine of him, and recouery of all the honors appertaining to him.

Hereupon, the King of *Naples* & the *Florentines* prepared a strong army, which was so manfully encountered by *Castruccio*; that euen more he had the better of the, although with great expence of blood, and recouery of many places from them: so that the *Florentines* were meerey enforced, to craue a truce for certaine time; during which respite, *Castruccio* largely increased his power. For, as they of *Pistorium* were in difference one with another within the Towne: *Castruccio* shouldred in (during their ciuill dissention) and possessed himselfe of *Pistorium*, and all other places subiect to that City.

The *Florentines* seeing themselves more and more in daily dangers, endeuoured by al the best meanes they could deuise, to gather people from all parts, onely to breake the Forces of *Castruccio*, or else to drine him out of *Pistorium*. In which respect, the supplies which came to them, as well from the Kingdome of *Naples*, as other places more remote, were so great; that vpon the musters account, they were numbred to be 40000. men. Seeing then, that they had so goodly an Army, they began their march directly towards *Pistorium*, where *Castruccio* had his Campe, consisting of far fewer people then the *Florentines*. Neuertheless, he guided his war so wisely, vsing so many surprisals, skirmishes and encounters, that successe attended vpon him continually.

In the end, coming to the day of battaile, he proceeded therein with such good order, that he vanquished the *Florentines*: in which ouerthrow was great slaughter

made, and store of rich booty taken, for all the chieftest of the *Florentines* were eyther slaine, or taken prisoners. *Castruccio* himselfe being wounded, and a great number of his men slaine; yet all this could not a litle daunt his courage, but still he pursued vpon his victory, marching in all haste with his Army against *Partum*, which he tooke very speedily, as also all the Castles and Townes thereabout. So that (without any resistance) he went and placed his Campe within two miles of *Florence*, wher at the *Florentines* were not a little amazed.

As hee was essaying all meanes for his entrance into *Florence*, hee receiued aduertisement, that the *Pisanes* were practising some matter to his disadvantage: so that, leauing his intent for *Florence*, he returned to *Pisa* a triumphant Conqueror. After hee had inflicted punishment vpon the mutiners, he went to visite all the neighbouring parts, taking order for all needfull occasions befeeneing warre: because he was well assured, neuer to continue long in peace, without some employment for warre.

The *Florentines*, mightily confounded by their peoples ouerthrow, and losse beside of so many Towns: freely gaue themselves to the King of *Naples*, promising him a yearly tribute of two hundred thousand Crownes. The King of *Naples* accepted the *Florentines* offer, and sent *Don Carolo* his sonne to their assistance, with the most part of the Caualery and Infanterie that hee could command; and the like did some other Cities of *Italy*, who stood all in feare of *Castruccio*'s Forces: so that now the Army of the *Florentines* consisted of tenne thousand horse, and thirty thousand foote. With this powerfull preparation (persuading themselves, that *Castruccio* durst not come into the field) they intended to besiege *Pisa*; but *Castruccio*, who was one of the most valiant & politique Generals, that the whole world then afforded, went forth to meete them, attended only with 4000. horse, and 20000. foote, but all in excellent Military order. As these two Camps began to draw neere each other, there passed diuers skirmishes in the plaine field, wherein continually *Castruccio* had the best. Finally, *Castruccio* seeking opportunity, to deliuer battaile to the *Florentines*: passed ouer the Foord at the Riuer of *Arno*, and found the *Florentines* in such disorder, as he compelled the to accept the battell, wherin was a great slaughter.

The *Florentines* ouerthrowne in a day of set battaile, by *Castruccio*.

A faire town in *Tulcany*.

He encamped within two miles of *Florence*, & was called thence by a mutiny at *Pisa*.

The *Florentines* gaue themselves in subiection to the King of *Naples*.

Another great Army raised by the *Florentines*, against *Castruccio*.

A goodly Riuer in *Italy*.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

A Discourse concerning the Windes: And of their severall names, as well Ancient, as Moderne.



HE Windes, according as Seneca faith, are very meete and necessary for the spacious Vniuerse; to conferue the tempera-  
ture of Heaven

and Earth; to disperse and scatter raines and mylts; and to helpe the Trees in producing their Fruits. Nature also gaue them creation, to be the meanes of mens Nauigation, whereby they might communicate together the goods of the earth: so that Regions which are fertile in some particular things, may impart them to other that are not so well provided. In briefe, the Windes do cause an infinity of commerces among men, which my intended breuiety will not spare me to speake of.

Onely I haue propounded to my selfe, to shew how many Windes there are, what they are, whence they come, and how they are: wherein I am perswaded, that some benefit will redound to diuers persons, especially to such as profess to sayling on the Seas. To vnderstand then, what the Windes is, I will not relye on diuersity of opinions, in such as haue written thereon: but following Aristotle, and the most common iudgment of the wise; I say, that the Wind is a vapour and exhalation hot and dry, drawne vp into the Ayre by vertue of the Sunne. And being driven aloft by his heate and lightnesse, proceeding on into the middle Region of the Ayre, which is alwayes coldest, cometh to be repulged by that contrary quality. So that being vnable to mount any higher, it breaketh forth into blasts whether it can go, & being hindered of descending downe, in regard of lightnesse: is constrained to tosse and tumble here & there in the Ayre; eyther more or lesse, according to the strength of the matter wherof it is caused. So that the definition of Seneca is not warrantable, who saith, *That the Wind is nothing else, but the Ayre moued, without any other matter: because these are the exhalations and vapours, which stir and moue the Ayre; for, after they are consumed, the wind ceaseth.*

The opinion of Seneca, concerning the Windes, and of what necessary use they are.

The Arguments introduced to be discussed in this Chapter.

The windes vapour or exhalation hot and dry.

The reason of the Windes blustering in the Ayre.

Exhalations and vapours mouing the Ayre to spend themselves.

As

Castruccio his victory ouer the Florentines, and eage meane to haue made a further conquest.

Castruccio firste of a Quondian Feauer, and dyed within seauen dayes following.

The Authors farewell to the reader, in the laste memory of Castruccio Castagnio.

slaughter on both sides, but yet the victory fell to *Castruccio*; twenty thousand Florentines being slain in the field, beside two thousand prisoners taken: among whom was *Don Carolo*, sonne to the King of Naples, and many other Commanders of name. And assuredly (without all question to the contrary) considering this last great victory, which *Castruccio* had against the Florentines: he might not onely haue conquered Florence itselfe, but likewise no meane part of Italy beside.

But here may bee apparently observed, how weake and feeble the strength of man is; for a Glasse is no sooner crackt & shuerd, then a mans best might, when Gods assistance giueth him ouer. *Castruccio*, following his fortune vpon the spurre, and hauing made the surprisall before remembred; rode coasting along the River of *Arno* like a worthy Generall, to rallie all his people together. And being sore wearied and ouer-wearied, (for he had fought all the day) the fresh coolnesse, or dampe of the River smote him inwardly, that the night following, he fell into a Quondian Feauer, whereof (no doubt as God had appointed) he dyed on the seuen day after, being then in the very flower of his time.

Surely, had this *Castruccio* bene a Native of Rome, or Athens, as he was of *Lucia*, where he was borne, without knowledge of Father or Mother; Or had he bene brought vp in the Kings Court of Macedonia: he had greatly blemished the renown of *Scipio*, *Phillip*, yea, and *Alexander* the Great. Notwithstanding (a *Lucane* borne as he was) had hee liued a longer date of yeares, which his youth and abienes made faire promise of: hee had equalled any of them in richnesse of fame. But returning to our History, *Castruccio* made *Pagola Guinigo* his heire; albeit some say, that he had Children of his owne, whom hee instituted to bee his heires. But be it howsoeuer, as he got his estate & wealth by manhood and valour: his successeors lost all by lewdnesse and negligence, if we may credit *Aretine*, *Blondus*, *Tommas* & *Macchiassell*.

As concerning their names, our reuerend Ancients imposed such vpon them, as corresponded with the parts and Regions of the world, from whence they came. Neuertheless, Antiquitie neuer acknowledged for many windes, as haue bene since those times. For, according as *Plinie*, *Anlus Gellius*, *Vegetius*, *Homer* and other ancient Poets say, no other mention was made, but of foure windes onely, which came from the foure parts or quarters of the world, viz. East, West, North and South; those are the parts or quarters most remarkable that can be observed throughout the world. For, as *David* and *Lucan* say; *Hence cometh day, and thence cometh night.*

According then vnto this proportion, our ancient Latines termed *Sulfolanus*, the wind that came from the East Equinoctiall: The Greekes called it *Apelotes*, or *Eurus*: In Italy and Spaine, they call it *Leuante*; and French Marriners terme it *Est*. Now, for the right wind belonging to Sunne-setting, which is opposite and contrary to the precedent: the Greekes called it *Zephyrus*, that is, *Purifying*: for it makes all plants to flourish: The Latines named it *Fauonius*: And the Italians and Spaniards call it *Ponente*: But our French Marriners call it *Ouest*. And yet some others say, that the word *Zephyrus* signifieth couching or setting. The third wind was called by the Latines *Septentrio*, in regard of the North-Starre. By the same reason the Greekes called it *Apparetas*, or *Boreas*; the Italians terme it *Tramontana*; the Spaniards *Norta brisa*; and the French do giue it the title of *Nort*. The fourth wind, which is opposite to the North, the Latines termed *Auster*, even as if they would haue called it a Water driuer, for that this wind is often rainy; which made the Greekes to call it *Notus*, that is, watrish, or moist. The Italians name it *Mezzodi*; the Spaniards *Abrego sur*, and *Vendaval*; and the French, *Sud*.

Thus you see as concerning the foure windes, wherof only speake *Homer*, and *Osid* in his Metamorphosis. But (with much more respect and reuerence) let vs yet say, that our blessed Lord and Sauior makes mention of the foure windes, speaking of the last day of Iudgement, both in Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Marke*, where he

sayth: *That hee will send his Angells with troups, to assemble his Elect from the foure windes.*

Now, as touching the qualitie of the foure windes, we will make some relation thereof, in discoursing on other balcer-nate windes. Since the time of *Homer*, we find an addition of foure other windes to the former, as assigning (between the Leuant or East, and the Mezzodi, or South) a wind which the Latines call *Fulturnus*, because this wind whisteth like the wing of a Vulture, when hee dislodgeth. The Greekes do terme it *Eurus*; and some call it vulgarly in Italian *Leuante*, or *Siroc*, or *Sueff*.

The other wind which rayseth it selfe from the place, where the Sunne mounteth at mid Iune, hath no name amongst the Latines. Notwithstanding, some call it *Ardant*, or *Helleponticus*, because it cometh from the coast of the *Helleponticke* Sea. Our Marriners call it *Grec*, or *Nordest*. *Gellius* and *Vegetius*, attribute thereto the name of *Aquilo*, which neuertheless is the name of another wind.

The other wind is iustly betweene the North and the West, and cometh from that Region, where the Sunne setteth in winter, and is called by the Latines *Africus*, because (in regard of Rome) this wind cometh directly from *Africa*. The Greekes called it *Lybis*, because they entitle *Gynea* to be *Lybia*: Our Italians terme it *Lybechio*, the French and Spaniards *Su-ouest*, or *Garbin*.

The other wind is iustly betweene the North and the West, and cometh from the place where the Sunne coucheth him selfe in broad day. Some call it *Aus*, or *Cancer*. The Greekes called it *Argelles*, as much to say, as full of rayes. His impetuoussnesse is called *Apix*, because it cometh from a quarter of Italy, so called: Others giue it the name of *Olympick*. Our Italians stile it *Mesfrall*, the French & Spaniards doe terme it *Nort-ouest*. These are the eight severall winds, wherof *Anlus Gellius* and *Petranius*, maketh mention of.

Moreover, *Andronicus* the Athenian Philosopher, builded a Tower at Athens, with eight angles or corners of Marble, & at euery angle was figured the Image of a Wind, which blew against the faide angle. On the top of the same Tower, was

Of the qualitie of the windes.

The North-East wind.

The North-West wind.

The South-East wind.

The South-West wind.

Andronicus the Philosopher, and his erected Tower at Athens

Antiquity neuer acknowledged for many windes onely.

Concerning the ancient names of the windes. The East wind.

The West wind.

The North wind.

The South wind.

Christ himselfe spake of the foure windes.

Matth. 24. 27  
Matth. 13. 31

fixed a Triton of gold (reputed to be the God of the Sea) holding a Rodde in his hand. And this Triton was compoſed in ſuch artifiſſall fort, that he turned ſtill with every winde; like as the Vaynes or weather-flags vpon Caſtles or ſtately houſes now adays do; ſhewing, or pointing ſtill with his Rod, from whence the winde came, and where it reigned or domineered.

Ouer and beſide the forenamed eight windes, there were yet added foure more, to make vp juſt the number of twelue: placing two windes on this ſide, and beyond the North, which is the high North, and two other on both ſides of the South, which is the right winde for the South. That on the right ſide of the *Tramontana* or North, betwene that and the winde *Cafias*, they called *Aquilo*; in regard of his impetuous bluſtering, which is more ſudden, then the wing of the ſweete Faulcon that is or can bee. The *Greekes* alſo called it *Boreas*, in reſpect of the great noiſe it maketh when it bloweth: ſome other terme it *Mefes*. The other winde, which is on the ſide of the couchant or Sun-ſetting, betwene the *Tramontana* & the winde *Cancro*, was cald by the *Greekes* *Thraſias*. *Seneca* giueth it no name at all in *Latine*; neither beſide, there are ſome who name it *Circius*, or *Cirrus*: the *Chabillians* call it *Galega*.

The other two windes are alſo oppoſite to theſe heere related, whereof the one cometh from the entrance to the right winde of the South, and the Region where the Sunne hideth himſelfe in Winter, which alſo is called *Euro-aſter*, or *Euronorus*. *Ariſtotele* reporteth, that (in his time) in *Africa* they vſed to call it *Phe-nicius*. The other winde plainly is betwene the direct winde of the South and the *Garbin* or *Su-weſt*: in which reſpect they call it *Lybonorus*, or *Lybonaſter*. And theſe are the twelue Windes, according to the foure Regions of the World.

*Ariſtotele* in his Booke of Heauen & the World, and in his *Meteors*, maketh mention of the Windes; but he neyther ſignifieth to them any names or number. *Pliny* notwithstanding, *Seneca* and *Vegetius* doe make mention of twelue; as the like alſo is done by our moderne Aſtrogers and Coſmographers, as namely *Orontius*, *Appianus*, *Gemma-Friſius*, *Henri-*

*cus Glareanus*, *ſtafferinus*, *Ioannes Beronius*, *Ioannes Fernellius*, *Robertus Valartinus*, and many more beſide. *Vitruuius* neuertheleſſe, after he hath aſſigned the eight principall Windes to their Regions: doth yet giue two ſubalternate Windes to each of the other Windes; ſo that (by his account) there ſhould be foure and twenty Windes.

Notwithſtanding, to enſtruct our better apprehenſion of the Windes, he preſuppoſeth three Circles, whereof one ſerueth for the opinion of foure Windes, the other is for that of eight, and the laſt for that of twelue. Hee ſetſeth downe (beſide) the names of the Windes, according as Mariners (and eſpecially the *Spaniards*) haue ſubdiuided them. Yet (in the mean while) it is to be obſerued, that the windes are alwayes conformed, to the qualities of the Regions from whence they come.

For the three Orientall or Eaſt-windes, that is to ſay, *Subſolanus*, *Cacius*, and *Pulturinus*, are hot and dry: whereas contrariwiſe, *Zephyrus* and his neighbors, which come from the Weſt or Sun-ſet, are colde and moiſt: becauſe the abſence of the Sunne, maketh the Regions colde where thoſe windes blow. As is eaſily diſcerned by the night time, which is euermore colde, as alſo by places ſubiected to ſhades, that are (ordinarily) coole and freſh. From the ſame cauſe proceedeth humidity; for, as heate in the day time dryeth the Eaſterne windes: ſo on the contrary, moiſture increaſeth in the nights cooleneſſe.

As for the three *Septentrional* or Northern Windes, they are colde and dry; becauſe they come from colde Regions, & they haue their rayes writhed and wrinkled. Their coldnes alſo cauſeth drineſſe, which they borrow of the eaſtern windes, that are their neighbors: and yet they can take no moiſture from the Occidental or Weſterne windes, becauſe their drought and humidity are directly contrary.

Come we now to the Meridional or Southerly Windes, they are hot & moiſt: becauſe they deriue their warmth from hot Regions, coming from where the Sunne heateh downe right: with this addition moreouer, that they are neighbors to the Eaſt windes, which are hot. Concerning their humidity, they draw it from

Foure & twelue windes granted by Vitruuius.

Three Circles allotted to the windes.

The conformity of the windes to their Regions

The difference betweene day and night times.

Of the Northernly windes

Of the Meridional or Southerly windes.

the Weſterne windes, and vapours both of the Sea and Land. In Mountainy Regions, charged with Snowes, the Southerly winde may there get his moiſture, as the like hee doth in fenny and muddy places: euen as drineſſe may be cauſed by Plaines and champaigne grounds, ſo that they may be charged in the occurrences, according to the qualities of the windes. Here we are to obſerue, that in euery Region, the three windes coming thence, are all of one quality, & produce the ſame effects, which cauſe other effects (great or ſmall) according to ſuch as they happen to meete withall.

It reſteth now to ſpeake of the particular qualitie belonging to each winde. Beginne wee then with the right Eaſt winde, which is the moſt healthfull of all. For, it is ſubtile and pure, and partaketh more with choller, then his companions. His neighbour, blowing againſt the South, is more moiſt, and farre more furious then the former, and chargeth the ayre with cloudes. *Ariſtotele* ſayth, that when this winde bloweth, all things do ſeeme more great and groſſe, then they are indeede. The right winde of the South, cauſeth raines and tempeſts, it troubleth the ayre with cloudes, procuring penſilence and corruption. The winde *Carbin*, which is neighbor to the right Weſt, is very tempeſtue, according vnto *Virgill*. But the *Oueſt* or Weſt wind, increaſeth fleugme, and procureth thunders: it beginneth to blow, at the firſt appearing of the Spring. The direct *Tramontana*, which we call the right North winde, cauſeth colde and froſt, it burneth floures and fruites, and purifieth a corrupted ayre. Now, in reſpect it ſhutteth and locketh vp the pores in mens bodies; this winde is helde very apt for healk. As much may be ſayde of

the other Septentrional windes, which are his conſorts or companions.

It is to be held then for a concluſion, that theſe windes proceede from vapours and hote exhalations, and that (in al) there are twelue: without depending vpon other allegories, aſſigned to ſome infant windes. The *Spaniards* hold for principall windes, thoſe foure which come from the foure parts of the world, to wit, Eaſt, Weſt, North and South. As for the other foure, they tooke their names from their precedent: for the North-eaſt is betwene the North and Eaſt wind: that which is betwene the Sunne-ſet and the South, is alſo called South-weſt, and the other betwene the Eaſt and South, is alſo termed South-eaſt; theſe are their ſeueral nominations.

Afterward, eight other were talked of, which are equally bi-parted betwene the former eight, being termed Collateral, ſide or middle windes. As that which is betwene the North and the North-eaſt, was called North-North-eaſt: The other which is betwixt the Eaſt and the North, is called by the *Spaniards* *Zefur-deſt*, and by French Mariners, North-eaſt; that which is betwene the South and South-eaſt, is called South-South-eaſt; and the other betwene Eaſt and South-eaſt, is named Eaſt-South-eaſt. The other betwene South-weſt and Eaſt, is termed Weſt-South-Weſt; and ſo of the other in the ſame diſtinguiſhing: ſo that ſixteene Windes are equally diſtributed ouer the Earth. Some adde other ſixteene Windes beſide, which they tearme Quarter windes, by which allowance, wee ſhould then haue two and thirty windes: but theſe latter borrowe all their names of their neighbors. Thus much therefore may ſerue for all the Windes.

The full conſuſion for the number of the windes, & them that are allowed to be betweene each of them.

The windes of interpoſition, & their appellations.

Sixteene windes called Quarter Windes.

Occurrences in charge, cometh by the qualities of the windes

The Eaſt winde the moſt healthfull of all the reſt.

*Ariſt.* in *Coel et Meteorol.* 3.

What winde bloweth at the Spring entrance.

The end of the eight Booke.

Foure windes more, added to the former eight, and in what ſeueral places they are deſcribed to be.

Two other windes oppoſite to the former. A South and Eaſt-wind

A South and Weſt wind

*Ariſt.* in *lib. Coel et Meteorol.*

Moderne Aſtrogers & Coſmographers.



## The Ninth Booke.

*Of the Great Prouince of Moscouia: As also the Manners, Religion, and Power, of the Prince there Ruling. Divided into five severall Traffes.*

### CHAP. I.

*In this first Tract, is contained a Cosmographicall description of the whole Countrey; the Climate and Soyle. Also what Soires or Regions are therein contained. What Commodities the severall parts of the Land yeeldeth: And then a briefe Collection, of the principall Citties and Townes in Moscouia or Rusfia.*



*M*oscouia or Rusfia, is a great northerly Region, containing more then five hundred leagues in length. The principall Cittie thereof, being called *Mosca*, or *Moskwa*, greater then the City *Paris* in France, and seated on the River *Mosqua*. I read also, that this Countrey was (sometimes) called *Sarmatia*, and came to vary or change from the name, by calling it *Rusfia*, as being parted or divided into sundry small, yet absolute Regiments, neyther depending, or being in subjection one to another.

Some of their Writers doe affirme, that the North partes of the Countrey, chanced to bee divided betweene foure Brethren, whose names were *Trubor*, *Kurico*, *Sineez*, and *Varimus*; and in that coun-

trei Language, when they speak the word *Rusfie*, it implyeth as much, as to part or divide. They avouch likewise, that foure other persons made the like partition of the South parts, as *Kio*, *Scieko*, *Choramus*, and a Sister of theirs, named *Libeda*; and every one teimed his Prouince or Territory, according vnto his owne particular name: and so from this their division, the Countrey came to be called *Rusfia*, about the yeare of our Lord eight hundred and sixty.

At such time as it was called *Sarmatia*, it consisted of two peculiar Divisions: Namely, the Blacke and White. White *Sarmatia* contained all that portion that lyeth towards the North, and on the side of *Licifland*, which Prouinces are now termed *Dunya*, *Vagha*, *Vologda*, *Cargopolia*, *Novogradia*, &c. *Novogradia* being the chief and Metropolitane City of them all. The Blacke *Sarmatia* contained all the country Southward, towards the black or *Exstine* Sea, with the Dukedome of *Volodomer* of *Mosca*, *Rezan*, &c. It is bounded Northward by the *Lapper* and the north Ocean: On the Southside by the Tartars, called *Chrimes*: Eastward they have the Nagai-Tartar, who possesseth all the country of the East side of the *Volgha*, toward the Caspian Sea: On the west and South-west border, lye *Lituania*, *Liuonia*, and *Polonia*.

All the Countrey being brought to the obedience of one Governour, do comprehend these cheefe Shires or Prouin-

Division of the South parts.

Of the White and black bar makes in their distinct divisions.

The boundes and bordering of Moscouia.

The City Mosca, or Moskoua.

Moscouia from time called Sarmatia.

Foure brethren divided the North partes between them.

The shires & Prouinces contained in Moscouia much greater is: the shires of England.

Prouinces won by force or Conquest, and here weicht in subiects in to one and the same countrey lawes.

The Kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Astracan*.

Jurisdictiones or tetrarchies

The length and latitude of the whole countrey

The Kings of Sweden and Denmarke have diuers Townes a way bet the Rusfia.

ces. *Volodomer* (which beareth the first place in the Emperors stile, because their house came first of the Dukes of that Countrey) *Mosko*, *Nisnouograd*, *Flesko*, *Smolensko*, *Novograd Velica* (or *Novograd* of the Low countries) *Koskone*, *Taruslane*, *Bealozera*, *Rezan*, *Dunya*, *Cargopolia*, *Meschora*, *Vagha*, *Kituga*, *Ghaletsa*. These are the shires naturally belonging to *Moscouia* or *Rusfia*; but farre greater and larger then the Shires of England; albeit I cannot say that they are so well peopled. The other Countreyes or Prouinces, which the Emperors have wonne by power, and more lately annexed to their former Dominion, follow by these names. *Twerra*, *Toughoria*, *Permia*, *Vadsko*, *Boulghoria*, *Meh-nigo*, *Ondoria*, *Obdoria*, *Condora*, beside a great part of *Siberia*, where the people, (though they are not naturall Rusfians) obey the Emperor of *Rusfia* or *Moscouia*, being governed by his Countrey Lawes; paying Taxes and Customes, euen as his owne people doe.ouer and beside all which, the Kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Astracan* (not long since obtained by conquest) are vnder his command.

Concerning all his possessions in *Lituania* (to the number of thirte great Townes, and more) with *Narue* & *Dorp* in *Liuonia*: they are quite gone from him, being (of late yeares) surprized by the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*. The fore-named Prouinces or Shires, are all reduced into foure Jurisdictiones, tearmed by them *Cheffyrds*, as much to say, as Tetrarchies or fourth-parts, whereof wee shall haue more occasion to speake hereafter.

The whole countrey is of great length and breadth: for, from the North vnto the South (measuring from *Cola* to *Astracan*, leaning somewhat Eastward) containeth in length about foure thousand two hundred sixty miles, which they terme *verst*. And yet the Emperor hath more extensure Northward, farre beyond *Cola*, euen to the Riuet of *Tromchua*, which runneth a thousand verst or miles beyond *Peching*, neere to *Wardouffe*, yet not intire nor clearly limited, because the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmarke*, hauing diuers Townes there, as well as the *Rusfie*; are plotted together, the one with the other, all of them laying claime to those whole North-parts as their owne peculiar right. As for the Countreyes bredth, from that part of the

Territory lying furthest Westward on the *Narue* side, to the Eastward parts of *Siberia*, where the Emperors Garrisons are kept, is counted forty four thousand verst or miles, or thereabout. They holde a Verst to be a thousand paces, yet lesse (by a quarter) then an English Mile. If the whole Dominion of the Russian Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places; he would either hardly hold it all within one Gouvernement, or bee too potent for all his neighboring Princes.

To speake somewhat of the Soile and Climate, for the most part it consisteth of a slight sandy mould, yet differing farre in one place from another; for yeelding such things as the earth affordeth. Concerning the Countrey Northward, vnto the parts of Saint *Nicholas* and *Cola*, and North-East towards *Siberia*; it is all verie barren, and full of desert woodes, by reason of the Clymate, and extremitie of the cold in winter.

In like manner, along the riuer *Volgha*, betweene the Countreyes of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, where, though the soyle is fruitfull, yet it is vn-inhabited: except on the well side of the riuer *Volgha*, where the Emperour hath some few Castellis, and garisons in them. But this is occasioned by the *Chrim Tartar*, who will neyther himselfe plant Townes to dwell there (as delighting in an extravagant and wilde kinde of life) nor yet suffer the *Rusfie* (who is farre off with the strength of his Countrey) to people those parts.

From *Vologda*, which lieth well-neare seauen thousand verst from the Port of Saint *Nicholas*, downe toward *Mosko*, and so towards the South Port, bordering vpon the *Chrim*, containing the like space of 1700. verst: it is a very pleasant and fruitful Countrey, yeelding pasture and corne, with woods and waters in great plentie. The like is betweene *Rezan* (lying South-east from *Mosko*) to *Novograd* and *Polsko*, the which reacheth furthest towards the mountaines: So betweene *Mosko* and *Smolensko* (lying South-west towards *Lituania*, is a very pleasant and fruitfull soyle.

To obserue the whole Countrey, maketh a great difference from it selfe, in regard of the yeares course; vrging a strange alteration, betweene Winter and Summer in *Rusfia*. All the Countrey lyeth in Winter,

The Emperors dominion not all habitable.

Of the soyle and Climate in Moscouia.

Barren soyle and defert woods.

The savage & extravagant kind of life of the Chrim Tartar.

A very fruitful and pleasant country

A strange in-  
equality of  
the country  
in winter and  
Summer.

Mighty deepe  
snowes and i-  
ces in Mosco-  
uia.

The extre-  
me freezing cold  
of the country

Diuers frozen  
to death with  
cold in Mar-  
ches and fre-  
quented streets  
and traueilers  
on their Sleds

An admirable  
summer time  
in Moscouia.

Winter vnder snow, which falleth there continually, containyng (sometime) two yardes in thickenesse, and yet farre greater towards the North: the Riueres and Waters being all frozen ouer a yard and more in depth of cruft, how broad or swift in current feuer they bee, continuing so commonly for the space of five moneths; as from the beginning of November, vntill it draw towards the end of March, and then the Snowes begin to melt.

Well may we iudge of the ayres sharpnesse there; because Water dropping downe, or throwne vp into the Aire, freezeth to Ice before it can fall to the ground. And let a man hold a dish or pot of pewter in his hand, during the extremitie of Winter (except in some chamber where the warme Stouaes are) and his fingers will freeze fast vnto it, euen to tearing the skin off at the parting with it. And let a man go out of a warme room into a cold, he shall sensibly feele his breath to grow sticke, euen as fishing with the cold, drawing it in, and vrging it forth.

Many haue bene noted, not onely such as traualle abroad, but others in the frequented Markets, and common streetes of Townes, to bee mortally pinched, and meerely killed with colde. So that diuers haue bene seene to droppe downe dead in the streetes, and many traualyers are brought into the Townes, sitting stiffe and dead in their Sleds: yea, some haue lost their noses, the tips of their eares, the balles of their cheekes, their v. rie Toes, feete, &c. Many times, when Winter is very hard and violent, Beares & Wolves haue come (by huge troopes) out of the woods, as enforced thereto by meere hunger, and entering into Townes and Villages, haue rent and torne whatsoever they could finde or meete withall, whereby the inhabitants were enforced to flight, onely for safety of their liues.

But when the Sommer is come, neuer was seene a more fresh and delicate countrey, the woods (consisting most of Firre and Birch) being so sweet and louely; the Pastures and Meddowes so greene and well growne, yea and vpon a sodaine, such variety of Flowers, such harmonic of Birdes (chiefly of Nightingales, whose notes seeme more loud and variable, then in other countries) that no man can light-

ly traualle in a more delightfull countrey. From the fresh and speedy growth of the Spring there, the snow giuech no meane reason of opinion, because all winter time it seemeth as mantled in a white Liuerie, which keepeth it warme clothed all winter while, till Spring time, and then the Suns heat dissolueth it to water. All which, do so sweetly sympathize with the ground, bestowing on it such sufficient drenching and soaking (being of a slight and fandie mould, chearing it againe with the sunnes reuerberating brightnesse) that it produceth quickly all hearbes and plants in extraordinary abundance. So that as winter there superaboundeth in colde, Sommer answers it with so much the more heate: chiefly in Iune, Iuly, and August, it equalling then the best ayres in any other Countrey.

Commeng nowe to speake of the Riueres, the first is the famous *Volga*, whose head or Spring ariseth at an Alder-trees roote, some two hundred Verst beyonde *Tarusskoe*. It entrench into such bignes by the intercourse of other riueres gying into it; that in some places it extendeth in breadth a mile and more, till at length it falleth into the *Caspian* sea, by estimation neere 2800. Verst or miles in length. *Borissenes* is the second, called now *Neper*: diuiding the country from *Lismania*, and thence hauing his course into the *Euxine* Sea. *Tanais*, otherwise termed *Don* (bounding anciently betweene *Asia* and *Europ*) seemeth to haue his rising out of the *Rezan* Ozers, passing thorough the *Chym* Tartares Countrey, till hee makes his fall into the Sea-lake, or great Meare, neere to the Cittie of *Azon*, called *Maotis*. Report runneth among the *Russes*, that from their cheefe City of *Moscou*, euen to *Constantinople*, and so into all those parts of the world; men may easily make passage by this Riuer. But then the conuoy Boate must bee drawne ouer a little *Istmus*, some fewe Verstes thwart-wile, as prooue was not long since made of.

*Dunya*, being many hundred Miles in length, must bee remembered amongst the rest, falling North into the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, and on the Sea-side it hath great Rockes of Alabastrer vpon each banke. *Duna* emptieth it selfe into the Balticke Sea, neere to the town of *Riga*. And then

The reason of  
the sodaine &  
fresh spring in  
the Countrey

The Winter  
not so colde,  
but summer is  
as violently hot.

Of the princi-  
pal Riueres in  
Moscouia,  
Volga the  
chiefte.

Borissenes.

Tanais.

Rezan Ozers

Maotis.

An excellent  
passage affor-  
ded by the ri-  
uer.

Dunya:

Duna,

is

Omega.

Volock.

Suchana

Ocka.

Moscou.

Wichida.

Such fruites as  
Moscouia af-  
fordeth.

What Corne  
and Graine  
the Countrey  
yeeldeth, and  
at what rate it  
is sold.

Their seasons  
for sowing  
their Graine.

The commo-  
dities which  
inbell manner  
the Countrey  
affordeth.

is *Omega*, which some ninetie Verst from the port of Saint *Nicholas* hath his downfall into the Bay at *Salouefco*. Not far beneath *Cargopolia*, this riuer meeteth with another, called *Volocke*, which by *Tama* (a small Towne, droppeth into the *Finland* sea. Into which Sea, from Saint *Nicholas* port, and so into the Sound, the *Russes* easily passe by water.

*Suchana* is another, which flowing into *Dunya*, runneth on into the North sea. As for *Ocka*, his head commeth from the *Chorims* borders, streaming on into *Volga*. And *Moscou* glideth thorough the Cittie *Moscou*, borrowing his name thereof. *Wichida* likewise is a very long and spacious riuer, rising out of *Permia*, and falling into the *Volga*. So much for these memorabile riueres in this country.

We come now to speak of those fruites as *Moscouia* yeeldeth, which are in diuers kinds; as Apples, Peares, Plums, Cherries red and blacke, but the black ones are wilde. Then haue they a Deene, which is like to a Musk Mellon, but much more sweete and delicious. Also Cucumbers, Gourdes (which they tearme *Arbouze*), Raspes, Straw-berries, and Hurtleberries, beside many other in great plenty; for euerie Woodde and hedge is well stored with them.

But if you demand of their Corne and Graine, they haue Wheate, Rye, Barley, Oates, Pease, Buckway, Plyntha, which resembleth Rice in taste. The Countrey is so aboundant in these Graines, that it can allow a large ouer-plus quantity: for Wheate is sometime there folde for two *Alcens* the *Chet* first, valewing ten pence sterling, and the measure amounteth well neere to three Bushels.

Concerning seasons of Husbandrie, Rye is there sown before Winter, and all other graine in the Spring time. Such as dwell farre off in the North, and desert places, as the *Permians*; the partes more Southward do furnish them: being constrained yet (sometime) to make Bread of a Roote called *Vaghnay*, and of the middle rind of the Firre tree, when any dearth hapneth.

Natiue commodities yeelded by the Countrey are many, and of good worth, for seruice of the peoples best expectati-  
on, and benefitting the Emperor, by ven-  
ting them abroad in the World: for the

cold of the Climate (being a naturall inconvenience) by Gods great goodnesse, is therein much remedied. Their cheefe Furres are Blacke Fox, Sables, Lufenes, Dun-fox, Martrones, Gurnittales or Armines, Lafets or Mineuer, Beuer, Wuluerins, being the skine of a great water-Rat, that finelleth naturally like Muske; *Calaber* or gray Squirrell, redde Squirrell, red and white Fox, what plentie of these are spent in the Countrey (because the people weare Furres all the winter time) is almost incredible. And yet the Merchants some yeares, transport thence, to the valew of foure or five hundred thousand Rubbles, to *Turkie*, *Perfia*, *Boukharia*, *Georgia*, *Armenia*, with some other of Christendome.

In the Countreyes of *Pechora*, *Mongoforia*, *Cbadarsky*, and other places, do the best Sable furres growe; and the worst in *Siberia*, *Perm*, and such like places. The blacke Foxe and red come from *Siberia*, as from *Pechora* the white and being white) come also thence. *Pern* yeildeth the choiest Wuluerin, and the best Martrones come from *Siberia*, *Cadam*, *Morum*, *Perm* and *Cazan*. *Gilletts* & *Onglites* send out the best Lufenes, Miniuer, and Ermines: yet some come from *Novogrod* and *Perm*; and *Murmonskey* by *Colah* hath the best breed of Beauers. Common Furres (with some of these fore-named) are in euery part of the Countrey.

A second commoditie is waxe, which hath bene shipt thence into far remote Countreyes yearlye, the valew of 50000. Pood. Honey also is there in great quantity, spent daily in their ordinarie drinckes, which is Mead of all sorts: and yet carried out of the Countrey in great abundance. *Mordua* and *Cadam* nere vnto *Cheremissen* Tartars, yeeldeth the greatest encrease of Honey: but good store also cometh out of *Senerosky*, *Rezan*, *Morum*, *Cazan*, *Dorogobofe*, and *Vasma*.

Tallow is yeelded in great weight for transportation, by reason of much good ground for feeding Cattle; as also manie Lents obserued among them. Partly beside, because the greatest personnes vse waxe Lights: as the poorer and meaner sort do Birch, dried in their floues, being cut into long slices, called there *Luchine*.

The principal  
lures vened  
thence in  
merchandise

The places  
that afford the  
very best furs  
in all their fe-  
uerall kindes.

Wax, whereof  
euery Pood  
containeth  
fortie pounde  
weight.

Hony.

Tallow:  
Many Lents  
vied in Mos-  
couia.



os. Some yeares haue sent away by Shipping, above an hundred thousand Poode yearly. which hath come out of the parts and Territories of *Smolensko*, *Tarunflaw*, *Ouglit*, *Novogrod*, *Vologda*, *Ofser* and *Gorodetsky*.

Another principal commodity is Losh and Cow-hides: their Losh and Buffe beeing very faire. Their Bull and Cowhide is but small of size, for Oxen they make none, nor of weather. Strange Marchants haue transported thence some yeares above an hundred thousand hides, beside great store of Goats skinnies, shipt also thence in large number. The breede for the fairest Losh or Buffe, is about *Rafone*, *Wichida*, *Novogrod*, *Morum* and *Perm*, as the lesser sort are in the kingdom of *Casau*.

Traine Oyle, beeing made or drawne out of the Seale-fish, is no mean commodity there. And because we are speaking of the Seale-fish, it shall not much dissent from our matter, to report in what manner they hunt the Seale, whereof after ward this Oyle is made. When the end of Summer draweth neere, and the frosts are not (as yet) begun; they defend with their boats into *S. Nicholas Baye*, to the Cape called *Cusconesse* or *Founeffe*, where they leave their boats till the next spring tide. When the Sunne waxeth warme towards the spring, and yet the ice not melted in the Bay; they return thither again, and drawing their Boats over the ice, vse them as houles to lodge and rest in. Commonly, there are about seauenteene or eightene Fleete of them, being diuided into diuers companies, five or sixe boates alwayes conforthing together.

Such as light first vpon the fishes haunt or resort, do fire a Beacon, carryed with them for the same purpose, and certaine are appointed, to obserue when the Beacon shall be fired; whereof report beeing made to the other Companies, they resort all together, compassing the Seals round in a ring, as they ly Sunning themselves together vpon the Ices, being commonly foure or five thousand in a shoale. Then euery man, hauing a Clubbe in his hand, enters stoutly vpon them; & if they hit them on the nose, then they are soone kilde. But if on the backe or sides, they beate out the blowes stiffly, and manie times catch the club so fast, and holde it

downe with their teeth so strongly, that the party is forced to call for helpe to his fellows.

The manner of the Seales is, when they perceiue themselves beset round about; to gather all close together, as in a throng or heape, to sway and beare downe the Ice, and to break it if they can: which bending of the Ice, brings vp such a Sea-water vpon it, that the Hunters are faine to wade a foote or more deepe. When they haue killed what they can, & intend no further slaughter at that time: the hunters fall to sharing, euery boat his part by equal portions. And so they fly them, taking off the skinne from the bodie, and the Lard or fat withall that cleaueth vnto the skinne, which they beare thence with them, going to the shore, leauing the bodies behind. Pits they dig in the ground, of a fathome & a halfe in depth, and hauing taken off the Fat or Lard from the skin, cast it into the pits, and then hurle in hot burning coales to mele it withall. The vppermost and purest is sold, and vfed to oyle wooll for cloth: but the groffer, being red of colour, they sell to make Soap.

Great quantity also of *Ickary* or *Cauesry*, is made vpon the riuier of *Vologda*, out of a Fish called *Bellougina*, the *Sturgeon*, the *Seweriga*, and the *Sterley*: most part whereof is shipt thence by French & Netherland Merchants for *Italy*, *Spaine*, and *England*.

Flaxe and Hempe is another commodity, whereof hath bene shipt at the Port of *Narue*, the more part of an hundred Ships small and great yearly. But great abatement is in these and other commodities, by shutting vp the Port of *Narue* towards the *Finland* Sea, which is now in possession of the *Sweden*. The stop of passage also ouer land, by the way of *Smolensko* and *Platsko* in regard of warre with the *Poland*: which causeth the people to be lesse careful in providing these and other commodities, because they want sale. For growth of Flax, the Prouince of *Vobsko* and country thereabout is chief: like as *Smolensko*, *Dorogoboffe*, and *Rafma* is for Hempe.

Great store of Salt the Country maketh, whereof the best is at *Storaruufie* in very great quantity, hauing store of Saltwells, some two hundred fifty nine Verst from

The Seals natural behauiour whē they are beset in their own defence.

The hunters diuide the spoile among them.

Ickary or Cauesry made of Sturgeon.

Flax & Hemp

Great hindrance in veying these commodities.

Salt, whereof some is made naturally of the sea water

from the Sea. But at *Atracan*, Salt is naturally made by the Sea-water, which causteth it vp in great hilles, from whence it is digged downe, and carryed away by Merchants, or any that will fetch of it. Three pence *Ruffe* is payed to the Emperour vpon euery hundred weight of Salt, which is likewise made in many other places, as in *Berm*, *Wichida*, *Tutina*, *Kenisfma*, *Souoletskey*, &c. all out of Salt-pits, except at *Solouetskey*, which lyeth neare vnto the Sea.

Tarre also they make great store of, out of Firre trees in the Country of *Dny-na* and *Smolensko*, sending no meane plenty thereof abroad. To these before remembered, there are many more (natural to the country) though of meaner estimation: As the fish-tooth, which they call *Ribaznou*, vfed both amongst themselves, and the *Perfians* and *Bougharians*, who fetch it thence for Beades, Knives and Sword-handles for Noblemen and Gentlemen, and diuerse other vses.

Some doe vse the powder of it against poyson; like to *Vnicornes* horne, and the fish that oweth it, is called a *Morse*, beeing caught about *Pechora*: Some of these teeth are well-neare two foote in length, and do weigh cleauen or twelue pounds each tooth.

There is a soft Rocke, which they doe cutte into peeces or into thinne flakes, and are naturally to be vfed and employed as Glasse, for Lant-hornes and such like: but yet yet is not so brittle in breaking as Glasse, yet it dooth giue a farre clearer light. They doe tearme it *Slude*, and it groweth in the Prouince of *Corelia*, and about the Riuier *Dnyna*, towards the North Sea.

Besides, they make Salt-peter in many places, as at *Ouglit*, *Tarunflaw*, and *Vitig*; with some meane store of Brimstone vpon the Riuier *Volgha*; but they want skill to refine it.

As for their Iron, it is but brittle; yet much thereof is made in *Corelia*, *Cargapolia*, and *Vitig*, *Thelafna*, for other mines they haue none growing within the kingdom.

As for Beasts of strange kinds, they haue the Losh, the Ollen, the wilde Horse, the *Wuluering* or *Wood-dogge*, the *Lyferne*, the *Beauer*, the *Sable*, the *Martroun*, the blacke and dunne Fox, the

white Beare, towards the Sea-coast of *Pechora*, the *Gurnfall*, and the *Lafet* or *Minuer*. Likewise, there is a kinde of Squirrel, hauing growing on the pinion of his shoulder bone, a long tuft of haire, much like vnto feathers, with a farre broader taile then other Squirrels haue, which they doe moue and shake, as they moue from tree to tree, like to a Wing in resemblance, and seeming as if they flew thereby, whereby they were called, *Zetach vechfhe*, that is to say, flying Squirrels. In the Summer their Hares and Squirrels are of the same colour as other are; but in Winter, the Hare changeth her coate into milke-white, and the Squirrel into grey, and thereof is it that the *Calaber* commeth.

Fallow Deere likewise they haue, the *Roe Bucke*, and great plenty and store of Goates. Their horses are but small, yet swift and hard, and both in Winter and Summer, they trauell them vnshod, vying no respect at all of pace. Small are their sheepe, bearing harsh and course wooll, not so apt and conuenient for the making of Cloath, as is afforded in diuers other Countries, nor of so good a wearing.

Of Foules they haue of the principall kinds; and great store of Hawkes, as also the *Eagle*, the *Ger-falcon*, the *Slight-falcon*, the *Gof hawke*, the *Tassell*, the *Spar-hawke*. But the principall Hawke breeding in the Country is counted the *Ger-falcon*. We may not forget other chiefe Foules, as the *Swanne* wilde and tame in great plenty; the *Storke*, the *Crane*, the *Tedder*, resembling a *Feath* in colour, but much bigger, and liueth in the Firre woods. Of Pheazant and Partridge they haue great plenty; and an *Owle*, so great and ougly to beholde, as few countries afforde the like, with a huge broad face, and eares much like to a man.

We come now to speake of fresh-water Fish, besides the common sort; as *Carpes*, *Pikes*, *Pearch*, *Tench*, *Roach*, &c. they haue diuerse kinds very good and delicate. As the *Bellouga* or *Bellougina*, of foure or five elles in length; the *Ostirra* or *Sturgeon*, the *Seweriga* and *Sterley*, somewhat in fashion and in taste like vnto the *Sturgeon*, but not so thicke, nor so long.

A strange Squirrel.

Hares milke white.

Fallow deere, Roe Bucks, and Goats.

Foules of diuers kinds, both wilde and tame.

Variety of fresh-water Fish and other beest.

These foure Kindes of Fish breed in the *Volgha*, and are there caught in great abundance, seruing generally (as a great food) to the whole kingdom. And of the roes of these foure fishes, are made very great store of *icary* or *Casery*.

Besides these breeding in the *Volgha*, they haue a Fish called *Ribabela*, or white Salmon, which they hold to be more delicate then the red Salmon, hauing also great plenty of them in the Riues northward, as in *Duyna* and *Cola*, &c. In the *Ozera*, or Lake neare to *Perisslaue*, they haue a small Fish, which they call the freth herring, of the same fashion, and tasting also like a Sea herring. From the trades of fishing the Emperor hath an yearely large custome, which they practise in the Summer: but send it frozen in the Winter into all parts of the Realme.

Now, because wee ayimed at a formalitie in the description, wee enter into a relation of the chiefe and principall Cities in *Moscouia* or *Rufsia*, and as our direction guideth vs, these are their names.

- 1 *Mosko.*
- 2 *Nowograd.*
- 3 *Rosoue.*
- 4 *Voladomer.*
- 5 *Plesko.*
- 6 *Smolensko.*
- 7 *Iaruslaue.*
- 8 *Perisslaue.*
- 9 *Nysnowograd.*
- 10 *Pologda.*
- 11 *Vstuck.*
- 12 *Galmigrae.*
- 13 *Cazan.*
- 14 *Astracan.*
- 15 *Cargapolia.*
- 16 *Columna.*

The City of *Mosko* is supposed to bee of great antiquitie, though the first founder thereof be vnkowne to the *Moscouites* or *Russe*. It seemeth to deriue the name from the riuer, running on the one side thereof. *Berosus* the *Chaldean* telleth vs, that *Nimrod* (in other profane Stories called *Saturne*) sent *Assyrius*, *Medus*, *Mofcus* and *Mages* into *Asia*, to plant Colonies there, and that *Mofcus* planted both in *Asia* and *Europe*. Which may make some probability, that the City, or rather the Riuer whereon it is built, tooke the

*Berosus* in the *Mofcus* planted Colonies in *Asia* and *Europe*, and *Mofcus* seemed to take name of him.

denomination from this *Mofcus*. And so much the rather, because of the Climate or situation, which is in the very furthest part and lift of *Europe*, bordering vpon *Asia*.

It appeareth, that this Citie was much enlarged by one *Euan* or *Iohn* sonne vnto *Daniel*, the first that changed his Title of Duke into King; though that honor continued not to his posteritie, the rather, because hee was inuelted into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was *Innocentius* the fourth, about the yere 1246. which was much disliked by the *Russe* people, being then a part of the Easterne or Greeke Church. Since that time, the name of that Citie hath growne more famous, and much better knowne to the world. In somuch, that not only the province, but the whole country of *Moscouia* or *Rufsia*, is termed by some, by the name of *Moscouia* the Metropolit Citie.

The forme of this City is (in a maner) round, with three strong walles, circuling the one within the other, and streetes lying betweene, whereof the in-most wall, and the buildings closed within it, lying so fast (as the heart within the body) fenced and warded with the Riuer *Moskua*, which runneth close by it; is all accounted the Emperours Castell. The number of houses through the whole City (being reckoned a litle before it was fiered by the *Chrim*) were 41500. Since the *Tartars* besieged and fiered it (which was in the yere 1571.) there doth lye waste of it a great breadth of ground, which before was wel set and planted with buildings; especially that part on the South side of *Moskua*, built (not long before) by *Basilus* the Emperour for his garrison of Souldiours, to whom he gaue priuilege to drinke Mead and Beere, at the drie or prohibited times. And for that cause called his new Citie *Naloi*, that is to say, *Skinke* or *paure* in, So that now the Citie of *Mosko* is not much bigger then the City of *London* in *England*.

The next in greatnesse, and (in a maner) as large, is the City *Nowograd*, where happened (as the *Russe* sayth) the memorable warre, so much spoken of in Histories, of the *Scythian* seruants, that tooke vppon Armes against their Maisters, which they haue reported to be after this manner.

The first changing the title of Duke into King.

*Moscouia* the Metropolit Citie.

The model forme of the Citie.

The number of houses before the Citie fiering.

When the *Chrim* Tartars fiered the Citie.

A name giuen to the new Citie.

*Nowograd* the next great city to *Mosko*.

The

## Chap. 1. Of the Country, Climate and People.

The *Boiardiues* or Gentle men of *Nowograd*, and the adiacent territories (that only are Souldiers after the discipline of those countries) had warre with the *Tartars*. Which being well performed and ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they vnderstoode by the way, that their *Cholopey*, or Bondslaves whom they left at home, had (in their absence) possessed their townes, lands, houses, wines and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdayning the villanie of their seruants; they made the more speed home, and so, not farre from *Nowograd*, mette them in warrelike maner marching against them.

Whereupon, aduising what was best to be done, they all agreed, to set vpon them with no other shew of weapons, but with their horse whippes (which as their manner is, euery man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them and abate their courage. And so marching on, lashing all together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the on-fatte, which seemed so terrible in the eares of the villaines, and strooke such a fence into them of the whips smart (whereof they had sharply tasted before) that they all fled together, euen like sheepe before their driuers. In memorie of which victorie, the *Nowogradians* (euer since) haue stamped their Coine, which they call a *Dingoe* *Nowogradskoy*, currant through all *Rufsia*: with the figure of a man on horsebacke, shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These two Citties exceede the rest in greatnesse.

For strength, their chiefe Citties are *Yobsko*, *Smolensko*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, as all lying vpon the borders; but for situation, *Iaruslaue* farre exceedeth all the rest. Because, beside those commodities yielded by pasturage and corne, it lieth vpon the famous riuer *Volgha*, and looks ouer it, from a banke most faire and stately to beholde, whereof the Towne taketh

name. For *Iaruslaue* (in that language) signifieth a faire and famous banke. In this Citie (as may be well imagined by that name) dwelt the *Moscouian* or *Russe* King *Yladimir*, surnamed *Iaruslaue*: that married the daughter to *Harold* King of *England*, by mediation of *Sueno* the *Dane*, as the *Danish* historie testifieth, about the yere of our Lord God, one thousand sixty seauen.

Nothing greatly memorable, is to be spoken of the other Citties and Townes, but only ruines within their walles: which declareth the peoples decreafe vnder this gouernement. In stead of paving, the streetes (in their Townes and Citties) are plankt with Firre trees, plained and layd euen close one to another. Their houses are of wood, without any Lime or Stone, built very close and warme, with Firre trees playned, and layd one vpon another, being fastened together with dents or notches at euery corner, and so clapped fast together. Betwixt the trees of timber, they thrust in Mosse, whereof they gather plenty in the woods, to keepe out the ayre: And euery house hath a paire of staires, which leade vpp to the chambers out of the yard or streete, after the Scottish maner. This building appeareth farre better for their Country, then that of Stone and Bricke; because they are darker and more colde, then those wooden houses; especially them of Firre, which is a verie drie and warme kinde of wood: whereof God hath provided them such store, that a faire house may be built for twenty or thirty Rubbels, or litle more where wood is scantie.

Onely the greatest inconuenience of their wooden building, is the aptnesse for fiering, which happeneth there verie often, and in as fearefull sort, by reason of the drienesse and fatnesse of the Firre, that being once fiered, it burneth like vnto a Torch, and is hardly quenched, till all be quite consumed.

The historie of the Seruants warre against their Maisters, at their returning home from the *Tartars* warre.

A worthy resolution in Maisters against their bold slaves.

A victory wonne by the lashing of whippes only.

*Iaruslaue* the only Citie for situation.

A *Moscouian* King married the King of *England*'s daughter.

Paving of the streetes.

The *Moscouian* manner of building their houses.

Bricke and stone is no convenient building in *Moscouia*.

The danger of their wooden houses.

## CHAP. II.

*Our second Tract, relateth of what Linage or house the great Emperours are descended: And a view of their enshalment or Inauguration in that supreme dignitie: with the form of publike Government, by order observed in holding their Parliaments. Then, of the Nobility dignifying the State, with the regiment of their Provinces; and Councell attending upon the Emperour: His Customs, Renewnes & Sophismes; and a breefe relation of the Communalitie, in their obedience and service.*

**T**HE surname of the Imperial house of Moscouia or Russia, is called *Beala*, receiving Originall (as is supposed) from the kings of Hungary, which may appeare the more probable; because the Hungarian Kings (many years since) have borne that name, as is noted by *Bonifinius*, and other Histories written of that Country. For, about the year, 1059. mention is made of one *Beala*, that succeeded his brother *Andreas*, who reduced the Hungarians to the Christian Faith, from which they were faine by Turkish perswasion before. The second of that name was called *Beala* the Blinde, after whom succeeded diuers of the same name.

That their Ancestours came not of the *Russe* Nation, *Iuan Vasilowich* (Father to this Emperour) would many times boast, disdaining (as it should seeme) to haue his progeny deriued from the Russian blood. As namely, to an English-man his Goldsmith, that had receiued Bullion of him to make certaine Plate: whom the Emperour commanded, to looke wel to his weight. For my *Russes* (said he) are all Theeues. Whereat the workman, looking redoubtfully vpon the Emperour, began to smile.

The Emperour being of verie quicke conceite, charged him to tell, what hee

smiled at. If your Maiesty will pardon me (quoth the Gold-smith) I will tell you. Your Highnesse sayde, that all the *Russes* were Theeues, and forgotte (in the meane while) that your selfe was a *Russe*. I thought so sayde the Emperour, but thou art deceyued, for I am no *Russe*: my Ancestours were *Germanes* (for so they account the Hungarians, to bee part of the *Germane* Nation) although (indeede) they come of the *Hunnes*, who mollested and invaded that country, and rested in those partes of *Pannonia*, now called *Hungary*.

How they aspired to the Dukedome of *Volodemer* (which was their first degree, and ingrafting into *Moscouia*.) And whether it were by Conquest, or by Marriage, or by what other meanes; no certainty is to be learned among them. But from these beginnings, of a small Dukedom (which bare notwithstanding an absolute government with it, as at that time did all the other Shires or Provinces of *Moscouia*) this house of *Beala* spread it selfe forth, and aspired (by degrees) vnto the Monarchie of the whole Countrey, as it is a thing well knowne, and but of late memory.

The chiefe of that house, that aduanced the Stocke, and enlarged their Dominions: were the three last that reigned before this Emperour, to witte, *Iuan Basilien*, and *Iuan*, Father to the other that reigneth at this time. Whereof the first that tooke vnto him the Name and Title of Emperour, was *Basilien*, Father to *Iuan*, and Grandfather vnto this man. For (before that time) they onely were contented, to bee called by the Name of Great Dukes of *Mosco* or *Moscouia*.

What hath beene done by eyther of these three, and how much they haue added vnto their first estate, eyther by Conquest, or otherwise; wee shall shew more at large, when we come to speake of their Colonies, or purchases perforce. For the continuance of the race, this House of *Beala* at this present, is in like case, as are many of the greatest Houses of Christendome, (Viz:) the whole Stocke and Race, concluded in one, two, or some fewe of the blood. For, besides the Emperour that now is, who hath no childe (neyther is like euer

How first they came to the Dukedome of Volodemer not knowne.

The aduancement of the house of Beala.

Reference to a place of better consequence.

to

no hope of issue by the Emperour.

A great mishap & much lamented, costing also the Fathers life.

to haue, for ought that can bee conieured by the constitution of his bodye, and barrenesse of his wife, after so many yeares marriage) there is but one more, which is a Childe of fixe or seauen yeares olde, in whom resteth all the hope of succession, and posteritie of that house.

As for the other Brother, that was eldest of the three, and of the best towardnesse: hee dyed of a blow giuen him by his Father vpon the head (in furie) with his walking Staffe, or (as some say) of a thrust with the prong of it, driuen deep into his head. That hee meant him no such mortall harme, when hee gaue him the blowe, appeared by his wonderfull great mourning and passion after his Sonnes vntimely death; which neuer left him, vntill it brought him to his Graue. Wherein may bee noted the Iustice of God, that punnished his delight in shedding of blood, with this murder of his Sonne by his owne hand. And so ended his dayes and tyranny together, with the murdering of himselfe by extreame grief, for this his vnhappy, and most vnnatural facte.

The Emperours younger Brother, of fixe or seauen yeares olde (as was said before) is kept in a remote place from the *Mosko*, vnder the tuition and government of his Mother, and her Kindred, of the house of the *Nagates*: yet not safe (as I haue heard) from attempts of making away, by practise of some that would aspire vnto the Crowne, if the Emperour dye without any yssue. For, the Nurse that tasted before him of certaine meate, (as I haue heard reported) dyed immediately.

That he is the Naturall Sonne vnto *Iuan Vasilowich*, the *Russe* people warrant it, by the fathers qualities, which appear already in his tender yeeres. He delights to see Sheepe and other Cattle kilde, and to looke on their throates, while they are bleeding (which commonly, children are affrayd to beholde) and to beate Geese and Hennes with a Staffe, till hee see them dead.

Besides these of the masse kinde, there is a Widow, that hath right in the succession, Sister to the olde Emperour, and Aunt to him liuing; sometime wife vnto *Magnus*, Duke of *Holst*, Brother to the

King of *Denmarke*, by whom she had one daughter.

This Woman, since the death of her Husband, hath beene allured againe into *Russia*, by some that loue the succession better then her selfe, which appeareth by the sequelle. For her selfe, with her daughter, so soone as they were returned againe into *Russia*, were thrust into a Nunnery, where her daughter dyed this last year, but of no naturall disease, as was supposed.

The Mother remaineth still in the Nunnery, bewailing her selfe, and cursing the time when shee returned into *Russia*, enticed with the hope of Marriage, and many other fayre promises in the Emperours name. And thus it standeth with the Imperiall stocke of *Russia*, of the House of *Beala*, which is like to determine in those that now are, and to make a conuersion of the *Russe* Estate. If it bee into a Government of some better temper, and milder constitution; it will bee happy for the people, that are nowe oppressed with intollerable seruitude.

Our next Discourse, must extend it selfe, to report such solemnities, as are commonly vsed at the *Russe* Emperours Coronation, which followeth in this manner.

### Of the manner of Crowning or Inauguration of the Russe Emperours.

**T**HE solemnities vsed at the *Russe* Emperours Coronation, are on this manner. In the great Church of *Preche* (He (or our Ladie) within the Emperours Castle, is erected a stage, whereon standeth a Screene, that beareth vpon it the Imperiall Cappe and Robe, of exceeding rich stuffe. When the day of Inauguration is come, there resort thither, first the Patriarche with the Metropolitanes, Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, all richly clad in their Pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons, with the Quier of singers: who so soon as the Emperour setteth foot into the church

B b b 3

begin

The daughter dying in the Nunnery, the Mother liueth in no meane anguish.

The ecclesiastical attendants.

Originall of the Moscouian Imperiall house, from the kings of Hungary.

The house Beala not naturally Moscouian or Russe.

Familiar talk betweene the Emperour, and an English Goldsmith.

Qualities of no great commendation.

Another, title of inheritance by the Dutches of Holst.

begin to sing: *Many yeeres may line noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c.* Whereunto the Patriarch and Metropolit, with the rest of the Cleargy, answer with a certaine Hymne, in forme of a prayer, singing it all together, with a great noise. The Hymne being ended, the Patriarch with the Emperor mount vp the stage, where standeth a seat ready for the Emperour. Whereon the Patriarch will him to sit down, and then placing himselfe by him, vpon another seate provided for that purpose, boweth down his head toward the grolid, and saith this prayer.

*Oh Lord God, King of Kinges, Lord of Lords, which by the Prophet Samuell diddest chuse thy seruant David, and annoint him for King ouer thy people Israel; heare nowe our Prayers, and looke from thy Sanctuaries vpon this thy seruant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen, and exalted for King, ouer these thy holy Nations. Annoint him with the Oyle of gladnesse, protect him by thy power, put vpon his head a Crowne of Gold & precious stones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the seat of Iustice, strengthen his arme, make subiect vnto him all the barbarous Nations. Let thy feare be in his whole heart; turne him from an euill Faith, and from all error, and shew him the saluation of thy holie & vniuersall Church; that he may iudge thy people with Iustice, and protect the children of the poore; and finally attaine euertlasting life. This prayer he speaketh with a low voyce, and then pronounceth aloud: All praise and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.*

The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the Imperiall Robe and Cap; which is done verie decently, and with great solemnitie, the Patriarch withall pronouncing aloud; *Peace be vnto all.* And so he beginneth another prayer to this effect: *Bow your selues together with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preserve him (O Lord) vnder thy protection, keepe him that he may do good and holy things, let iustice shine forth in his dayes, that we may liue quietly without strife and malice.*

This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto he addeth againe aloud: *Thou art the King of the whole world, and the Saviour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, be all praise for euer and euer, Amen.* Then putting on the

Robe and the Cap, he blesteth the Emperour with the signe of the Crosse: saying withall; *In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.* The like is done by the Metropolit, Arch-bishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the Chaire, and once after another, doe blesteth the Emperor with their two fore-fingers.

Then is saide by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth, *O most holy Virgin, mother of God, &c.* After which, a Deacon pronounceth with an high lowde voyce: *Many yeeres to Noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer of Mosko, Emperour, and Monarch of all Rusfia, &c.* Wherto the other priests and Deacons, that stand somewhat far off by the Altar or Table, answer singing: *Many yeeres, many yeeres to the noble Theodore.* The same note is taken vppe by the Priestes and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then all together they chaunt and thunder out, singing; *Many yeeres to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, Emperour, of all Rusfia, &c.*

These solemnities being ended, first cometh the Patriarch with the Metropolit, Arch-bishops, and Bishops; then the Nobility, and the whole companie in their order, to doe homage vnto the Emperour, bending downe theyr heades, and knocking them at his feete vnto the very ground.

**The Stile wherewith hee is inuested at his Coronation,**  
*runneth after this manner.*

*Theodore Iuanowich, by the Grace of God, great Lord and Emperour of all Rusfia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Nouograd, King of Casan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Tuveria, Loughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others. Lord and great Duke of Nouograd of the Low Countreys, of Chermigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostoue, Turslauey, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condens's: Commander of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and Lorde of many other Countreys, &c.*

This

According to their ancient custome

Homage and obedience done to the Emperour.

The Emperour proud of his many Titles.

This stile containeth in it all the Emperours Prouinces, and setteth forth his greatnesse. And therefore they haue a very great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people, but likewise strangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperour by speech or writing) to repeat the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much caull, and sometimes quarrell, betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambassadors; who refuse to call him *Czar*, that is Emperour, and to repeat the other parts of his long stile.

The State or forme of their gouernment.

The manner of their Gouernment, is much after the Turkish fashion: which they doe seeme to imitate as neere as the Countrey, and reach of their capacities (in politick affayres) will giue them leaue to doe.

The Russe gouernment tyrannical.

The State and forme of their Gouernment is plaine tyrannicall, as applying all to the behoofe of the Prince, and that after a most open and barbarous manner; as may appeare by the *Sophismata*, or secrets of their Gouernment afterward set down, aswell for the keeping of the Nobility and Commons in an vnder proportion, and farre vneuen balance in their seuerall degrees; as also in their impositions and exactions, wherein they exceed all iust measures, without any regard of Nobilitie or people.

Exaction in Nobilitie ouer the meaner sort.

Furthermore, it giueth the Nobilitie a kinde of iniust, and vnmeasured liberty, to command and exact vpon the Commons and baser sort of people, in all parts of the Realme wherefoeuer they come, especially in the place where theyr Lands lye, or where they are appointed by the Emperour to gouerne vnder him. Allo to the Commons some small contentment, in that they passe ouer their lands (by descent of inheritance) to whither son they will: which commonly they do after our *Gauill kinde*, and dispose of their goodes by gift or Testament, without anie controulment. Wherein notwithstanding, both Nobility and Commons are but flouers for the Prince, all running in the end into the Emperours Coffers: as may appear by the practise of enriching his treasure, and the manner of Exactions sette downe in the title of his Customes and Reuennewes.

The Nobilitie and Commons, flouers for the Prince.

Concerning the principall points and

matters of State, wherein the Soueraignty consisteth (as the making and annulling of publike Lawes, the making of Magistrats, power to make warre or league with any foraine State, to execute or to pardon life, with the right of appeal in all matters, both ciuill and criminall) they doe to wholly and absolutely pertaine to the Emperour and his Councell vnder him; as that hee may be saide to be the Soueraigne Commander, and the executioner of all these. For, as touching any Law or publike order of the Realme, it is euer determined of, before any publike Assembly or Parliament bee summoned, Where besides his Councell, he hath none other to consult with him of such matters as are concluded before had but onely a few Bishops, Abbots, and Friars: to no other end, then to make advantage of the peoples superstitions, euen against themselves which think to be holy and iust, that passeth with consent of their Bishops and Cleargy men, whatsoever it bee.

Of Soueraign power.

For which purpose, the Emperours are content to make much of the corrupt state of the Church, as now it is among them, and to nourish the same by extraordinary fauours and immunities to the Bishops, Sees, Abbeyes, and Fryaries: as knowing, superstition and false Religion best to agree with a tyrannicall State, and to be a speciall meanes to vphold and maintaine the same.

Benefit made by corruption

Secondly, as touching the publike Offices and Magistracies of the Realme, there is none Hereditarie, neyther any so great nor so little in that Countrey, but the bestowing of it, is done immediately by the Emperour himselfe. Infomuch, that the very Diackes or Clerkes in euery head Towne, are (for the most part) assigned by himselfe. Notwithstanding, the Emperour that now is (the better to entend his Deuotions) referreth all such matters pertaining to the State, wholly to the ordering of his Wiues brother, the Lord *Boris Federowich Godonoe*.

Officers giuen by the Emperour himselfe.

Thirdly, the like is to be saide of the Iurisdiction, concerning matters iudiciall, specially such as concerne life and death: Wherein there is none that hath any authority, or publike Iurisdiction that goeth by descent, or is held by Charter; but all at the appointment and pleasure of the Emperour.

Of iudiciall matters concerning life & death.

And

And the same practised by the Iudges with such awe and restraint; as that they dare not determine vpon any special matter, but must referre the same wholly, vpon the *Mosko* to the Emperours Council. To shew his Soueraignty ouer the liues of his Subjects, the late Emperour *Iuan Psilowich* (in his walkes or progresses) if he had misliked the face or pecton of any man whom hee met by the way, or that looked vpon him; would command his head to be strook off. Which was presently done, and the head cast before him.

The Emperours power or uer life.

Of appeales and pardon in criminal causes.

The Emperours free pardon.

The manner of holding their Parliaments.

No commons in Parliament.

The order of the summons or assembling.

Fourthly, for the fouraine appeale, and giuing of pardons in criminal matters to such as are conuicted; it is wholly at the pleasure and grace of the Emperour. Wherein also the Emperesse that now is, being a woman of great clemency, and withall, delighting to deale in publike affaires of the Realme, (the rather to supply the defect of her husband) doth behaue her selfe after an absolute manner, giuing out pardon (specially on her birth day, & other solemne times) in her owne name, by open Proclamation, without any mention at all of the Emperour.

Their highest Court of publike consultation, for matter of State, is called the *Zabore*, that is, the *Publike Assembly*. The states and degrees of persons that are present at their Parliaments, are these in order. First, the Emperour himselfe. Secondly, some of his Nobility, about the number of twenty, being all of his Council. Thirdly, certaine of the Cleargymen, &c. about the same number. As for Burghers, or other to represent the Commonalty, they haue no place there: the people beeing of no better account with them, then as seruants or bondslaves, that are to obey, not to make lawes, nor to know any thing of publike matters, before they are concluded.

The Court of Parliament (called *Zabore*) is held in this manner. The Emperour causeth to be summoned such of his Nobility, as himselfe thinketh meete, being (as was said) all of his Council: together with the Patriarch, who calleth his Cleargy, to wit, the two Metropolitans, the two Archbishops, with such Bishops, Abbot, and Fryars, as are of best account and reputation among them. When they are all assembled at the Emperours Court, the day is intimated when the Session shall

begin. Which commonly is vpon Friday, for the religion of that day.

When the day is come, the Cleargymen assemble before, at the time & place appointed, which is called the *Stolly*. And when the Emperour cometh attended by his Nobility, they arise all, and meete him in an out-rooms, following their Patriarch, who blesteth the Emperour with his two fore-fingers, laying them on his forehead, and the sides of his face, & then kisseth him on the right side of his breast. So they passe on into their Parliament house, where they sit in this order. The Emperour is enthronized on the one side of the Chamber. In the next place, not farre from him, at a small square Table (that giueth room to twelue persons or thereabouts) sitteth the Patriarch, with the Metropolitans and Bishops, & certaine of the principall Nobility of the Emperours Council, together with two Diacks or Secretaries (called *Dumny Dyakei*) that enact that which pleaseth. The rest place themselves on Benches round about the Roome, every man in his rank after his degree. Then is there propounded by one of the Secretaries (who representeth the Speaker) the cause of their assembly, and the principall matters that they are to consider of. For, to propound bills, what euery man thinketh good for the publike benefit (as in other Countries is vsed) the *Russe* Parliament alloweth no such custome, nor liberty to subjects.

The points being opened, the Patriarch (with his Cleargy-men) haue the prerogative, to be first asked their vote, or opinion, what they thinke of the points propounded by the Secretary. Whereto they answer in order, according to their degrees, but all in one forme, without any discourse: as hauing learned their Lesson before, that serueth their turnes at all Parliaments alike, whatsoever is propounded. Commonly it is to this effect. *That the Emperour and his Council are of great wisdom, and experience, touching the policies and publike affaires of the Realme, and farre better able to iudge what is profitable for the Common-wealth, then they are, which attend vpon the service of God only, and matters of Religion. And therefore it may please them to proceede. That trusteth of their aduise, they will aide them with their prayers, as their duties*

The place of meeting for the assembly.

The manner of sitting in Parliament.

Their discourse at Parliament.

The effect of the speech propounded.

ties and vocations do require, &c. To this or like effect, hauing made their answers euery man in his course, vpon standeth some Abbot or Fryar, more bold then the rest (yet appointed before hand, as a matter of forme) and desired the Emperour it would please his Maiesty, to command to be deliuered vnto them, what his Maiesties owne iudgement, and determinate pleasure is, as touching those matters propounded by his *Deiakes*?

The forme of the Emperours answer.

Whereto is replied by the saide Secretary, in the Emperours name. *That his Highnesse, with those of his Noble Council (vpon good and sound aduise) haue found the matters proposed, to be very good and necessary for the Common-wealth of his Realme. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they are religious men, and know what is right; his Maiesty requireth their godly opinions, yea and their censures too, for the approving or correcting of the saide propositions. And therefore desired them againe, to speake their mindes freely. And if they shall like to giue their consents, that then the matters may passe to a full conclusion.*

Hereunto, when the Cleargy-men haue giuen their consents (which they vse to do without any great pausing) they take their leaues, with blessing of the Emperour: who bringeth the Patriarch on his way so farre as the next Roome, and so returneth to his seate, till all be made ready for his returne homeward. The Actes that thus are passed by the *Zabore* or Parliament, the *Deiakes* or Secretaries draw into a forme of Proclamation, which they send abroad into euery Prouince, & head-towne of the Realme, to be published there, by the Dukes & *Deiakes*, or Secretaries of those places. The Session of Parliament being fully ended; the Emperour inuitheth the Cleargy-men to a solemne Dinner. And so they depart euery man to his home.

Of the Nobility, and by what means it is kept in vnder proportion, as is credible to that State.

The degrees of persons or estates of *Russia* (besides the Soueraigne State or Emperour himselfe) are these in order. First, the Nobility which is of four sorts. Whercof the chiefe for birth, authority, and reuennue, are called the *Vdelney Knazes*, that is, the exempt or priuiledged Dukes. These held sometime a feuerall iurisdiction, and absolute authority within their Precincts, much like vnto the States or Nobles of *Germany*. But after-

wards (referring their rights vpon composition) they yielded themselves to this house of *Beala*, when it began to waxe mighty, and to enlarge it selfe by ouermatching their neighbours. Only they were bound to serue the Emperour in his warres, with a certaine number of horse. But the late Emperour *Iuan Psilowich*, Father to this Prince, beeing a man of high spirit, and subtle in his kinde, meaning to reduce his gouernement into a more strickt forme; began by degrees to clip off their greatnesse, and to bring it downe to a lesser proportion: till in the ende, he made them not only his vassals, but his *Kolopey*, that is, his very villains or bond-slaves. For so they terme & write themselves, in any publike instrument or priuate petition which they make to the Emperour. So that now they hold their authorities, lands, liues and all at the Emperours pleasure, as the rest do.

The meanes and practise whereby he wrought this to effect, against those, and other of the Nobility (so well as I could note out of the report of his doings) were these, and such like. First, he call private emulations among them, about prerogative of their Titles and Dignities. Wher-in he ved to set on the Inferiours, to preferre or equall themselves to those, that were accounted to be of the Nobler houses. Where hee made his advantage of their mallice and contentions, the one against the other, by receiuing deuised matter, and accusations of secret practise and conspiracies, to be intended against his person and state. And so, hauing singled out the greatest of them, and cut them off, with the good liking of the rest; hee fell at last to open practise, by forcing of the other to yield their rights vnto him.

2. He diuided his subjects into two parts or Factions by a generall schisme. The one part he called the *Oppressini* or *Seleit men*. These were such of the Nobility and Gentry, as hee tooke to his owne part, to protect, and maintaine them as his faithfull subjects. The other he called *Zemsky*, or the *Commons*. The *Zemsky* contained the base and vulgar sort, with such Noblemen and Gentlemen as he meant to cut off, as suspected to mislike his gouernement, and to haue a meaning to practise against him. Wherein he prouided that the *Oppressini*, for number

The cunning of the late Emperour.

The Emperours practise and proceeding against both the Factions.

The Faction of *Oppressini* and *Zemsky*, deuised by the Emperour.

ber and quality of valour, money, armor, &c. far exceeded the other of the *Zemsky* side, whom hee put (as it were) from vnder his protection: so that if any of thei were spoyled or killed by those of the *Oppressimi* (which he accounted of his owne part) there was no amends to bee sought for, by way of publike iustice, or by complaint to the Emperour.

The distinguishing of the *Oppressimi* & *Zemsky* each from others.

The whole number of both parts was orderly registred and kept in a Booke: so that every man knew, who was a *Zemsky* man, and who of the *Oppressimi*. And this liberty of the one part, to spoyle and kill the other, without any helpe of Magistrate, or law (that continued seven years) enriched that side and the Emperours treasury, and wrought that withall, which hee intended by this practise, viz. to take out of the way such of the Nobility, as himselfe misliked: whereof were slaine (within one weeke) to the number of three hundred within the City of *Mosko*. This tyrannicall practise, of making a generall Schisme, and publike diuision among the subiects of his whole Realme, proceeded (as should seeme) from an extreme doubt, and desperate feare, which he had conceiued of most of his Nobility, and Gentlemen of his Realme, in his warres with the *Polonian* and *Chrim Tartar*. What time he grew into a vehement suspicion (conceiued of the ill successe of his affaires) that they practised treason with the *Polonian* and *Chrim*. Whereupon he executed some, and deuised this way to be rid of the rest.

And this wicked pollicy and tyrannous practise (though now it be ceased) hath so troubled that Country, and filled it so full of grudge and mortall hatred euersith, that it will not bee quenched (as it seemeth now) till it burne againe into a ciuill flame.

3 Having thus pulled them, and sealed all their inheritance, lands, priuiledges, &c. saue some very small part, which he left to their name; he gaue them other lands of the tennour of *Pomelino* (as they call it) that are held at the Emperours pleasure, lying farre off in another Country, and so removed them into another of his Provinces, where they might haue neither fauour, nor authority, nor being native nor well knowne there. So that now cheefe of the cheefe Nobility (called *Vdel-*

*ney Knazey*) are equalled with the rest: saue that in the opinion and fauor of the people they are of more account, and keepe still the prerogative of their place, in all their publike meetings.

Their practise to keepe downe these houses from rising againe, and recouering their dignities, are these, & such like. First, many of their heyres are kept vnmarrried perforce, that the stock may dye with the. Some are sent into *Siberia*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, vnder pretence of seruice, & there eyther made away, or else fast clapped vp. Some are put into Abbeyes, and there themselves Fryars by pretence of a vow to be made voluntary, and of their owne accord, but indeed forced vnto it by feare, vpon some pretended crime objected against them. Where they are so guarded by some of speciall trust, and the Couent it selfe (vpon whose head it standeth, that they make no escape) as that they haue no other hope, but to end their liues there. Of this kinde, there are many of very great Nobility.

These and such like wayes (begun by the Emperour *Iuan Vasiliuich*) are still practised by the *Godonoes*, who being aduanced by the marriage of the Emperresse their kinsfowman, rule both the Emperour, and his Realme, (specially *Borris Federovich Godonoe*, brother to the Emperresse) & endeavour by all means to cut off, or keepe downe all of the best and auncientest Nobility. Whereof diuers already they haue taken away, whom they thought likelest to make head against them, and to hinder their purpose, as *Knez Andreas Guraken Bulgakoue*, a man of great birth and authority in the Country. The like they haue done with *Peter Gollumni* (whom they put into a dungeon where he ended his life) with *Knez Vasiliu Vritich Golluben*, with *Andrieh Iuanovich Suskey*, accounted among them for a man of great wisdom. So this last yeare was killed in a Monastery, (whether they had thrust him) on *Knez Iuan Petrovich Suskey*, a man of great valour, and seruice in that Country: who about siue or sixe yeares since, bare out the siege of the City *Vobsko*, made by *Stepan Batore* King of *Polonia*, with one hundred thousand men, and repulsed him very valiantly, with great honour to himselfe and his Country, & disgrace to the *Polonian*. Also *Micheta Romanovich*

Houses kept downe from rising and recouering their Dignity.

Many of the Nobility are cruelly & treacherously made away.

Notrepe of persons made among them.

*manovich*, Vnckle to the Emperour by the Mothers side, was supposed to haue died of poyson, or some such like practise.

The names of these Families of greatest Nobility, are these in their order. The first is of *Knez Volodemer*, which reflecteth at this time in one daughter a widow, and without childre (mentioned before) sometime Wife to *Hartock Magnus*, brother to the King of *Denmarke*, now closed within a Nunnery. The second *Knez Methe-loiskey*, thrust into a Friery, and his onely sonne kept from marriage, to decay the house. The third *Glimskoy*: but one left of his house, and he without children, saue one daughter. The fourth *Suskey*, whereof there are foure brethren young men, and vnmarrried all. The fifth *Hubelskey*. Of this house are foure liuing. The sixth *Bulgaley*, now called *Guletskey* house, whereof are siue liuing, but youths all. The seventh *Vorallinsky*. Two left of that stock. The eighth *Odgoskey*. Two. The ninth *Telletskey*. One. The tenth *Taytoue*. Three. These are the names of the cheefe Families called *Vdelney Knazay*: that in effect haue lost all now, saue the very name it selfe, and fauour of the people, which is like one day to restore them againe, if any be left.

The second degree of Nobility, is of the *Boiarsens*. These are such, as the Emperour honoureth (beside their Nobility) with the Title of Counsellers. The reuennue of these two sorts of Nobles, that riseth out of their Lands assigned them by the Emperour, and held at his pleasure (for of their owne Inheritance there is little left them, as was said before) is about a thousand marks a yeare: besides a pension which they receiue of the Emperour, for their seruice in his wars, to the summe of seven hundred Rubbels a yeare, and none about that summe.

But in this number, the Lord *Borris Federovich Godonoe* is not to be reckoned, that is like a *Transfendent*, and in no such predicament with the rest, being the Emperours brother in law, his Protectour for directions, for command and authority Emperour of *Russia*. His yearly reuennue (in land and pension) amounteth to the summe of 93700. Rubbels and more, as appeareth by the particulars. He hath of inheritance (which himselfe hath augmented in *Vasma Dorogobofe*, fixe thou-

sand Rubbels a yeare. For his Office of *Connick*, or Master of the Horse, twelue thousand Rubbels, or Markes, raised out of the *Cannishue Slobodsky*, or the liberties pertaining to that Office, which are certaine Lands and Townes neere about the *Mosko*. Besides, all the Meddow and Pasture ground on both sides the banke of the riuer *Mosko*, thirty verst vp the streame, and forty verst downwards. For his pension of the Emperour (besides the other for his Office) fifty thousand Rubbels. Out of the Province or Shire of *Vaght*, there is giuen him for a peculiar (exempted out of the Cheefird of *Polskey*, two & thirty thousand Rubbels, beside a rent of Furs. Out of *Razan* and *Sener*, (another peculiar) thirty thousand Rubbels. Out of *Osfer* and *Turtuck*, another exempt place, eight thousand Rubbels. For rent of Bath-houses and Bathing-houses without the walles of *Mosko*, fifteen hundred Rubbels. Besides his pomeit, or lands which he holdeth at the Emperours pleasure, which farre exceedeth the proportion of land allotted to the rest of the Nobility.

One other there is of the house of *Glimsky*, that dependeth in land and pension, about forty thousand Rubbels yearly. Which he is suffered to enioy, because he hath married *Borris* his Wiues sister, being himselfe simple, and almost a Natural. The ordering of him & his Lands are committed to *Borris*.

In the third rancke are the *Royauades*, or such Nobles as are, or haue bene Generals in the Emperours warres. Which deliuer the honour of their Title to their posterities also: who take their place above the other Dukes and Nobles, that are not of the two former sorts, viz. of the *Vdelney Knazey*, nor of the *Boiarsens*.

These three degrees of their Nobility (to wit) the *Vdelney Knazey*, the *Boiarsens*, and the *Royauades* haue the addition of *Vich*, put vnto their surname as *Borris Federovich*, &c. which is a note of honor, that the rest may not vlturpe. And in case it be not added in the naming of the; they may sue the *Bestsheft*, or penalty of dishonour vpon them, that otherwise shall reume them.

The fourth and lowest degree of Nobility with them, is of such as beare the name of *Knazey* or Dukes, but come of the younger Brothers of those cheefe houses,

Allowance for a simple Brother.

The third sort of Nobility.

The fourth degree of Nobility.

Names of the greatest houses of the *Russie* Nobility.

The second degree of Nobility.

The authority of the Emperress, Brother, and his large Inheritance.

Lands helde at the Emperours pleasure.



ses, through many dissent, and have no inheritance of their owne, save the bare name or title of Duke only. For their order is, to deliuer their names and titles of their dignities ouer to all their Children alike, whatsoever else they leaue the. So that the sonnes of a *Voianodey*, or General in the feld, are called *Voianodey*, though they neuer saw the feld, and the sonnes of a *Knez* or Duke, are called *Knazez*, though they have not one groat of inheritance or liuelyhood, to maintaine themselves withall. Of this sort there are so many, that the plenty maketh them cheape: so that you shall see Dukes glad to serue a meane man, for five or six rubbels or marks a year; and yet they will stand highly vpon their *Beshest* or reputation of their honours. And these are their severall degrees of Nobility.

The second degree of persons, is of their *Sina Boiarskey*, or the sons of Gentlemen: which all are preferred, & hold that name by their seruice in the Emperors wars, being Soldiours by their very stocke & birth. To which order are referred their *Diacks* or Secretaries, that serue the Emperor in every head towne, being ioynd in Commission with the Dukes of that place.

The last are their Commons, whom they call *Monicks*. In which number they reckon their Merchants, and their common Artificers. The very lowest & basest sort of this kinde (which are helde in no degree) are their Country people, whom they call *Christians*. Of the *Sina Boiarskey* (which are all Soldiours) we are to see in the description of their Forces, and Military prouisions. Concerning their *Monicks*, what their condition and behaviour is, expect them among the Common people.

The whole Country of *Russia* (as was saide before) is diuided into foure parts, which they call *Chetfrs*, or *Tetrarchies*. Every *Chetfrd* containeth diuers Shires, and is annexed to a severall Office, whereof it takes the name.

The first *Chetfrd* or *Tetrarchy* beareth the name of *Fosokoy Chetfrd*, or the *Jurisdiction of the Office of Ambassadors*, and at this time is vnder the chiefe Secretary & Officer of the Ambassadors, called *Andreas Shalcalque*. The standing fee or stipend that he receiue yearly of the Emperor for this seruice, is one hundred

rubbels or marks.

The second is called the *Rosferadney Chetfrd*, because it is proper to the *Rosferade* or high Constable. At this time it pertaineth (by vertue of Office) to *Basile Shalcalque*, brother to the Chancellors; but it is executed by one *Zapon Abramone*. His pension is an hundred rubbels yearly.

The third is the *Chetfrd of Pomejinoz*, as pertaining to that Office. This keepeth a Register of all Lands given by the Emperor for seruice, to his Noblemen, Gentlemen, & others, he giueth out & taketh in all assurances for them. The Officer at this time is called *Elezar wellugine*. His stipend is 500. rubbels a year.

The fourth is called *Cassiansky Dworetz*, as being appropriate to the Office that hath the iurisdiction of the kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, with the other townes lying vpon the *Volga*, now ordered by one *Druskeine Penieleone*, a man of very speciall account among the, for his wisdom, and promptnesse in matters of policy. His pension is 150. rubbels a year.

From these *Chetfrs* or *Tetrarchies*, is exempted the Emperors inheritance or *Vochin* (as they call it) for that it pertained (from ancient time) to the house of *Beala*, which is the sur-name of the Imperiall blood. This standeth of 36. Townes with their bounds or territories. Besides diuers peculiar iurisdctions, which are likewise deducted out of those *Chetfrs*, as the Shire of *Pogha* (belonging to the Lord *Borris Felerowich Godonoe*) and such like.

These are the chiefe Governours or Officers of the Prouinces, not resident at their charge abroad, but attending the Emperor wherefoever he goeth, and carrying their Offices about with the, which for the most part they hold at *Mosko*, as the Emperors chiefe Seare.

The parts and practise of these foure Offices, is to receiue all complaints and actions whatsoever, that are brought out of their severall *Chetfrs* and quarters, & to informe them to the Emperors Counsell. Likewise to send direction againe to those that are vnder them in their saide Prouinces, for all matters giuen in charge by the Emperor and his Counsell, to be done or put in execution within their Precincts.

For the ordering of every particular Prouince of these foure *Chetfrs*, there is appointed

The second.

The third.

The fourth.

Exemption on the Emperors behalf

The matter concerning the foure Offices.

Dukes there, is but a mean degree in Nobility.

The Commissioners of the Dukes or Presidents of Shires.

For criminall matters and such occasions.

Order for Proclamations and other matters.

appointed one of these Dukes, which were reckoned before in the lowest degree of their Nobility, and which are resident in the head townes of the saide Prouinces. Whereof every one hath ioynd with him in Commission, a Dyack or Secretary, to assist him, or rather to direct him. For in the executing of their Commission, the Dyack doth all.

The parts of their Commission are these in effect. First, to heare and determine in all ciuill matters within their Precinct. To which purpose, they haue vnder them certaine Officers, as *Gubnoy Stares*, or Coroners, who, besides the tryall of selfe-murders, are to attach Fellons: and the *Soudia* or vnder-Iustices, who themselves also may heare and determine in all matters of the same nature, among the Country people of their owne Wards or Bayliuicks: but so, that in case either party dissent, they may appeale, and goe farther to the Duke & Dyack, that reside within the head towne. From whom also, they may remove the matter to the higher Court at *Mosko*, of the Emperors Counsell, where lie all appeales. They haue vnder them also *Sotsky Stares*, that is, Aldermen or Bailiffs of the hundreds.

Secondly, in all criminall matters, as theft, murder, treason, &c. they haue authority to apprehend, to examine, and to imprison the malefactor, & so haue received perfect euidence and information of the cause, they are to send it (ready drawne and orderly digested) vp to the *Mosko*, to the officer of the *Chetfrd* wherevnto that Prouince is annexed: by whom it is referred and propounded to the Emperors Counsell. But to determine in any matter criminall, or to do execution vpon the party offending; is more then their Commission will allow them to do.

Thirdly, if there bee any publike seruice to be done within that Prouince, (as the publishing of any Law, or common order, by way of Proclamation, collecting of taxes, and impositions for the Emperor, mustering of Soldiours, and sending them forth at the day, and to the place assigned by the Emperour or his Counsell) all these and such like, pertain vnto their charge.

These Dukes and Dyacks are appointed to their place by the Emperour himselfe, and are changed ordinarily at every

yeares ende; except vpon some speciall liking or suit, the time be prolonged for a year or two more. They are men of riches of no credite, nor fauour with the people, where they gouerne, being neither borne, nor brought vp among them, nor yet having inheritance of their owne there, or elsewhere. Only of the Emperor they haue for that seruice, an hundred Marks a year: he that hath most, some 50. some but 30. Which maketh them more suspected and odious to the people, because being so bare, and committing fresh and hungry vpon them; lightly every year they racke and spoile them, without all regard of iustice, or conscience. Which is easily tolerated by the chiefe Officers of the *Chetfrs*, to the ende they may rob them againe, & haue a better booty when they call them to account: which commonly they do at the end of their seruice, making an aduantage of their iniustice, & oppression ouer the poore people. There are few of them, but they come to the *End-key* or whippe when their time is ended, which themselves (for the most part) do make account of. And therefore they furnish themselves, with all the spoile they can for the time of their gouernment; that they may haue for both turnes, as well for the Emperor, and Lord of the *Chetfrd*, as to reserve some good part for themselves.

They that are appointed to gouerne abroad, are men of this quality: saue that in the foure border Townes (that are of greatest importance) are set men of more speciall valor & trust, two in every towne. Whereof one is euer of the Emperors priuy Counsell. These 4. border Townes, are *Smolensko*, *Valsko*, *Nouograd*, & *Cazan*, whereof three lie towards the *Polonian* & *Sweden*, one bordereth fast off vpon the *Chim Tartar*. These haue larger Commission, then the other Dukes of the Prouinces that I spake of before, and may do execution in criminall matters. Which is thought behoouefull for the Commonwealth: for incident occasions that may happen vpon the borders, that are far off, and may not stay for direction, about euery occurrent and particular matter from the Emperor and his Counsell. They are changed every year (except as before) and haue for their stipend, 700. rubbels a year: he that hath most: some haue but foure hundred rubbels. Many of these

Concerning the Dukes and Dyacks, and their credite.

Here one theefe robbeth another, and careth for no punishment.

Officers for the foure bordering townes.

The foure border townes.

The yearly stipend of these Officers.

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places,

places, that are of greatest importance, and almost the whole Country, is managed (at this time) by the *Godones* & their Clerics.

The City of *Mosko* (that is the Emperors seat) is gouerned altogether by the Emperors Counsell. All matters there (both ciuill and criminall) are heard and determined in the severall Courts, helde by some of the said Counsell, that reside there all the yeare long.

Onely for their ordinary matters (as buildings, reparations, keeping of their streetes decent and cleane, collections, leuying of taxes, impositions & such like) are appointed two Gentlemen, and two Dyacks or Secretaries, who hold a Court together for the ording of such matters. This is called the *Zemsky* house. If any towns-man suspect his servant of theft or like matter, hither he may bring him, to haue him examined upon the *Pukky*, or other torture. Besides these two Gentlemen and Secretaries, that order the whole City, there are *Staruys* or Aldermen for euery seuerall Company. The Alderman hath his *Sotsky* or Constable, & the Constable hath certaine *Dezesskys* or Decurions vnder him, which haue the oversight of ten households apeece, whereby euery order is sooner spide, and the common seruice hath the quicker dispatch. The whole number of Citizens (poore and rich) are reduced into Companies. The chiefe Officers (as the Dyacks & Gentlemen) are appointed by the Emperor himselfe, the *Staruys* by the Gentlemen & Dyacks, the *Sotsky* by the *Staruys* or Aldermen, & the *Dezesskys* by the Constables.

This manner of gouernment of their Prouinces and Townes, if it were aswell set for the giuing of iustice indifferently to all sorts, as it is to preuent innovations, by keeping of the Nobility within order, and the Commons in subiection it might seeme (in that kinde) to bee no bad, nor vnpolitique way, for the containing of so large a Common-wealth, of that breadth and length as is the Kingdome of *Russia*. But the oppression and slavery is so open, and so great, that a man would maruell, how the Nobility & people should suffer themselves to be brought vnder it; while they had any meanes to auoid and repulse it: or being so strengthened as it is at this present, how the Emperors themselves can

be content to practise the same, with so open iniustice & oppression of their subiects, being themselves of a Christian profession.

By this it appeareth, how hard a matter it were, to alter the state of the *Russe* Government, as now it standeth. First, because they haue none of the Nobility able to make head. As for the Lords of the foure *Chetfrids* or *Tetrarchies*, they are men of no Nobility, but Dyacks, aduanced by the Emperour, depending on his fauour, & attending onely about his owne person. And for the Dukes that are appointed to gouerne vnder them, they are but men of a titular dignity (as was said before) of no power, authority, nor credit, save that which they haue out of the Office, for the time they enjoy it. Which doth purchase them no fauour, but rather hatred of the people, forasmuch as they see that they are set ouer the, not so much for any care to do them right and iustice, as to keep them vnder in a miserable subiection, and to take the siccce from them, not once in the yeare (as the owner from the sheepe) but to poule and clip them all the yeare long. Besides, the authority and rule which they beare, is rent and diuided into many small pieces, being diuers of them in euery great Shire, limited besides with a very short time: which giueth the no scope to make any strength, nor to contriue such an enterprize, if haply they intended any matter of innovation.

As for the common people (as may better appeare in the description of their state and quality afterwards set downe) besides their want of armour and practise of war (which they are kept from of purpose) they are robbed continually both of their hearts and money, (besides other meanes) sometimes by pretence of some seruice to bee done for the common defence, sometimes without any shew at all, of any necessity of Common-wealth or Prince. So that there is no meanes eyther for Nobility or people, to attempt any innovation, so long as the Military forces of the Emperour (which are the number of 8000. at the least in continuall pay) hold themselves fast and sure vnto him, & to the present state. Which needs they must do, being of the quality of Soldiers, and enjoying withall that free liberty, of wronging and spoiling the Commons at their pleasure, which is permitted them

An hard matter to alter the State of Russia.

Dukes but titular dignity

The common people kept from Armour and weapons.

Agreement of the Soldiers and Commons,

Of the Emperors counsell.

Boiarsens Counsellors to the Emperour, but differing from his priuy Counsell.

The number and names of the Counsellors of State.

of purpose to make them haue a liking of the present state. As for the agreement of the Soldiers and Commons, it is a thing not to be feared, being of so opposite & contrary practise much one to the other. This desperate state of things at home, maketh the people (for the most part) to wish for some forraigne inuasion, which they suppose to be the onely meanes, to rid them of the heavy yoke of this tyrannous gouernment.

The Emperors of *Russia* giue the name of Counsellor, to diuers of their chiefe Nobility, rather for honours sake, the for any vse they make of the about their matters of state. These are called *Boiarsens*, without any addition, and may be called Counsellors at large. For they are fildom or neuer called to any publike consultation. They which are of his special and priuy Counsell indeed (whom he liueth daily and ordinarily for al publike matters pertaining to the State) haue the addition of *Dumny*, and are named *Dumny Boiarsen*, or Lords of the Counsell, their Office or sitting, *Boarsua Dumna*.

Their names (at this present) are these in their order. First, *Knez Feodor Iuanowich Meshloskey*. 2. *Knez Iuan Michailowich Glimsky*. 3. *Knez Pafilte Iuanowich Susky Scopin*. These three are accounted to be of greater birth then wisdom, taken in (as may seeme) for that ende, rather to furnish the place with their honours & presence, then with their aduice or Counsel. 4. *Knez Pafilte Iuanowich Susky*, thought to bee more wise then the other of his name. 5. *Knez Feodor Michailowich Micheta Romanowich Trowbetsky*. 6. *Knez Timophei Romanowich Trowbetsky*. 7. *Knez Andriew Gregorowich Cwakin*. 8. *Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Forefine*. 9. *Knez Feodor Iuanowich Forefine*. 10. *Knez Feodor Sabarone*. 11. *Knez Iuan Pafilowich*. 12. *Knez Feodor Demetriowich Shefinone*. 13. *Knez Feodor Michailowich Traycomone*. 14. *Knez Feodor Michailowich Traycomone*. 15. *Iuan Buteriguy*. 16. *Demetrie Iuanowich Godonoe*. 17. *Borisse Federowich Godonoe*, brother to the Empreffe. 18. *Stephan Pafilowich Godonoe*. 19. *Gregorie Pafilowich Godonoe*. 20. *Iuan Pafilowich Godonoe*. 21. *Feodor Sheremitoue*. 22. *Andriew Petrowich Cleffenina*. 23. *Ignatie Petrowich Taisiow*. 24. *Romain Michailowich Pech*. 25. *Demetrius Iuanowich Cheremissen*. 26. *Romain Pafilowich Alferioue*. 27. *Andriew Shalecaloue*.

28. *Pafilte Shalecaloue*. 29. *Elexzar Wellisoin*. 30. *Drezbeen Penelopeone*. 31. *Zapon Albra moue*.

The foure last of these are called *Dumny Deiakey*, or Lord Secretaries. These are all of the Emperours priuy Counsell, though but few of them are called to any consultation, for that all matters are aduised and determined vpon by *Borisse Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Empreffe, with some five or six more, whom it pleaseth him to call. If they come, they are rather to heare, then to giue counsell, and do lo demean themselves. The matters occurrent which are of state, done within the Realme, are informed them (at their sittings) by the Lords of the foure *Chetfrids*, or *Tetrarchies*. Whereof mention is made in the Chapter concerning the Gouernment of their Prouinces. Who bring in all such letters as they receive from the Dukes, Dyacks, Captaines, and other Officers of the Cities and Castles, pertaining to their seuerall quarter or *Chetfrid*, with other aduertisements, and informe the Counsell of them.

The like is done by the chiefe Officer of euery seuerall Office of Record: who may come into the Counsel Chamber, & informe them, as occasion incident to his Office doth require. Besides matters of State, they consider of many priuate causes, informed by way of supplication, in very great numbers. Whereof some they entertaine and determine, as the cause or meanes can procure fauour. Some they send to the Offices whereto they pertain, by common course of Law. Their ordinary daies for their sitting, are Mondaies, Wensdaies, and Fridaies. Their time of meeting, is commonly seven a clocke in the morning. If there be any extraordinary occasion, that requirith consultation on some other day, they haue warning by the Clarke of the Counsell, called *Dorofy Buzhen*, who receiueh order from the *Roserd* or high Constable of the Realm, to call them together at the time appointed.

For the receiuing of Customes, & other Rents belonging vnto the Crowne, they are appointed diuers vnder-Officers, which deliuer ouer the same into the head Treasury. The first is the office of *Drozhitsa* or Seward of the household. The second is the Office of the *Chetfrids*:

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Four Secretaries.

All matters referred to the Empreffe Brother, and sue or sue more.

The Officers of Records.

Of the Emperors Customs and other Reuenues.

which I comprehend vnder one, though it be diuided into foure feuerall parts, as was said before. The third is called *Bulsha Prechod*, or the great Income.

As touching the first, which is the Office of the Steward, it receiveth all the Rents of the Emperours Inheritance, or Crowne Land, which they call *Pochin*. The *Pochin* or Crowne land, containeth in it 36. Townes, with the Territories or Hundreds belonging vnto them. Whereof the chiefe that yeld the greatest rents, are these: *Alexandrisca*, *Corelskey*, *Ofser*, *Slobodsky*, *Danielska*, *Mosalskey*, *Chara*, *Samseska*, *Strararouffe*, *Bransau*, &c. The Inhabitants or Tenants of these and the other Townes, pay some rent-money, some other rent duties (called *Obroky*) as certaine *Chetfirds*, or measures of Graine, Wheate, Rye, Barley, Oates, &c. or of other victuall, as Oxen, Sheepe, Swans, Geese, Hares, Hennes, wilde Fowle, Fish, Hay, Wood, Honey, &c. Some are bound to sowe for the Emperours prouision, certaine Akers of ground, and to make the Come ready for his vse: having for it an allowance of certaine Akers of ground for their owne proper vse.

This prouision for the household, specially of graine ferued in by the Tenants, is a great deale more then is spent in his house, or in other allowance ferued out in luery, or for the Emperours honour, called *Schulowany*: for which vse there is bestowed very much, both in graine, and in other victuall. This surplus of prouision is sold by the Steward to the best hand, and runneth into the Emperours treasury.

In the time of *Iuan Vasiliuich*, Father to this Emperour (who kept a more Princely and bountifull house then the Emperour now doth) this ouerplus of graine, and other Incomes into the Stewards Office, yelded to his Treasury, nor past 60. thousand rubbels yearly; but rifesth now by good husbanding of the Steward *Gregory Vasiliuich Godonoe*, to 230. thousand rubbels a year. And this by the means of the Emperesse, and her kindred, specially (*Boris Federuich Godonoe*) that account it all their owne, that runneth into the Emperours treasure. Much of this surplusage that rifesth out of the rent prouision, is employed to the payment of the wages of his household Officers, which are very many attending at home, and pursuing

abroad.

The second Office of receipt called the *Chetfirds* (being diuided into four feuerall parts, as before was said) hath foure head Officers: which, besides the ordering & gouernement of the Shires, contained within their feuerall *Chetfirds*, have this also as a part of their office, to receiue the *Tagla* and *Podat* belonging to the Emperour, that rifesth out of the foure *Chetfirds* or Quarters. The *Tagla* is a yearly rent or imposition, raised vpon euery *Wite* or Measure of graine that groweth within the Land, gathered by sworne men, and brought into the Office. The *Wite* containeth 60. *Chetfirds*. Euery *Chetfird* is three common buhels, or little lesse. The *Podat* is an ordinary rent of money, imposed vpon euery Soake, or Hundred within the whole Realme.

This *Tagla* and *Podat* bring in yearly to the Offices of the *Chetfirds* a great sum of money: as may appeare by the particulars heere set downe. The Towne and Prouince of *Volsko*, pay yearly for *Tagla* and *Podat* about 18000. rubbels. *Nouogrod* 35000. rubbels. *Torfschoke* and *Ofser* 8000. rubbels. *Razan* 30000. rubbels. *Morm* 12000. rubbels. *Culmigrue* and *Dynja*, 8000. rubbels. *Pologda* 12000. rubbels. *Cazan* 18000. rubbels. *Vysing* 30000. rubbels. *Rofloue* 50000. rubbels. The City of *Mosko*, forty thousand Rubbels. *Silberskey*, twenty thousand Rubbels. *Castrone* twelve thousand Rubbels. The total amounteth to foure hundred thousand Rubbels or Markes a year, which is brought in yearly the first day of September, that is reckoned by them the first day of the year.

The third (that is called the *Bulsha Prechod*, or great Income) receiueh all the Customes that are gathered out of all the principall Townes and Cities within the whole Realme. Besides the fees & other duties, which rise out of diuers smaller Offices, which are all brought into this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*. The townes of most trade, that do yeld greatest Customes, are these heere set downe. *Mosko*, *Smolensko*, *Volsko*, *Nouogrod Velica*, *Strararouffe*, *Torfschoke*, *Ofser*, *Taruslau*, *Castrone*, *Nefna Nouogrod*, *Cazan*, *Pologda*. This Customes out of the great townes is therefore more certaine and easie to be reckned, because it is set and

The Office of Chetfird.

Tagla & Podat, and how they are distinguished.

Sum of money raised by Tagla and Podat yearly.

The Office of Bulsha Prechod, or great Income.

rated precisely, what they shall pay for the custome of the year. Which needs must be paid into the said Office, though they receiue not so much. If it fall out to be more, it runneth all into the Emperours aduantage.

The custome at *Mosko* for euery year, is 12000. rubbels. The custome of *Smolensko*, 8000. rubbels. *Volsko*, 12000. rubbels. *Nouogrod velica*, 6000. rubbels. *Strararouffe*, by salt and other commodities, 18000. rubbels. *Torfschoke* 800. rubbels. *Ofser* 700. rubbels. *Taruslau* 1200. rubbels. *Castrone* 1800. rubbels. *Nefna Nouogrod*, 7000. rubbels. *Cazan* 11000. rubbels. *Pologda* 2000. rubbels. The custome of the rest that are Townes of trade, is sometimes more, sometimes lesse, as their traffike and dealings with commodities too and fro, falleth out for the year.

This may be said for certaine, that the three tables of receipts, belonging to this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, wher they receiue least, account for thus much, viz. The first table 160000. rubbels. The second table 90000. rubbels. The third 70000. rubbels. So that there cometh into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, at the least reckoning (as appeareth by their Bookes of Customes) out of these and other Townes, & maketh the sum of 340000. rubbels a year. Besides this custome out of the townes of trade, there is receiued by this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, the yearly rent of the common Bath-houses, and Cabacks or drinking houses, which pertaine to the Emperour. Which (though it be vncertaine for the iust summe, yet because it is certaine and an ordinary matter, that the *Rasse* will bathe himselfe aswell within as without) yeeldeth a large Rent to the Emperours Treasury.

There is besides, a certaine mulct or penalty, that groweth to the Emperour out of euery iudgement, or sentence that passeth in any of his Courts of Record in all ciuill matters. This penalty, or mulct is twenty *Dingoes* or pence, vpon euery rubble or marke, and so cometh in the hundred. Which is paid by the party that is conuict by law. Hee hath besides for euery name, contained in the *Writts* that passe out of these Courts, five *Alteens*. An *Alteen* is five pence sterling, or thereabouts. This is made good out of the Office, whence the *Writ* is taken forth.

Thence it goeth to the Office that keepeth the lesser scale, where againe it payeth as much more to the Emperours vse. This rifesth commonly to three thousand rubbels a year, or thereabouts. Further also, out of the Office of *Raisbomia*, where all Felonies are tried, is receiued for the Emperour the halfe part of Felons goods, the other halfe goeth the one part to the Informer, the other to the Officers.

All this is brought into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, or great Income. Besides the ouerplus or remainder, that is sau'd out of the Land Rents, allotted to diuers other Offices: as namely to the Office called *Roferade*, which hath Lands and Rents assigned vnto it, to pay the yearly salaries of the Souldiours, or horsemen, that are kept still in pay. Which in time of peace when they rest at home, not employed in any seruice, is commonly cut off, and paid them by halves, sometimes not the halfe: so that the remainder out of the *Roferade* Office, that is laid into the Emperours Treasury, cometh (for the most part) euery year to two hundred and fifty thousand rubbels.

In like sort (though not so much) is brought in the surplus out of the *Strellskoy* Offices, which hath proper Lands for the payment of the *Strellskoy* men or Gunners, as well those at *Mosko*, that are of the Emperours guard (twelve thousand in ordinary) as on the borders, and other garrison Townes and Castles. Likewise out of the Office of *Prechase*, *Shifiny*, *Nomslou*, which hath set allowance of Lands to maintain the forraigne mercenary Souldiours, as *Poles*, *Sweadens*, *Danches*, *Scots*, &c. So out of the Office of *Pusharskey*, (which hath Lands and Rents allowed for the prouision of munition, great Ordnance, Powder, Shot, Saltpeter, Brimstone, Lead, and such like) there is left somewhat at the yeares ende, that runneth into the Treasury. All these bring into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, that which remaineth in their hand at the yeares ende. Whence it is deliuered into the Emperours Treasury. So that the whole sum that groweth to this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, or the great Income (as appeareth by the Bookes of the said Office) amounteth to 800000. rubbels a year, or thereabouts.

The Office of Raisbomia.

The Roferade Office for Souldiours pay.

The Strellskoy Office for the liort at Mosko, &c.

For mercenary Souldiours, & prouision of munition.

The Emperors treasure-house within his Castle of Mosko.

All these Offices, to wit, the Office of the Steward, the four *Chetfirds*, and the *Bulsha Prechod*, deliver in their receipts to the head treasury, that lyeth within the Emperors house or Castle at the *Mosko*. Where lyeth all his monies, jewels, crowns, scepters, plate, and such like, the chests, hutches, and bagges being signed by the Emperours themselves with their owne Seale. Though (at this time) the Lord *Borris Federonich Godonoe*, his Seale and oversight supplieth for the Emperour, as in all other things. The vnder-Officer at this time, is one *Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe*, Cousin-germane to the said *Borris*, who hath two Clerks allowed to serue vnder him in the Office.

The sum of the Emperors rent-money.

1. Out of the Stewards Office about the expence of his house 230000 Rubbels.  
2. Out of the four *Chetfirds* for soake and head money, 400000 Rubbels.  
3. Out of the *Bulsha Prechod* Office, for great Income, for custome, and other rents, 800000 Rubbels.

Summe 1430000 Rubbels, besides all charges for his house, & ordinary salaries of his foldours otherwise discharged.

But besides this reuennue, that is paid all in money to the Emperours Treasury, he receiueth yearly in Furs, and other duties to a great value, out of *Siberia*, *Pechora*, *Permia*, and other places, which are sold or batted away for some forraigne commodities, to the *Turkish*, *Persian*, *Armenian*, *Georgian* and *Bougarian* Merchants, that trade within his Countries, besides others of Christendome. What it maketh in the whole (though the value cannot be set downe precisely, as being a thing casuall, as the commodity may be got) it may be guessed, by that which was gathered the last year out of *Siberia* for the Emperors custome, viz. 466. timber of Sables, fine timber of Marrones, 180. blacke Foxes, besides other commodities.

Of seizures, confiscations, & impositions on Monasteries, &c.

To these may be added their seizures, and confiscations vpon such as are in displeasure, which riseth to a great summe. Besides other their extraordinary im-

positions, and exactions done vpon their Officers, Monasteries, &c. nor for any apparent necessity or vse of the Prince or Common-wealth, but of will and custome: yet with some pretence of a *Scythian*, that is, grosse and barbarous policy (as may appeare) by these few *Sophismata*, or counterfeit policies, put in practise by the Emperours of *Russia*, all tending to this ende, to rob their people, and to enrich their Treasury. To this purpose this by-word was vsed by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*: *That his people were like to his beard. The oftner shauen, the thicker it would grow. Or like sheepe, that must needs bee shorne once a year at the least: to keepe them from being ouer-laden with their Wooll.*

### Meanes used to draw the wealth of the Land into the Emperors Treasury.



#### First.

O prevent no extortions, exactions, or briberies whatsoever, done vpon the Commons by their Dukes, Diacks, or other Officers in their Prouinces: but to suffer them to go on till their time be expired, and to sucke themselves full. Then to call them to the *Prauesh* (or whip) for their behavior, and to beate out of them all, or the most part of the booty, (as the Hony from the Bee) which they haue wrung from the Commons, and to turne it into the Emperors Treasury, but neuer any thing back againe to the right owners, how great or euident fouler the injury be. To this end the needy Dukes, and Diacks, that are sent into their Prouinces, serue the turne very well, being changed so often (to wit) once a year: where, in respect of their owne, and the quality of the people (as before was said) they might bee continued for some longer time, without all feare of in-nouation. For comming still fresh vpon the Commons, they sucke more eagerly: like *Tiberius* the Emperours flies, that came new still vpon all olde sores. To whom he was wont to compare his *Prætors*, and other prouinciall Officers.

Secondly,

The whip or dayned for all denyers or contemners.

#### Secondly.

To make of these Officers (that haue robbed their people) sometimes a publique example, if any be more notorious then the rest; that the Emperour may seeme to dislike the oppressions done to his people, and transerre the fault to his ill Officers.

A Goose ready dressed full of money for a bribe.

Cutting vp of a Goose.

As among diuers other, was done by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, to a Diack in one of his Prouinces; that (besides many other extortions and briberies) had taken a Goose ready dressed full of money. The man was brought to the market place in *Mosko*. The Emperour himselfe present, made an Oration: *These good people are they, that would eate you uppe like bread, &c.* Then asked he his *Polachies* or executioners, who could cut vp a Goose? and commanded one of them first to cut off his legges, about the middest of the shinne, then his armes about his elbows (demanding of him still, if Goose flesh were good meate) in the end to choppe off his head: that he might haue the right fashion of a Goose ready dressed. This might seeme to haue beene a tollerable peece of Iustice (as Iustice goeth in *Russia*) except his subtil end, to couer his owne oppressions.

#### Thirdly.

To make an open shew of want, when any great taxe, or imposition is to wardes. As was done by this Emperour *Theodore Iuanowich*, by the aduise of some about him, euen at the beginning of his reigne: when being left very rich (as it was thought) by his father, he sold the most of his plate, and stamped some into coynne; that he might seeme to want money. Whereupon presently out came a taxation.

A cunning colour for taxations.

#### Fourthly.

To suffer their subiects to giue freely to the Monasteries (which for their superstition very many do especially in their last Wills) and to lay vp their mony, and substance in them, to keepe it more safe. Which all is permitted them without any restraint or prouiso, as was and is in some Countries of Christendome. Whereby their Monasteries grow to exceeding great wealth. This they doe, to

Superstitious charitie and bountie giuen to Monasteries to a politique end.

haue the money of the Realme better stored together, and more ready for their hand, when they list to take it. Which many times is doone without any noyfe: the Fryers being content, rather to part from somewhat (as the encrease groweth) then to loose all at once. Which they were made to doubt of in the other Emperours dayes.

To this end *Iuan Vasilowich*, late Emperour vsed a very strange practise, that few Princes would haue doone in their greatest extremities. Hee resigned his kingdom to one *Felisa Knez Simoon*, the Emperours sonne of *Cazan*: as though he meant to draw himselfe from all publique doings, to a quiet priuate life. Towards the end of the year, he caused this new King to call in all Charters graunted to Bishopricks and Monasteries, which they had enioyed many hundred yeares before. Which were all cancelled. This done, (as in dislike of the fact, and of the misgouernement of the new King) he resumed his Scepter, and so was content (as in fauour vnto the Church and Religious men) that they should renew their Charters, and take them of himselfe: reseruing and annexing to the Crowne so much of their Lands, as himselfe thought good.

By this practise, he wrung from the Bishopricks, and Monasteries (besides the lands which he annexed to the Crowne) an huge masse of money; from some forty, from some fifty, from some an hundred thousand rubbels. And this, as well for the increase of his treasure, as to abate the euill opinion of his hard gouernment, by a shew of worse in another man. Wherein his strange spirit is to be noted, that being hated of his Subiects (as himselfe knew well enough) yet would aduventure such a practise, to set an other in his saddle, that might haue ridde away with his horse, whilst himselfe walked by on foote.

A strange practise to get money.

Such a practise as hath beene seldom heard of.

#### Fifthly.

To send their messengers into the prouinces, or Shires where the speciall commodities of their country grow, as furs, waxe, honny, &c. There to forestall and ingrosse, sometime one whole commodity, sometime two, or more, taking them at small prices what themselves list, and selling them againe at an exorbitant rate.

Forestalling and engrossing commodities in a strange manner.

rate to their owne marchants, and vnto Marchants strangers. If they shall refuse to buy them, then to enforce them vnto it.

The like is doone when any commodity, eyther native, or forreine (as cloth of golde, broad-cloth, &c.) thus engrossed by the Emperour, and receiued into his Treasurie, chaunceth to decay, or marre by long lying, or some other casualty. Which is forced vpon the marchants, to bee bought by them at the Emperours price, whether they will, or no.

Nor long since was engrossed all the Waxe of the Country; so that no man might deale with that commoditie, but the Emperour only.

Sixtly.

TO take vp and engrosse (in like sort) sometime forreine commodities (as Silkes, Cloth, Lead, Pearle, &c.) brought into his kingdom by Turkish marchants, Armenians, Bougharians, Poles, English, and others. And then to force his Marchants, to buy them of his Officers at his owne price.

Seauenthy.

TO make a Monopoly (for the time) of such commodities as are payed him for Rent, or Custome, and to inhance the price of them, as Furrres, Corne, Wood, &c. What time, none must sell of the same kinde of commodity, vntill the Emperours be all sold. By this meanes hee maketh of his Rent, Corne, and other prouision of victuall (as before was sayd) about two hundred thousand rubbells or markes a yeare. Of his Rent, Wood, Hay &c. thirrie thousand rubbells, or thereabouts.

Eightly.

IN euery great Towne of his Realme, he hath a Caback, or drinking house, where *Aqua vite* is sold (which they call *Rasswine, Mead, Beere, &c.*) Out of these he receiueh Rent, that amounteth to a great summe of mouey. Some yeld eight hundred, some nine hundred, some a thousand, some two thousand, or three thousand rubbells a yeare. Wherein, besides the base and dishonorable meanes to encrease his Treasurie; many foule faultes are committed.

The poore labouring man and Artificer, many times spends all from his wife, and children. Some vie to lay in twenty, thirty, forty rubbells, or more into the *Caback*, and vowe themselves to the pot, till all that he spent. And all this (as hee will say) is for the honour of *Hopodare*, or the Emperour. You shall haue many there, that haue drunke all away euen to the very skinn, and so walke naked (whome they call *Naga*). While they are in the *Caback*, none may call them forth, whatsoever cause there be; because he hindereth the Emperours reuenu.

Ninthly.

TO cause some of his *Boiarsens*, or Nobles of his Court, (whom he vseth vpon trust) that haue houses in the *Mosco*, to faime themselves robbed. Then to fend for the *Zemsky* men, or Aldermen of the City, and to command them to finde out the robbery. In default of not finding it, to prauie or seasse the Cittie for their misgouernement in eight thousand, nine thousand, or tenne thousand rubbells at a time. This many times is and hath beene practized.

Tenthly.

IN these exactions, to shew their foueraigntie, sometime they vie very plaine, and yet strange cauillations. As was that of *Iuan Vasilowich*, father to this Emperour, after this sort. He sent into *Pernia* for certaine loads of Cedar wood, whereof he knew right well, that none grew in that Country. The Inhabitants returned answer, they could find none there. Whereupon he seased their Country in ewelue thousand rubbells, as if they concealed the commoditie of purpose. Againe, he sent to the Cittie of *Asio*, to prouide for him a *Colpacke*, or measure full of liue Fleas, for a medicine. They returned answer, that the thing was impossible. And if they could get them, yet they could not measure them, for leaping out. Whereupon, hee praued or beat out of their shinnes, seuen thousand rubbells for a mule.

By like cauillation, hee extorted from his Nobilitie thirrie thousand rubbells, because he missed of his game, when hee went a hunting for the Hare: as if they hunting and murdering of Hares had bin

Drinking for the Emperours honour.

Preence of robbery to an other end.

Exactions countenanced by power and authority

A buttell of liue Fleas.

the

the cause of it. Which the Nobilitie (as the manner is) praued presently againe vpon the *Moussicks*, or common people of the Country. This may seem a strange kinde of extortion, by such pleasant caulls, to fleece his poore subiects in good fadnesse: but that it agreeth with the qualitie of those Emperours, and the miserable subiection of that poore Countrie.

These, and such like meanes are practised by the Emperours of *Russia*, to encrease their Treasurie.

The condition of the Commons and vulgar sort of people, may partly be vnderstoode by that which hath already bin sayd, concerning the manner of their gouernement, and the state of the Nobilitie in their owne degrees and places with the ordering of their Prouinces, and chiefe townes of the land. And first touching their libertie, how it standeth with them, it may appeare by this: that they are reckoned in no degree at all, nor haue anie suffrage nor place in their *Zabore*, or high Court of Parliament, where their lawes and publique orders are concluded vpon. Which commonly tend to the oppression of the commons. For the other two degrees, that is to say, of the Nobilitie, and Cleargie, which haue a vote in the Parliaments (though farre from that libertie, that ought to be in common consultations for the publike benefite, according vnto the measure and proportion of their degrees) are well contented, that the whole burthen shall light vpon the commons, so that they may ease their owne shoulders by laying all vpon them.

Againe, into what seruile condition their libertie is brought, not onely to the Prince but to the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Country (who themselves also are but seruile, specially of late yeares) it may farther appeare by their owne acknowledgements in their supplications, and other writings to any of the Nobles or chiefe officers of the Emperours. Wherein they name and subscribe themselves *Kolophey*, that is to say, their villainies or bondslaves; as they of the Nobilitie doe vnto the Emperour. This may truly be sayd of them, that there is no seruant or bondslave more awed by his Master, nor kept downe in a more seruile subiection, then the poore people are, and that vniuersally, not onely by the Emperour, but

by his Nobilitie, chiefe Officers, and Soldiours. So that when a poore *Moussicke* meeteth with any of them vpon the high way; hee must turne himselfe about, as not daring to looke him on the face, and fall downe, with knocking of his head to the very ground, as hee doth vnto his Idoll.

Secondly, as concerning the lands, goods, and other possessions of the commons, they answer the name, and lie common indeede, without any fence against the rapine, and spoyle, not onely of the highest, but of his Nobilitie, Officers and Souldiers. Besides, the taxes, customes, seizures, and other publike exactions, doone vpon them by the Emperour: they are so racked and polled by the Nobles, Officers and Messengers sent abroad by the Emperour in his publike affaires, especially in the *Tammes* (as they rearme them) and that thorow-fare townes, that you shall haue many villages and townes of halfe a mile, and a mile long, stand all vn-inhabited: the people being fled all into other places, by reason of the extreame vlsage, and exactions on them done. So that in the way towards *Mosco*, betwixt *Volgda* and *Tarusskuley*, (which is two nineties, after they reckoning, little more then an hundred miles) there are in sight fiftie *Durienues* or Villages at the least, some halfe a mile, some a mile long (that stand vacant) and desolate without any Inhabitant. The like is in all other places of the Realme, as they that haue trauelled the Country, well can report.

The great oppression ouer the poore Commons, maketh them to haue no courage in following their trades: for that the more they haue, the more danger they are in, not onely of their goods, but of their liues also. And if they haue anie thing, they conceale it all they can, sometimes conueying it into Monasteries, sometimes hiding it vnder the ground, and in woods; as men are wont to doe, where they are in feare of forreine inuasion. Infomuch, that (many times) you shall see them afraid to be knowite to any *Baran* or *Gendeian*, of such commodities as they haue to sell. They haue become sene sometimes; when they haue layed open their commodities for a liking (as they principall Furrres and such like) to looke

still

An engrossing of Waxe.

Engrossing forren commodities.

Monopolizing of Rents and Customes.

His Cabacks or drinking houses in euery town.

Goods, lands, and possessions of the Commons.

Yammes are thorow-fare Townes.

Townes empty of Inhabitants through oppression.

A miserable condition of poore men.

Of the state of the Commanitie, or vulgar sort of people, in the Country of Russia.

The seruile & miserable estate of the Russe people.

Kolophey are villaines or bondslaves, and so the Commons people terme themselves in waiting.

still behinde them, and towards euerie doore: as men in some feare, that looked to be fet vpon, and surprized by some enemy. Whereof being asked the cause, it was found to be this, that they haue doubted, least some Nobleman or *Sinaboiarsky* of the Emperour, had bene in company, and so laide a traine for them, to pray vpon their commodities perforce.

This maketh the people (thogh otherwise hardned to beare any toyle) to giue themselves much to idleness and drinking: as caring for no more, then from hand to mouth. And hereof it cometh that the commodities of *Russia* (as vvas sayde before) as Waxe, Tallow, Hydes, Flax, Hempe, &c.) grow and goe abroad in farre lesse plenty then they were wont to doe: because the people being oppressed and spoyled of theyr gettings, are discouraged from their Labours. Yet this one thing is much to be noted, that in all this oppression, there were three Brethren Marchants of late, that traded together with one stocke in common, that were found to be worth 300000 rubbels in mony, beside lands, cattels, and other commodities. Which may partly be imputed to their dwellings far off from the cite of the Court, viz. in *Wichida*, a thousand miles from *Moske*, and more. The same men were said (by those that knewe them) to haue set on worke all the yeare long, ten thousand men in making of salt, carriages by Cart and Boate, hewing of Wood, and such like; besides fise thousand bondslaves at the least, to inhabit & Till their land.

They had also their Physitions, Chirurgeons, Apothecaries, and all manner of Artificers of *Doutches* and others, belonging vnto them. They were said to haue payed to the Emperour (for Custome) to the summe of three and twenty thousand Rubbles a yeare (for which cause they were suffered to enioy their trade) besides the maintaining of certaine Garrisons on the borders of *Siberia*, which were neere vnto them. Wherein the Emperour was content to vse their purse, till such time as they had gotten ground in *Siberia*, and made it habitable, by burning & cutting downe woodes from *Wichida* to *Perru*, about a thousand Verst, and thenooke it all away from them perforce.

But this in the end being enuiud, and

disdained, as a matter not standing with their policie, to haue any so great, specially a *Moussick*: the Emperour beganne first to pull from them by peeces, sometimes twenty thousand rubbels at a time; till in the end, their sonnes that followed were well eased of their stocke, & had but small part of their Fathers substance: the rest being drawne all into the Emperours Treasury. Their names were *Iacone*, *Gregory*, and *Simon*, the sonnes of *Onyka*.

For the quality of their people otherwise, though there seemeth to be in them some aptnesse to receive any Art (as appeareth by the naturall wits in the men, and very children) yet they excell in no kinde of common Art, much lesse in any Learning, or littell kinde of knowledge: which they are kept from of purpose, as they are also from all Military practise: that they may be fitter for the seruile condition wherein still they are, & haue neither reason, nor valor to attempt inuouation.

For this purpose also, they are kepte from trauieling, that they may learne nothing, nor see the fashions of other countreies abroad. You shall seldome see a *Russe* a Traveller, except he be with some Ambassador, or that he make a scape out of his Countrey. Which hardly hee can do, by reason of the borders that are watched so narrowly, and the punishment for any such attempt, which is death if he be taken, and all his goods confiscate. Onely they learne to write, and to reade, and that verie few of them. Neyther doe they suffer any stranger willingly to come into their Realme out of any ciuil Countrey, for the same cause; farther then necessity of vttering their commodities, and taking in of forraigne, doeth enforce them to do.

And therefore not long since, they consulted, about the removing of all Marchants strangers to the border townes, to abide and haue their residency there, and to be more wary, in admitting other strangers (hereafter) into the In-land parts of the Realme; for feare of infection vviith better manners and qualities, then they haue of their owne.

For the same purpose also, they are kept within the bounds of theyr degree, by the Law of their Countrey: so that the sonne of a *Moussick*, Artificer, or Husbandman.

Fleeing the three brethren

The tiranie & oppression a. uer theyr very minds and wits

The tiralloufe of the Emperour concerning this State

man, is euer a *Moussick*, Artificer, &c. and hath no meanes to aspire any higher: except (hauing learned to write and reade) he attaine to the preferment of a Priest or Dyacke.

Their Language is all one with the *Slauonian*, which is thought to haue bene deriued from the Russe tongue, rather then the *Russe* from the *Slauonian*. For the people called *Selani*, are knowne to haue had their beginning out of *Sarmatia*, and to haue rearmd themselves of their conquest *Selanos* (that is) famous or Glorious, of the word *Selana*, which in the *Russe* and *Slauonian* tongue, significth as much as Glory, or Fame. Though afterwards, being subdued and trod vpon by diuers Nations, the *Italians* (their Neighbours) haue turned the word to a contrary signification, and tearme euery seruant or pezzant, by the name of *Selane*; as did the *Romans* by the *Getes* and *Syrians*, for the same reason. The Russe Character or Letter, is no other then the Greeke, somewhat distorted.

And because we were speaking of *Sarmatia*, whence this people seeme to deriue themselves: Some haue thought, that the name of *Sarmatia*, was first taken from one *Sarmates*, whom *Moses* and *Iosephus* call *Asarmathes*, sonne to *Iocktan*, and Nephew to *Haber*, of the posterity of *Sem*. But this seemeth to be nothing, but a coniecture, taken from the likeness of the name *Asarmathes*. For, the dwelling of *Iocktans* posterity is described by *Moses*, to haue been betwixt *Mescha* or *Masius* (an hill of the *Ammonites*) & *Sephace*, neere to the Ruer *Euphrates*. Which maketh it very vnlikely, that *Asarmathes* should plant any Colonies so farre off, in the North, and North-West Countreies.

Concerning their Trades, Diet, Apparel, and such like, it is to be noted where we speake of their priuate behaviour. This order, that bindeth euerie man to keepe his ranke and feuerall degree wherein his forefathers liued before him, is more meete to keepe the subiects in a seruile subiection, and so apt for this and like Common wealths; then to aduance any vertue, or to breed any rare or excellent quality in Nobility or Commons. As hauing no farther reward nor preferment, whereunto they may bend their endea-

uors, and employ themselves to aduance their estate: but rather procuring more danger to themselves, the more they excell in any noble or principall quality.

### CHAP. III.

Thirdly, we discourse on their Politicke and Iudiciall proceeding. Also the Emperours powers for war, and their *Salaries*: with their *Mustering*, *Munition*, and *Military* provision. Their *Colonies*, bordering Friends or Enemies, either in Peace or warre.



Heir Courts of Ciuill Iustice, for matters of Contract, and other of like sort, are of three kinds, the one being subiect vnto the other by way of Appeal. The lowest court (that seemeth to be appointed for some ease to the subiects) is the Office of the *Gubney Starust*, that significth an Alderman, and of the *Sotsky Starust*, or Bayliffe of the soake or hundred, whereof I spake before in the ordering of the Prouinces. These may end matters among their Neighbours, within their Soake, or feuerall Hundred, where they are appointed vnder the Dukes and Dyackes of the Prouinces, to whome the parties may remouee their matter, if they cannot be agreed by the said *Gubney*, or *Sotsky Starust*.

The second is kept in the head townes of euery Prouince or Shire, by the sayde Dukes and Dyackes, that are deputies to the four Lords of the *Chetfrids*, as before was sayde. From these foure Courts, they may appeale, and remouee their suites to the cheefe Court, that is kept at *Moske*, where are resident the officers of the foure *Chetfrids*. These are the chiefe Iustices or Iudges, euery of them in all ciuill matters that growe within their feuerall *Chetfrid* or quarter, and may bee either commenced originally before them, or prosecuted out of the inferior Courts of the Shires, by way of appeale.

Their commencing and proceeding in ciuill actions, is on this manner. First,

The Alderman Court.

The Dukes & Dyacks Court

The high Court of Moske.

Of their Language answered to the Slauonian.

Genes. 10. 2. 5. Ioseph. in Antiquit. lib. 1. cap. 14.

Subiects kept in seruile subiection.

The people made ydle against theyr wills.

Of three brethren Marchants.

Not many other such men in the whole Countrey.



the plaintiffe putteth vp his supplication, wherein hee declareth the effecte of his cause, or wrong done vnto him. Whereupon is granted vnto him *auersis* or warrant, which he deliuereth to the *Prasius* or Sergeant, to doe the arrest vpon the party whom hee meaneth to impleade. Who vpon the Arrest, is to put in sureties to answer at the day appointed, or els standeth at the Sergeants deuotion, to be kept safe by such means as he thinketh good.

The Sergeants are many, & excell for their hard and cruell dealing toward their prisoners; commonly they clappe Irons vpon them, as many as they can beare, to wring out from them some larger Fees. Though it be but for these pence, you shall see them go with chames on their legges, armes, and necke. When they come before the Iudge, the Plaintiffe beginneth to declare his matter, alter the content of his supplication. As for Attorneys, Counsellors, Procurators and advocates to plead their cause for them, they haue no such order; but euery man is to tell his owne Tale, and pleade for himselfe so well as he can.

If they haue any witness or other euidence, they produce it before the Iudge. If they haue none, or if the truth of the cause cannot so well be discerned by the plea, or euidence on both parts; then the Iudge asketh either party (which he thinketh good, Plaintiffe or Defendant) whether he will kisse the Crosse, vpon that which he aoucheth, or denieth. He that taketh the Crosse (being so offered by the Iudge) is accounted cleare, and carryeth away the matter. This Ceremonie is not done within the Court or Office, but the party is carried to the Church by an Officer, and there the Ceremonie is done: the money in the meane while hanging vpon a nayle, or else lying at the Idoles feet, ready to be deliuered to the party so soon as he hath kissed the Crosse, before the saide Idoll.

This kissing of the Crosse called *Crenjima Chelouania* is as their corporal oath; and accounted (with them) a verie holie thing, which no man will dare to violate, or prophane with a false Allegation. If both parties offer to kisse the Crosse in a contradictory matter, then they drawe lottes.

The better Lotte is supposed to haue the right, and beareth away the matter. So the party convicted is adiudged to pay the debt or penalty whatsoeuer, and withall, to pay the Emperours fees, which is twenty pence vpon euery Mark, as before hath bene noted.

When the matter is thus ended, the party convicted, is deliuered to the Sergeant, who hath a Writ for his warrant, out of the office, to carry him to the *Prasius* or Righter of Iustice, if presently he pay not the money, nor content not the party.

This *Prasius* or Righter, is a place neere vnto the Office where such a house sentence passed against them, and refuse to pay that which is adiudged; are beaten with great Cudgels on the shins, and calves of the legges. Euery forenoon from eight to eleauen, they are let on the *Prasius*, and beaten in this sort till the monie be payed. The afternoone & night time, they are kept in Chains by the Sergeant: except they put in sufficient sureties, for their appearance at the *Prasius* at the houre appointed. You shall see fortie or fifty stand together on the *Prasius* all on a rowe, and their thinnes thus becadged and bebailed euery morning, with a piteous cry.

If after a years standing on the *Prasius* the party will not, or lacke wherewithall to pay his Creditour, it is lawfull for him to sell his Wife and Children, either outright, or for a certaine terme of years. And if the price of them doe not amount to the full payment, the Creditour may take them to be his bondslaves for years, or for euer, according as the valew of the debt requireth.

Such kinde of suites as lack direct euidence, or stand vpon coniectures and circumstances, to bee weighed by the Iudge, draw of great length, and yeelde great aduantage vnto the Iudge and Officers. If the suite be vpon a bonde or bill, they haue for the most part good & speedie iustice. Their Bondes or Billes, are drawne in a very plaine sort, after this tenour.

*I Iuan Vasileo, haue borrowed of Alpha-nasse Dementio, the summe of one hundred Rubbles of going money of Mosko from the Krossenes (or hallowing of the Water) until the Saburney Passeresenes (or com-*

The order of the *Prasius* or Righter.

Selling wife and children to pay debt.

The forme of their cheefest punishments in common persons.

sell Sunday) without interest. And if this money rest vnpayed after that day, then hee shall giue interest vpon the saide money, after the common rate, as it goeth among the people, viz: for euery five the first rubbell vpon this there are witnesses, Micheta Sydronef-koy, &c. Subscribed. This bill haue I written Gabriel Iacouesin, in the year 7096. The witnesses and debter (if he can write) endorse their names on the back side of the Bill. Other signing or sealing haue they none.

When any is taken for a matter of crime (as treason, murder, theft, and the like) he is first brought to the Duke and Diacke, that are for the Prouince where the party is attached, by whom he is examined. The manner of examination in such cases, is all by torture, as scourging with whips made of sinnewes or whitleather (called the *Pudkey*) as big as a mans finger, which giueth a fore lath, and entereth into the flesh; Or by tying vnto a spitte, and roasting at the Fire. Sometimes, by breaking and wresting one of their ribs with a payre of hot Tonges, or cutting their flesh vnder the nayles, and such like.

The examination thus taken, withall the proofes and euidences that can be alledged against the party, it is sent vppo to the *Mosko*, to the Lord of the Chetfird or Fourth-part, vnder whome the Prouince is, and by him is presented vnto the Councell Table, to be read and sentenced there, where onely iudgement is giuen in matter of life and death, and that by euidence vpon information, though they neuer saw nor heard the party, who is kept still in prison where the Facte was committed, & neuer sent vp to the place where he is tried. If they find the partie guilty, they giue sentence of death according to the quality of the facte, which is sent downe by the Lord of the Chetfird, to the Duke and Diacke to be put in execution. The prisoner is carried vnto the place of execution, with his hands bound and a wax candle burning held betwene his fingers.

Their capitall punishments, are hanging, heading, knocking on the head, drawing, putting vnder the sic, setting on a stake, and such like. But (for the most part) the prisoners that are condemned in summer, are kept for the winter, to be knocked

on the head, and put vnder the Ice. This is to be understood of common persons. For theft and murder, if they be committed vpon a poore *Moujik* by one of Nobilitie, it is not lightly punished, nor yet he is called to any account for it. Their reason is, because they are accounted their *Kolophey* or bond-slaves.

If by some *Sinaboirskoy*, or Gentleman Souldiour, a murder or theft bee committed, peraduenture he shall be imprisoned at the Emperours pleasure. If the manner of the fact bee very notorious, hee is whipped perchance, and this is commonly all the punishment that is inflicted vpon them.

If a man kill his owne seruant, little or nothing is saide vnto him, for the aforesaid reason: because he is accounted to be his *Kolophey* or bondslave, & so to haue right ouer his very head. The vtmost is some small mulct to the Emperour, if the party be rich: and so the quarrell is made rather against the purse, then against the iustice. They haue no Written Law, saue onely a small booke, that containeth the time and manner of their sitting, order in proceeding, and such other iudiciall formes and circumstances, but nothing to direct them, to giue sentence on right or wrong. Their onely Law is their Speaking Law, and that is the pleasure of the Prince, and of his Magistrates & officers. Which sheweth the miserable condition of this poore people, that are forced to haue them for their Law and direction of Iustice; against whose iniustice & extreme oppression, they had neede to bee armed with many good and strong lawes.

The Soldiers of *Rufsia* are called *Sinaboirskoy*, or the sonnes of Gentlemen, because they are all of that degree, by vertue of their Military profession. For euery soldier is a Gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but onely the soldiers, that take it by descent from their Ancestors; so that the son of a Gentleman (which is borne a soldier) is euer a Gentleman, and a Soldier withall, and professeth nothing els but Military matters. When they are of years able to bear Armes, they come to the office of *Roserade*, or great Constable, and there present themselves, who entereth their names; and alloteth them certayne lands to maintain their charges; for the most part, the same that their fathers enjoyed.

D d d d For

On gentlem and souldiers.

No written Law among them.

Speaking law

Their forces for the wars, with the chiet officers, and their salaries.

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

The dealing of Sergeants in their offices.

No Counsellors or advocates meet to pleade causes.

Ending of controversies by kissing the Crosse.

Iudgment by lot, where both parties kisse the Crosse.

Proceeding in criminal matters.

Order after examination.

Men are sentenced with-out personall appearance.

The order of their cheefest punishments in common persons.

For the Lands assigned to maintaine the Army, are ever certaine, annexed to this office without improoving, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperour haue sufficient in wages, the rooms being full so farre as the land doth extend alreadie; they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the land be diuided into two. Which is a cause of great disorder within that country: when a souldier that hath many children, shall haue sometimes but one entertained in the Emperours pay. So that the rest having nothing, are forced to liue by vniust and wicked shuffles, that tend vnto the hurt and oppression of the *Moskiew* or common sort of people. This inconvenience groweth, by maintaining his forces in a continuall succession. The whole number of his souldiers in continuall pay, is this. First, he hath of his *Dwornoy*, that is, Pensioners, or garde of his person, to the number of 15000. horsemen, with their Captaines and other officers, that are alwayes in a readinesse.

Of these 15000. horsemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ aswell in estimation, as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them, is called *Dwornoy Bulshai*, or the company of his ad Pensioners, that haue some an hundred, some fourscore Rubbels a yeare, & none vnder seuentie. The second sort are called *Secondary Dwornoy*, or the middle ranke of Pensioners. These haue fixty, or fifty rubbels by the yeare, none vnder forty. The third and lowest sort are the *Dvina Bolanskey*, that is, the lowest Pensioners. Their salary is thirty rubbels a yeare for him that hath most, some haue but siue and twenty, some twenty, none vnder twelue. Whereof the halfe part is paid them at the *Mosko*, the other halfe in the felds by the Generall, when they haue any warres, and are employed in seruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000. rubbels yearly.

And to this their wages, besides Lands allotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according vnto their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeeld him twenty Rubbels or Markes by the yeare. Besides these 15000. horsemen that are of better choise (as beeing the Emperour owne gard, when himselfe goeth to the wars, not vnlike the Roman

souldiers cald *Pratoriani*) are an hundred & ten men of speciall account for their Nobility and trust, which are chosen by the Emperour, and haue their names registered, that find among them for the Emperours warres, to the number of 65000. horsemen, with all necessaries meete for the wars, after the Russe manner.

To this end they haue yearly allowance made by the Emperour for themselves, & their companies, to the summe of 40000 rubbels. And these 65000. are to repaire to the field euery year on the borders towards the *Chrim Tartar* (except they be appointed for some other seruice) whether there be warres with the Tartars, or not.

This might seeme (peraduenture) somewhat dangerous for some state, to haue so great forces vnder the command of Noblemen, to assemble euery yeare vnto one certaine place. But the matter is so vided, as that no danger can growe to the Emperour, or his state by this means. First, because these Noblemen are many, to wit, an hundred and ten in all, & changed by the Emperour, so oft as he thinks good. Secondly, because they haue their liuings of the Emperour, being otherwise but of very small reuenue, and receiue this yearly pay of 40000. rubbels, when it is presently to be paid forth againe vnto the souldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, because (for the most part) they are about the Emperours person, being of his counsell either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymasters then Captaines to their companies, themselves not going forth ordinarily to the warres, save when some of them are appointed, by speciall order from the Emperour himselfe: so the whole number of horsemen that are cuer in a readines, and in continuall pay, are 80000. a few more or lesse.

If he haue neede of a greater number, (which seldom falleth out) then he entertaineth of those *Sinoboiarskey*, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, hee giueth charge to his Noblemen (that hold lands of him) to bring into the felds (euery man) a proportionable number of his Seruants, (called *Kolophey*) such as Till his Landes, with their Furniture, according vnto the full and iust number, that hee intendeth to make vpp. The which seruice beeing done,

Two other  
troops, to the  
number of  
65000.

Footmen in  
continuall pay  
12000.

Strangers  
mercenarys  
in pay, 4300.

The chiefe  
Captaines or  
Leaders, First,  
the Voiaoud  
or Generall.

Horsemen in  
continuall pay  
80000.

done, presently lay in their Weapons, and returne to their seuerall occupations againe.

Of Footmen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000. all Gunners, called *Strelley*. Whereof 5000 are to attend about the City of *Mosko*, or any other place where the Emperour shall abide, and 2000. (which are called *Stremney*, *Strelley*, or Gunners at the stirrop) about his owne person, at the very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garrison towns, till there be occasion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their fallery or stipend euery man seven rubbels a yeare, besides twelue measures, a piece of Rye, and Oates. Of mercenary Soldiours, that are strangers (whom they call *Nimfchoy*) they haue at this time, 4300. of *Poloniens*: of *Chirchaffes* (that are vnder the *Poloniens*) about foure thousand, whereof 3500. are abroad in his garrisons: of *Doutches* Scots about 150. of *Greekes*, *Turkes*, *Danes* and *Swedens*, all in one band, an 100. or thereabouts. But these they vse onely vpon the Tartar side, and against the *Siberians*: as they doe the Tartar Soldiours (whom they hire sometimes but onely for the present) on the other side against the *Poloniens* and *Swedens*: thinking it best policie, so to vse their seruice vpon the contrary border.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders of these Forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the *Voiaoud* *Bulshai*, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant Generall vnder the Emperour. This commonly is one of the four houses of the chiefe Nobility of the Land: but so chosen otherwise, as that he is of small valour, or practise in Martiall matters, being thought to serue that turne so much the better, if he bring no other parts with him, save the countenance of his Nobility, to be liked of by the Soldiours for that, and nothing else. For in this point they are very wary, that these two (to wit) Nobility, and power meete not both in one, specially if they see wisdom with all, or aptnesse for policy.

Their great *Voiaoud* or Generall at this present in their warres, is commonly one of these foure: *Knez Fedor Iuanovich* *Methisloskey*, *Knez Iuan Michailo-*

*wich* *Glinkoy*, *Cherechaskoy*, and *Trombetsky*, all of great Nobility, but of very simple quality otherwise: though in *Glinkoy* (as they say) there is somewhat more then in the rest. To make vp this defect in the *Voiaoud* or Generall, there is some other ioynd with him as Lieutenant Generall, of farre lesse Nobility, but of more valour and experience in the warres then he, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principall man, and most viued in their warres, is one *Knez Demetrie Iuanovich* *Forsine*, an ancient and expert Captaine, and one that hath done great seruice (as they say) against the Tartar and *Polonian*. Next, vnder the *Voiaoud* and his Lieutenant Generall, are foure other, that haue the Marshalling of the whole Army diuided among them, and may be called the Marshalles of the field.

Euery man hath his quarter or fourth part vnder him. Whereof the first is called the *Prasa Polsky*, or right wing. The second is the *Leuy Polsky*, or left wing. The third is *Rasny Polsky*, or the broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad vpon any suddaine exploit, or to make a refuse or supply, as occasion doth require. The fourth is *Storehouey* *Patsky*, or the warding band. Euery one of these foure Marshals haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twice euery weeke at the least, must muster and traine their seuerall wings or bands, and hold and giue iustice for all faults, and disorders committed in the Campe.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the 110. (which I spake of before) that receiue and deliuer the pay to the Soldiours. Vnder these eight are diuers other Captaines, as the *Gulaway* Captaines of thousands, siue hundreds, and one hundred. The *Peyde Setskoy*, or Captaines of fifties, and the *Decerskies*, or Captaines of tens.

Besides the *Voiaoud* or Generall of the Army (spoken of before) they haue two other that beare the name of *Voiaouda*: whereof one is the Master of the great Ordenance (called *Naradna Voiaouda*) who hath diuers vnder Officers, necessary for that seruice. The other is called the *Voiaouda Gulaway*, or the walking

2. Lieutenant  
Generall.

3. Marshals of  
the field four.

The ordering  
of each quar-  
ter.

4. Marshals  
Deputies 8.

Fiue Coro-  
nells vnder  
Captaines.

Sixe Masters  
of the Artil-  
lery.

The walking  
Captaine.

Captaine, that hath allowed him a thousand good horsemen of principall choise, to range and spie abroad, and handle the charge of the running Cattle, which wee are to speake of hereafter. All these Captaines and men of charge, must (once euery day) resort to the *Bulgha Voianoda*, or Generall of the Armie, to know his pleasure, and to informe him, if there be any requisite matter pertaining to theire Office.

Of their mu-  
stering and  
leaving of  
forces, manner  
of Armour, &  
prouision of  
victuall for  
the waite.Their order  
for mustering

When warres are towards (which they faile not of slightly euery yeare with the Tartar, and many times with the Polonian and Sweden) the foure Lordes of the *Chieftirds* send forth their summons in the Emperours name, to all the Dukes and Dyackes of the Prouinces, to bee proclaimed in the head Townes of euery Shire: that all the *Sinobotskey*, or sonnes of Gentlemen, make their repaire to such a border where the seruice is to be done, at such a place, and by such a day, & there present themselves vnto such and such Captaines.

When they come to the place assigned them in the Summons or Proclamation, their names are taken by certain Officers, that haue Commission for that purpose, from the *Roserade* or High Constable, as Clearkes of the Bands.

If any make default and faile at the day, he is mulcted, and punished very seuerely. As for the Generall and other chiefe Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperours owne hand, with such Commission and charge, as hee thinketh behoouefull for the present seruice. When the Soldiours are assembled, they are reduced into their Bands and Companies, vnder their severall Captaines of tennes, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these Bands into foure *Polskeys* or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Roman Legions were) vnder their foure great Leaders; which also haue the Authority of Marshalls of the field, as was saide before.

Concerning their Armour, they are but slightly appointed. The common Horseman hath nothing else but his Bow in his case, vnder his right Arme, and his Quiver and Sword hanging on the left side: except some few that beare a Case of Dags, or a Iauelin, or short staffe along their Horse side. The vnder Captains will

haue commonly some piece of Armour besides, as a Shirt of Male, or such like. The Generall, with the other chiefe Captaines and men of Nobilitie, will haue their horse very richly furnished, their Saddles of Cloth of Golde, their Bridles faire bossed and tasselled with Golde and Silke Fringe, bestudded with Pearle & precious Stones: themselves in very faire Armour, which they call *Bullatney*, made of faire shining Steele yet covered commonly with cloth of Golde, and edged round with Ermin Furre, his Steele Helmet on his head, of a very great price, his Sword, Bow and Arrows at his side, his Speare in his hand, with another fayre Helmet, and his *Sheitapera* or Horsemans Scepter carried before him. Their Swords, Bowes, and Arrows, are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar, to shoote forwards and backwards, as they faye and retire.

The *Streltsy* or Foote-man, hath nothing but his peece in his hand, his striking Hatchet at his backe, and his Sword by his side. The stocke of his peece, is not made Calieuer-wise, but with a plaine & straight stocke (somewhat like a Fowling peece) the barrel is rudely and vnartificially made, very heavy, yet thoothert but a very small Bullet.

As for their prouision of victuall, the Emperour alloweth none, eyther for Captaine or Soldiour, neither prouideth any for them, except peraduenture some corn for their money. Euery man is to bring sufficient for himselfe, to serue his turne for foure moneths, and (if neede require) to giue order for more to bee brought vnto him to the Campe, from his Tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place.

One great helpe they haue, that for Lodging and Dyet, euery *Russe* is prepared to be a souldiour before-hand. Although the chiefe Captaines, and other of account, do carrie Tents along with them, after the form and fashion of ours, with some better prouision of Victuall then the rest; they bring with them commonly into the Campe for Victuall, a kinde of dried Bread (which they call *Sucharie*) with some store of Meale, which they temper with water, & so make it into a Ball, or small lump of Dough, called *Tollockno*. And this they eat raw in stead of Bread. Their meat is Bacon, or

The General  
and chiefe  
Captaines.The footmen  
turne.Prouision of  
victuall.Their field  
lodging and  
diet.

some

some other flesh or fish dried, after the Dutch manner.

If the *Russe* Souldier were as hardie to execute an enterprize, as hee is harde to beare out toyle and trauaile, or were otherwise as apt and well trayned for the warres, as he is indifferent for his lodging and dyet, he would farre exceed the Soldiours of other parts. Whereas now, hee is farre meaner of courage, and execution in any warlike seruice. Which commeth partly of his feeble condition, that will not suffer any great courage or valour to grow in him. Partly for lacke of due honour and reward, which he hath no great hope of, whatsoeuer seruice or execution hee doe.

The *Russe* trusteth rather to his number, then to the valor of his Soldiours, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without all order, save that the foure *Polskey* or Legions (whereinto their army is diuided) keepe themselves vnder their Ensignes, and so thrust all on together in a hurrey, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Ensigne is the image of Saint George. The *Bulgha Dworany* or chiefe Horsemen, haue euery man a small Drumme of Brasse at his Saddle-bow, which he striketh when hee giueth the charge, or onfet.

They haue Drummes besides of a huge biggenesse, which they carrie with them vpon a boord layde on foure horses, that are spured together with Iron Chaines, euery Drumme hauing eyght Beaters or Drummers, besides Trumpets, and Shawmes, which they sound after a wilde manner, much different from ours.

When they giue any Charge, or make any inuasion, they make a great hallowe or shoute altogether, as lowde as they can, which with the sound of their Trumpets, Shawmes, and Drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their Arrows, then dealing with their Swordes, which they vse in a brauery to shake, and brandish ouer their Heades, before they come to strokes.

Their Footmen (because otherwise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush, or place of aduantage, where they may most annoy the enemy, with least hurt to themselves.

If hee a set battaile, or if any great inuasion bee made vpon the *Russe* borders, by the Tartar, they are sette within the running or mouing Cattle (called *Beza*, or *Gulagora*) which is carried about with them by the *Voianoda gulanay* (or the walking Generall) whome I spake of before. This Walking or mouing Cattle is so framed, that it may be set vp in length (as occasion doth require) the space of one, two, three, foure, fve, six, or seuen miles: for so long will it reach. It is nothing else but a double wall of Vwoode, to defend them on both sides, behinde and before; with a space of three yards or thereabout, betwixt the two sides: so that they may stand within it, and haue roome enough to charge and discharge their peecees, and to vse their other weapons.

It is clofed at both ends, & made with loope holes on either side, to lay out the nose of their peece, or to push forth any other weapon. It is caried along with the army whosoever it goeth, being taken in to peecees, and so layde on Cartes spured together, and drawn by horse that are not fene, by reason that they are covered with their carriage, as with a helme or pent-house.

When it is brought vnto the place where it is to be vsed (which is denifed & chosen out before by the walking *Voianoda*) it is planted, so much as the present vse requirith, sometime a mile long, sometimes two, sometimes three, or more: Which is soone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or instrument: because the Timber is so framed to clasp together one peece within another: as is easily vnderstood, by those that know the manner of the *Russe* building.

In this Cattle standeth their Shot well fenced for aduantage, especially agaynst the Tartar, that bringeth no Ordinance, nor other Weapon into the Field with him, save his Sword, and Bowe and Arrows. They haue also within it diuerse feld peecees, which they vse as occasion doth require. Of peecees for the feld, they carry no great store, when they war against the Tartar: but when they deal with the *Polonian* (of whose forces they make more account) they go better furnished with all kinde of inuention, and other necessarie prouisions. It is thought, that no Prince of Christendome, hath better

D d d 3  
floreThe walking  
Cattle.What the  
walking Ca-  
stle.The planting  
of the walk-  
ing Cattle.The shotte a-  
gainst the  
Tartar.Default of  
appearance.The horse-  
mans turne.Of their march-  
ing, charging,  
and other  
martiall disci-  
pline.Horsemen,  
drummes.The Horse-  
mans manner  
of charging.The foot-  
mans charge

store of munition, then the Russe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillerie house at *Mosko*, where are of all sortes of great Ordnance, all Brasse peeces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

The Russe Soldiour is thought to be better at his defence within some Castle, or Towne, then hee is abroad at a set pitched fildie. Which is euer noted in the practise of his warres, and namely, at the siege of *Volsko*, some few yeares since: where he repulsed the Polonian king, *Stephan Batore*, with his whole Army of an hundred thousand men, and forced him (in the end) to giue ouer his siege, with the losse of many of his best Captaines and Soldiers. But in a set fildie, the Russe is noted to haue the worke of the *Polonian* and *Sweden*.

If any behaue himselfe more valiantly then the rest, or doe any speciall peece of seruice, the Emperour sendeth him a peece of Gold, stamped with the image of Saint George on horse-backe. Which peece they hang on their breeues, and set in their Caps. And this is accounted the greatest honor they can receiue for any seruice they do.

The Russe Emperours (of late years) haue very much enlarged their Dominions & Territories. Their first Conquest after the Dukedome of *Mosko* (for before that time they were but Dukes of *Volademer*, as before was sayde) was the Cittie, and Dukedome of *Novograd* on the West and North-West side: which was no final enlargement of their Dominion, & strengthening vnto them for the winning of the rest. This was done by *Iuan*, great Grand father to *Theodore* now Emperour, about the yeare 1480.

The same began likewise to encroach vpon the Countreys of *Lituania* and *Lithuania*, but the Conquest onely intended, and attempted by him vpon some part of those Countreys, was pursued and performed by his sonne *Basilus*, who first of all wan the Cittie and Dukedom of *Plesko*, afterwards the City and Dukedom of *Smolensko*, and many other faire Townes, with a large Territory belonging vnto them, about the yeare 1514.

These victories against the *Lettoes* or *Lithuanians*, in the time of *Alexander* their Duke, hee achieved rather by aduantage

of ciuill diffentions and treasons among themselves, then by any great pollicie or force of his owne. But all this was lost againe by his sonne *Iuan Vasilowich*, about eight or nine yeares past, vpon composition with the Polonian King *Stephen Batore*; whereunto he was forced by the aduantages which the *Pole* had then of him, by reason of the foyle hee had giuen him before, and the disquietnesse of his owne state at home. Onely the Russe Emperour, at this time, hath left him on that side his Country, the Cities of *Smolensko*, *Poltosko*, *Cheringo*, and *Beala Gurod* in *Lituania*. In *Lituania*, nor a Towne, nor one foote of ground.

When *Basilus* first Conquered those Countreys, hee suffered the Natiues to keepe their possessions, and to inhabit all their Townes, onely paying him a Tribute, vnder the government of his Russe Captaines. But by their Conspiracies & attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more surely with them. And for coming vpon them the second time, hee killed and caried away with him, three parts of foure, which he gaue or solde vnto the Tartars that serued him in those wars, & (insted of them) placed there his Russes, so many as might ouer-match the rest, with certaine Garrisons of strength besides. Wherein, notwithstanding this ouersight was committed, for that (taking away with him the Vpland or Country people (that should haue tild the ground and might easily haue bene kept in order without any daunger, by other good policies) hee was driuen afterwards manie yeares together, to Visually the Countrey (especially the great Townes) out of his owne Countrey of *Russia*, the foyle lying there in the meane while waste and vntilled.

The like fell out at the port of *Narue*, in *Lisland*, where his sonne *Iaan Vasilowich* desired, to build a Towne and a Castle on the other side the Riuer, (called *Iuangrad*) to keepe the Town and countrey in subiection. The Castle he caused to bee so built and fortified, that it was thought to bee inuincible. And when it was finished, for reward to the Architect (that was a *Polonian*) hee put out both his eyes, to make him vnable to build the like againe. But hauing left the Natiues all within their owne Countrey, without a

All wonne by the father, lost by the sonne.

*Lituania*, and the Emperours remitteth, in his Conquest thereof.

*Narue* euen in the same manner.

A most valuable reward.

Kingdomes won from the Tartars.

*Permia* and *Pechora*, their conquering.

Meanes of holding his chief townes

The strength of Townes & Castles.

bating their number or strength; the Towne and Castle (not long after) was betrayed, and surrendered againe to the King of *Sweden*.

On the Southeast side, they haue got the Kingdomes of *Cazan*, and *Astracan*. These were wonne from the *Tartar*, by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, Father to the Emperour that now is: the one about 35, the other about 33. yeares agoe. Northward out of the Countrey of *Siberia*, he hath laide vnto his Realme, a great bredth and length of ground, from *wichida* to the Riuer of *Obba*, about a thousand miles space: so that hee is bold to write himselfe now, *The Great Commander of Siberia*.

The Countries likewise of *Permia* & *Pechora*, are a diuerse people & language from the Russe, ouercome not long since, and that rather by threatening, & shaking of the Sword, then by any actual force: as being a weak and naked people, without meanes to resist.

That which the Russe hath in his present possession, he keepeth on this sort. In his foure cheefe border townes of *Poltosko*, *Smolensko*, *Astracan*, and *Cazan*, he hath certaine of his Counsell, not of greatest Nobility, but of greatest trust, which haue more authority within their Precincts (for the countenancing & strengthening of their government there) then the other Dukes that are set to gouerne in other places, as was noted before, in the manner of ordering their Provinces. These he changeth sometime euery yeare, sometime euery second or third yeare, but exceedeth not that time; except vpon very speciall trust, and good liking of the party, and his seruice: least by enlarging of their time, they might grow into some familiarity with the enemy (as some haue done) being so far out of sight.

The Townes besides are very strongly fenced with Trenches, Castles, & store of munition, and haue garrisons within the, to the number of two or three thousand a peece. They are stored with victuall (if any siege should come vpon them) for the space of two or three yeares before hand. The foure Castles of *Smolensko*, *Poltosko*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, hee hath made very strong to beare out any siege: so that it is thought that those Townes are inpregnable.

As for the Countreys of *Pechora* and *Permia*, and that part of *Siberia*, which hee hath now vnder him, they are kept by as easie meanes, as they were first got, viz. rather by shewing, then by vjing of Armes. First, he hath stored the Countrey with as many Russes as there are Natiues, & hath there some few Soldiours in garrison, enough to keepe them vnder. Secondly, his Officers and Magistrates there, are of his owne Russe people, and hee chargeth them very often, viz. euery yeare twice or thrice; notwithstanding there be no great feare of any inuasion. Thirdly he diuiderth them into many small gouernements, like a staffe broke in many small pieces: so that they haue no strength being seuered, which was but little neyther, when they were all in one. Fourthly, he prouideth that the people of the Countrey haue neyther Armour, nor money, being taxed and pilld so often as hee thinketh good: without any meanes to shake off that yoke, or to releue themselves.

In *Siberia* (where he goeth on in pursuing his Conquest) hee hath diuers Castles and Garrisons, to the number of fixe thousand Soldiours of Russes and *Polonians*, and sendeth many new supplies thither, to plant and inhabit, as hee winneth ground. At this time besides, he hath gotten the Kings Brother of *Siberia*, allured by certaine of his Captains, to leaue his owne Countrey, by offers of great entertainment, and pleasanter life with the Russe Emperour, then he had in *Siberia*. He was brought in this last yeare, and is now with the Emperour at *Mosko* well entertained.

This may be said of the Russe practise, wherefoeuer he ruleth, either by right of Inheritance, or by Conquest.

First, hee bereaueth the Countrey of Armour, and other meanes of defence, which hee permitteth to none, but to his *Boiarskes* onely.

Secondly, he robbeth them continually of their money and commodities, and leaueeth them bare, with nothing but their bodies and liues, within certaine yeares compass.

Thirdly, hee renteth and diuiderth his Territories into many small pieces, by seuerall gouernments: so that none hath much vnder him to make any strength, though he had other opportunities.

Fourthly,

Meanes of holding the Countreys of *Pechora*, *Permia*, and *Siberia*.

The Kings Brother of *Siberia* allured from his Countrey.

The pollicie of their Conquest, or other prouiding, wherefoeuer they come.

Fourthly, he governeth his Countreys by men of small reputation, and no power of themselves, and strangers (in those places) where their government lyeth.

Fiftly, he changeth his Governours once a yeare ordinarily, that there grow no great liking, nor intellence betwixt the people and them, nor acquaintance with the enemy, if they lie towards the Borders.

Sixty, hee appointeth in one and the same place aduicary Governours, the one to be as Controller of the other, as the Dukes and Diacks: where (by meanes of their enuies and emulations) there is lesse hurt to be feared by their agreement, and himselfe is better informed what is done amiffe.

Seuenthy, he fendeth many times into euery Prouince secret Messengers (of speciall trust about him) as intelligencers, to pry and hearken out what is doing, and what is amiffe there. And this is ordinary, though it be sudden, and vnkowne what time they will come.

Their neighbours with whom they haue greatest dealings and intercourse, both in peace and warre, are first the *Tartars*: Secondly the *Polonians*, whom the *Russe* call *Laches*, noting the first Author or Founder of the Nation, who was called *Laches* or *Leches*, whereunto is added *Pol*, which signifieth *People*, and so is made *Polaches*, that is, the *People* or *Posterity* of *Laches*: which the *Latines* (after their manner of writing) call *Polinos*. The third are the *Swedens*. The *Polonians* and *Swedens* are better knowne to these parts of *Europe*, then are the *Tartars*, that are farther off from vs (as beeing of *Asia*) and diuided into many Tribes, different both in name and government one from another.

The greatest and mightiest of them is the *Chrim Tartar*, (whom some call the *Great Cham*) that lyeth South, & South-eastward from *Russia*, and doth most annoy the Country by often inuasions, commonly once euery yeare, sometime entreing very farre within the inland parts. In the yeare 1571. he came as far as the Citie of *Mosko*, with an Army of two hundred thousand men, without any battaile, or resistance at all, for that the *Russe* Emperor (then *Iuan Vasiliowich*) leading forth his Army to encounter with him, march-

ed a wrong way: but (as it was thought) of very purpose, as not daring to adventure the Field, by reason that he doubted his Nobility and cheefe Captaines, of a meaning to betray him to the *Tartar*.

The Citie hee tooke not, but fired the Subburbs, which by reason of the buildings (which are al of Wood, without any Stone, Brick or Lime, save certaine out-rooms) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage; as that it consumed the greatest part of the City, almost within the space of foure houres, being of thirty miles or more of compass. Then might you haue seene a lamentable spectacle: besides the huge and mighty flame of the City all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streets, but most of all, of such as laboured to passe out of the gates, farthest from the enemy; where meeting together in a mightie throng, & so pressing euery man to prevent another: wedged themselves so fast within the gate and streets neere vnto it, as that three ranks walked one vpon the others head, the vppermost treading down those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was saide) by the fire & the pteale, the number of eight hundred thousand people, or more.

The *Chrim* thus having fired the City, and fed his eyes with the sight of it all on a light flame returned with his Army, and sent to the *Russe* Emperor a Knife (as was said) to stick himselfe withall: vpbidding this losse, and his desperate case, as not daring cyther to meete his enemy in the field, nor to trust his friends nor iubiects at home. The principall cause of this continuall quarrell betwixt the *Russe* and the *Chrim*, is for the right of certaine border parts, claimed by the *Tartar*, but possessed by the *Russe*. The *Tartar* alledge, that belides *Astracan*, & *Cazan* (that are the ancient possession of the East *Tartar*) the whole Country, from his bounds North and Westward, so farre as the City of *Mosko*, and *Mosko* it selfe, pertaineth to his right. Which seemeth to haue bin true, by the report of the *Russes* themselves, that tell of a certaine homage, that was done by the *Russe* Emperor (euery yeare) to the Great *Chrim* or *Cham*, the *Russe* Emperor standing on foote, and feeding the *Chrim* Horse (himselfe sitting

The firing of Mosko by the Chrim Tartar, in the yeare 1571.

A strange accident as was heard of.

The Chrim salutation to the Emperor.

The quarrell betwixt the Russe and Tartar.

Homage done by the Russe to the Chrim Tartar, and in what manner.

sitting on his back) with Oates out of his owne Cap, instead of a Boule or Manner, and that within the Castle of *Mosko*. And this homage (they say) was done till the time of *Ruslen*, grandfather to this man. Who surprizing the *Chrim* Emperor by a stratagem, done by one of his Nobility (called *Iuan Demetrowich Belschey*) was content with this ranfome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a tribute of Fures: which afterwards also was denied to be paid by this Emperors Father.

Hereupon they continue the quarrell, the *Russe* defending his Country, & that which he hath won, the *Chrim Tartar* inuading him once or twice euery yeare, sometime about Whariontide, but often in Haruest. What time, if the great *Cham* or *Chrim* come in his owne person, hee bringeth with him a great Army of an hundred thousand, or two hundred thousand men. Otherwise, they make short and sudden roads into the Country with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border, as wilde Geefe flie, inuading and retiring where they see aduantage.

Their common practise (beeing very populous) is to make diuers Armies, and so drawing the *Russe* to one, or two places of the Frontiers, to inuade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their manner of fight, or ordering of their Forces, is much after the *Russe* manner (spoken of before) saue that they are all horsemen, and carry nothing else but a Bowe, a sheafe of Arrowes, & a faulchon sword after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horsemen, and vse to (hoore as readily backward, as forward. Some will haue a horsemans staffe like vnto a boare spear, besides their other weapons. The common Soldiour hath no other armour then his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke sheeps skine, with the wooll side outward in the day time, and inward in the night time, with a cap of the same. But their *Moskies* or Noblemen imitate the Turke both in apparell and armor. When they are to passe ouer a Riuer with their Army, they yee thure or foure horses together, and taking long Poles or pieces of wood, binde them fast to the tayles of their horses: so sitting on the Poles they driue their horse ouer. At handy-strokes

(when they come to ioyne battaile) they are accounted farre better men then the *Russe* people, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloudy by continuall practise of warre: as men knowing no parts of peace, nor any ciuill practise.

Yet their subtilty is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practise to inuade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them; they are very pregnant, and ready witted to deuise stratagems (vpon the sudden) for their better aduantage. As in their war against *Beala* the fourth, King of *Hungary*, whom they inuaded with fife hundred thousand men, and obtained against him a great victory. VV here (among other) hauing slaine his Chancellor, called *Nicholas Schinick*; they found about him the Kings priuy Seale. VV hereupon, they deuised presently to counterfeit Letters in the Kings Name, to the Citties and Townes next about the place, where the field was fought; with charge, that in no case they should conuey themselves and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the Country desolate, to the possession of so vile and barbarous an enemy, as was the *Tartar* Nation, tearing themselves in all reprochfull manner.

For, notwithstanding he had lost his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly; yet hee doubted not but to recouer that losse, with the assistance of a notable victory, if the sauage *Tartar* durst abide him in the field. To this purpose, hauing written their letters in the *Polish* Charactes, by certaine yong men whom they tooke in the field, and signed them with the Kings Seale; they dispatched them forth to all the quarters of *Hungary*, that lay neare about the place. VV hereupon the *Hungarians*, that were now flying away with their goods, wiues, and children, vpon the rumour of the kings ouerthrow, taking comfort by the counterfeit Letters, staid at home. And so were made a prey, being surprized on the sudden by the huge number of these *Tartars*, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

When they besiege a Towne or Fort, they offer much Parley, and send many flattering

The homage releued by the Chrim surprisall.

The Chrim comming against the Russe.

The manner of the Tartars fight & armor.

The common Soldiours Armour of the Tartars, differing from the Noblemans.

Their passage of Riueres.

The subtilty of the Tartars.

The Tartar was against Beala King of Hungary, and their cunning policy.

All policies in warre are by them accounted lawfull.

Besieging of Townes or Forts.

Sending diuels together by the carers.

Of the Tartars and other borders to the Country of Russia, with whom they haue most to do in warre & peace. The Polonians are called Laches by the Russe, and the reason why.

The Chrim Tartar, or the Great Cham.

A subtle rule among the Tartars.	flattering messages to perswade a surrender, promising all things that the Inhabitants will require: but being once possessed of the place, they vse all manner of hostility, and cruelty. This they do vpon a rule they haue, viz. <i>That Iustice is to be practised vnto towards their owne</i> . They encounter not lightly, but they haue some ambush, whereunto (hauing once shewed themselves, and made some short conflict) they retire, as repulsed for feare, and so draw the enemy into it if they can. But the <i>Russe</i> being wel acquainted with their practise, is more wary of them. When they come a routing with some final number, they set on horsebacke counterfeit shapen of men, that their number may seeme greater.	tues and the other prey.	The Tartars religion like to the Turke.
The Tartars contempt of death.	When they make any onser, their manner is to make a great shout, crying all out together, <i>Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God help vs, God helpe vs</i> . They contemne death so much, as that they chuse rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemy, & are seene (when they are slaine) to bite the very weapon when they are past striking, or helping of themselves. V herein appeareth, how different the <i>Tartar</i> is in his desperate courage, from the <i>Russe</i> and <i>Turke</i> . For the <i>Russe</i> Souldior, if hee begin once to retire, putteth all his safety in his speedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckning straight to die. The <i>Turke</i> commonly, when hee is past hope of escaping, falleth to entrete, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them vp, as it were to be tied: hoping to saue his life, by offering himselfe bondslave.	The <i>Russe</i> borders (being vsed to their inuasions lightly every year in the Summer) keepe few other Cartell on the border parts, save Swine onely, which the <i>Tartar</i> will not touch, nor drine away with him: for that he is of the Turkish religion, and will eate no Swines flesh. Of Christ our Saviour, they confesse as much as doth the <i>Turk</i> in his Alkaron, viz. That he came of the Angell <i>Gabriel</i> , & the Virgin <i>Mary</i> , that he was a great Prophet, & shall be the Iudge of the world at the last day. In other matters likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the <i>Turke</i> : hauing felt the Turkish Forces, when hee wonne from them <i>Asow</i> , and <i>Cassa</i> , with some other townes about the <i>Euxine</i> , or <i>Blacke Sea</i> , that were before tributaries to the <i>Chrim Tartar</i> So that now the Emperor of the <i>Chrimis</i> (for the most part) is chosen some one of the Nobility, whom the <i>Turke</i> doth commend: whereby it is brought now to that passe, that the <i>Chrim Tartar</i> giueth to the <i>Turke</i> the tenth part of the spoile, which he getteth in his wars against the Christians.	Chiefe of the Tartars Emperour.
Of the Russe Souldior.	The cheefe booty the <i>Tartars</i> seeke for in all their wars, is to get store of captiues, specially yong boies and girles, who they sell vnto the <i>Turkes</i> , or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great Baskets, made like Bakers Panniers, to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tie, or to be sick on the way, they dash him against the ground, or some tree, and so leaue him dead. The Souldiours are not troubled with keeping the Captiues, and the other booty, for hindring the execution of their wars; but they haue certaine bands that intend nothing else, appointed of purpose to receiue and keepe the Cap-	Heerein they differ from the <i>Turkish</i> Religion, for that they haue certaine idoll puppets, made of silke, or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to bee as <i>Ianusses</i> or keepers of their house. And these Idols are made not by all, but by certaine religious women, which they haue among them, for that and like vses. They haue besides, the image of their King or Great <i>Chan</i> , of an huge bignesse, which they erect at every stage, when the Army marcheth: and this euery one must bend and bow vnto as he passeth by it, be hee <i>Tartar</i> , or stranger. They are much giuen to witchcraft, and ominous coniectures, vpon euery accident which they heare or see.	Difference from the Turkish Religion.
The booty of the Tartars.	In making of marriages, they haue no regard of alliance or consanguinity. Onely with his Mother, Sister, and Daughter, a man may not marry, and though hee take the woman into his house, and accompany with her; yet hee accounteth her not for his Wife, till he haue a childe by her. Then he beginneth to take a dowry of her friends, of Horse, Sheep, Kine, &c. If he bee barren, after a certaine time	Addition to witchcraft.	Making of marriages among the Tartars.

The Tartar Nobilitie, and their authority.	time, he turneth her home agayne. Vnder the Emperour they haue certayne Dukes, whom they call <i>Morfeis</i> , or <i>Diueynarfeis</i> : that rule ouer a certayne number of some thousand, twenty thousand, or forty thousand a peece, which they call <i>Horsis</i> . When the Emperour hath any vse of them to serue in his wars, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certayne number, euery man with his two horse: at the least, thow he ride on, the other to kill, when it cometh to his turne to haue his horse eaten. For their chiefe vitale is horse flesh, which they eate without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a <i>Tartar</i> be taken by a <i>Russe</i> , hee shall be sure lightly to finde a horse legge, or some other part of him hanging at his saddle bowe.	standing buildings, but haue walking houses, which the Latines call <i>Veil</i> , built vpon wheeles, like vnto a Shepheards cottage. These they draw with them whither soeuer they goe, drining their cattail with them. And whē they come to their stages, or standing place, they plant their Cart-houses very orderly in a ranse: and so do make the forme of the firectes, and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the Emperour himselfe, who hath no other seate of his Empire, but an <i>Agora</i> , or towne of wood, that moueth with him whither soeuer he goeth. As for the fixed and standing buildings vsed in other Countries, they say they are vnwholesome and vnpleasant.	The Tartars dwelling, walking, or removing houses.
The Tartars diet, is horse flesh.	This last year, when I was at the <i>Mosco</i> , came in one <i>Kiriach Morfeis</i> , Nephew to the Emperour of the <i>Chrimis</i> that now is (whose father was Emperour before) accompanied with 3, hundred <i>Tartars</i> , and his two wiues, whereof one was his brothers widdow. Where being entertained in very good fort (after the <i>Russe</i> manner) he had sent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his supper and his companies, two very large and fatte horses, ready slayed on a sledde. They preferre it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then beefe, mutton, and such like. And yet (which is maruell) though they serue all as horsemen in the warres, and eate all of horse flesh, there are brought yearly to the <i>Mosco</i> , to be exchanged for other commodities, thirty or fortie thousand <i>Tartar</i> horses, which they commonly call <i>Couers</i> .	They beginne to moue their houses and cattail in the Spring time, from the South part of their Countrey towards the North parts. And so drining on till they haue grafed all vp vnto the farthest part Northward, they returne backe agayne towards their South Countrey (where they continue all the winter) by ten or twelue miles a stage: in the meane while, the grasse being sprung vp againe, to serue for their cattail as they returne. From the border of the <i>Sholcan</i> towards the <i>Caspian</i> Sea, vnto the <i>Russe</i> frontiers, they haue a goodly Countrey, specially on the South and South-east parts, but lost for lacke of tillage.	Agora, or Towne of wood mouing with the Emperour.
A present at a Tartars entertainment.	They keepe also great herds of kine, and flockes of blacke sheepe, rather for the skinned and milke (which they carrie with them in great bottles) then for the vse of the flesh, though sometimes they eate of it. Some vse they haue of Rice, Figges, and other Fruits. They drinke milke of warme blood, and for the most part, carde them both together. They vse sometimes (as they doe trauell by the way) to let their horses blood in a veine, and to drinke it warme, as it cometh from his body.	Of money they haue no vse at all, and therefore prefer Brasse and Steele before other mettralls, especially bullate, which they vse for Swords, Knives, and other necessaries. As for Golde and Siluer, they neglect it of very purpose, (as they do all tillage of their ground) to be more free for their wandering kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey lesse subiect to inuasions. Which giueth them great advantage against all their neighbours, euering inuading, and neuer being inuaded. Such as haue taken vpon them to inuade their Countrey (as of olde time <i>Cyrus</i> and <i>Darius Hystaspis</i> , on the East and Southeast side) haue done it with very ill successe, as we finde in the Stories written of those times. For their manners, when any will inuade them, to allure and draw them on, by flying and reculing (as if they were afraid) untill they haue drawne them some good way within their Countrey. Then, when they beginne to want vitaille, and other	The times of removing their houses.
Their vse of blacke sheepe milke.	Townesthydo plant none, nor other	other	They haue no vse of money among them.
Pollicie in their poutery.			Their pollicie for mouers of their countrey.



Læonicus  
Chalcocon-  
dylas.

Pachymerius.

A story of a  
Tartarian  
Captaine.Person and  
complexion  
of the Tartars  
and their na-  
tural inclin-  
ation.\* A people in  
Scythia a-  
bout Meotis.

other necessities (as needs they must where nothing is to bee had) to stop vp the passages, and enclose them with multitudes. By which stratagem (as wee read in *Læonicus Chalcocondylas* in his Turkish story) they had well nigh surprized the great and huge Army of *Tamberlaine*; but that he retired with all speed he could, towards the River *Tanis*, or *Don*, not without great losse of his men, and carriages.

In the story of *Pachymerius* the Greeke (which hee wrote of the Emperours of *Constantinople*, from the beginning of the Reigne of *Michael Palæologus*, to the time of *Andronicus* the elder) I remember hee telleth (to the same purpose) of one *Nogais*, a *Tartarian* Captaine vnder *Cazan*, the Emperour of the East *Tartars* (of who the City and Kingdome of *Cazan* may seeme to haue taken the denomination) who refused a Present of Pearle & other Jewels, sent vnto him from *Michael Palæologus*: Asking (withall) for what vse they serued, and whether they were good to keepe away sicknesse, death, or other misfortunes of this life, or no? So that it seemeth they haue euer (or long time) bene of that minde, to value things no further, then by the vse, and necessity for which they serue.

For person and complexion, they haue broad and flat visages, of a tanned colour into yellow and blacke, fierce and cruell looks, thin haired vpon the upper lip, and pit of the chin, light and nimble bodied, with short legges, as if they were made naturally for Horsemen: whereto they practise themselves from their childhood, si'dome going afoote about any businesse. Their speech is very sudden and loud, speaking as it were out of a deep hollow throat. When they sing, you would thinke a Cow lowed, or some great bandog howled. Their greatest exercise is shooting, wherein they traine vp their children from their very infancy, not suffering them to eate, till they haue shot neere the mark within a certaine scantling. They are the very same, that (sometimes) were called \* *Scythæ Nomades*, or the *Scythian Shepheards*, both by the Greekes and Latines.

Some thinke, that the *Turkes* tooke their beginning from the Nation of the *Chrim Tartars*. Of which opinion is *Læo-*

*nicus Chalcocondylas* the Greeke Historiographer, in his first Booke of his Turkish story. Wherin he followeth diuers very probable coniectures.

The first, taken from the very name it selfe, for that the word *Turke*, signifieth a Shepherd, or one that followeth a vagrant and wilde kinde of life. By which name these *Scythian Tartars* haue euer bin noted, being called by the Greekes, *Skuthai Nomades*, or the *Scythian Shepheards*.

His second reason, because the *Turkes* (in his time) that dwelt in *Asia* the lesse, to wit, in *Lydia*, *Coria*, *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*, spake the very same Language that these *Tartars* did, that dwelt betwixt the River *Tanis* or *Don*, and the Country of *Sarmatia*, which (as is well knowne) are these *Tartars* called *Chrimis*. At this time also, the whole Nation of the *Turks* differ not much in their common speech from the *Tartar* Language.

Thirdly, because the *Turke* and the *Chrim Tartar* agree so well together, as well in Religion, as matter of Trafficke, neuer inuading, or injuring one another: saue that the *Turke* (since *Læonicus* his time) hath encroached vpon some Towns vpon the \* *Euxine* Sea, that before pertained to the *Chrim Tartar*.

Fourthly, because *Oreogalus* sonne to *Oguzalpes*, and (Father to *Ottoman*, the first of name of the Turkish Nation) made his first rides out of those partes of *Asia*, vpon the next borderers, till he came towards the Countreys about the Hill *Taurus*, where he ouercame the Greekes that inhabited there: and so enlarged the name and territory of the Turkish Nation, till he came to *Eubæa* and *Attica*, and other partes of Greece. This is the opinion of *Læonicus*, who liued amongst the *Turkes*, in the time of *Amurath*, the sixte Turkish Emperour, about the year 1400. when the memory of their originall was more fresh: and therefore the likeliest hee was to hit the truth.

There are diuers other *Tartars* that border vpon *Russia*, as the *Nagates*, the *Cheremifens*, the *Morduites*, the *Chircafes*, & the *Shalcans*, which all differ (in name, more then in Regiment, or other condition) from the *Chrim Tartar*, except the *Chircafes*, that border South-West, towards *Lithania*, and are farre more ciuill then the rest of the *Tartars*; of a comely person,

The reasons  
of the Greeke  
Author, for  
his opinion of  
the Tartars.\* A parte of the  
Sea, diuiding  
Europe from  
Asia.The Nagay  
Tartars, the  
cruellist.  
The Chircaf-  
es the ciuillist  
Tartars.The Cheremifens  
Tartars,  
very trouble-  
some and dan-  
gerous.The Mord-  
uit Tartar  
the most bar-  
barous of the  
rest.The Shalcans  
and Country  
of Media.

person, and of a stately behaviour, as applying themselves to the fashion of the *Polonian*. Some of them haue subiected themselves vnto the Kings of *Poland*, and professe Christianity. The *Nagay* lyeth Eastward, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the *Tartars*, but very sauage and cruell aboue all the rest.

The *Cheremifens Tartars*, that lye betwixt the *Russe* and the *Nagay*, are of two sorts, the *Lugauiy* (that is of the Valley) and the *Nagoruiy*, or of the hilly Country. These haue much troubled the Emperours of *Russia*. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of them, vnder pretence of giuing a yearly pension of *Russe* commodities, to their *Morfeis*, or *Dumymorfeis*, that are cheefe of their Tribes. For which also they are bound to serue them in their wars, vnder certaine conditions. They are saide to be iust and true in their dealings: and for that cause they hate the *Russe* people, whom they account to bee double, and false in all their dealings. And therefore the common sort are very vnwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their *Morfeis*, or *Dukes* for their pensions sake.

The most rude and barbarous is counted the *Morduit Tartar*, that hath many selts-fashions, and strange kindes of behaviour, differing from the rest. For his Religion, though hee acknowledge one God, yet his manner is to worshipsse for God, that liuing thing, that hee first meeteth in the mornings, and to sweare by it all that whole day, whether it be Horse, Dogge, Cate, or whatsoever else it bee. When his friend dieth, he killeth his best Horse, and hauing flayed off the skinn, he carrieth it on high vpon a long Pole, before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doth (as the *Russe* faith) that his friend may haue a good Horse to carry him to Heauen: but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that he will haue to die with him the best thing that he hath.

Next to the Kingdome of *Astracan*, that is the farthest part Southeastward of the *Russe* Dominion, lyeth the *Shalcans*, and the Country of *Media*: whether the *Russe* Merchants trade for raw silkes, syndon, saphion, skins, and other commodi-

ties. The cheefe Townes of *Media* where the *Russe* tradeth, are *Derbent* (built by *Alexander* the great, as the Inhabitantes say) and *Zaimachia*, where the staple is kept for rawe silkes. Their manner is (in the Spring time) to reuiue the silke-worms (that lye dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme Sun, and to halten their quickning, that they may sooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and so to hang the vnder their childrens armes. As for the Worme called *Chrimifin* (as wee call it *Chrymson*) that maketh coloured silke: it is bred not in *Media*, but in *Affrya*. This trade to *Derbent* & *Zaimachia* for raw silkes and other commodities of that Countrey, as also into *Persia*, and *Bougharia*, downe the River *Volga*, and through the *Caspian* Sea, is permitted a swell to the English, as to the *Russe* Merchants, by the Emperors last Graunt, as appeareth. Which he accounteth for a very speciall fauour, and might proue indeed very beneficiall to all kinde of Merchants, if the trade were well and orderly vfed.

The whole Nation of the *Tartars*, are vterly void of all learnings, & without written Law. Yet certaine rules they haue, which they hold by tradition, common to all the *Hoards*; for the practise of their life. Which are of this sort.

First, To obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoever they command about the publike seruice.

2. Except for the publike behoofe, enery man to be free, and out of controlement.

3. No private man to possesse any Lands, but the whole Country to be in common.

4. To neglect all daintinesse and curiety of meates, and to content themselves with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readinesse in the executing of their affaires.

5. To weare any base attire, and to patch their clothes, whether there be any neede or not: that when there is neede, it be no shame to weare a patche Coate.

6. To take, or steale from any stranger whatsoever they can get, as being enemies to all men, saue to such as will subiect themselves to them.

7. Towards their owne Hoard and Nation, to be true in word and deed.

8. To suffer no stranger to come within the Realm. If any do, shee shall come to be bond-slave to him.

Eccc

him

Of reuiuing  
the Silke-  
wormes in  
the Spring  
time.The Tartars  
haue no learn-  
ing or writ-  
ten Law.Orders and  
obligations  
among them.

Of the Per-  
mians, Samoi-  
tes, & Lappes.

him that first taketh him, except such Mar-  
chant, and other as haue the Tartar Bull, or  
Passport about them.

The *Permians* and *Samoiotes*, that do lie  
from *Russia*, North and Northeast, are  
thought likewise to haue taken their be-  
ginning from the *Tartar* kinde. And it  
may partly be ghesied by the fashion of  
their countenance, as hauing all broad  
and flat faces, as the *Tartars* haue, except  
the *Chirchasse*.

The Permi-  
ans.

The *Permians* are accounted for a very  
ancient people. They are now subiect  
to the *Russe*. They liue by hunting, and  
trading with their furs, as doth also the  
*Samoyt*, that dwelleth more towards the  
North-sea.

The Samoiotes

The *Samoyt* hath his name (as the *Russe*  
saith) of eating himselfe: as in times past,  
they liued as Cannibals, eating one an o-  
ther. Which they make more probable,  
because (at this time) they eat all kinde  
of rawe flesh, whatsoeuer it be, even the  
very carion that lyeth in the ditch. But  
as the *Samoiotes* themselves will say, they  
were called *Samoi*, that is of themselves,  
as though they were *Indigenes*, or poore  
people bred vpon that very soyle, that ne-  
uer changed their seate from one place to  
another, as most Nations haue done.  
They are subiect, at this time, to the Em-  
perour of *Russia*.

Indigenes or  
beggars.The Samoiotes  
religion.Slata Baba or  
the golden  
Hagge.The Obdo-  
rian.

I talked with certine of them, & finde  
that they acknowledge one God; but re-  
present him by such things as they haue  
most vie and good by. Therefore they do  
worship, the Sunne, the Ollen, the Losh,  
and such like. As for the storie of *Slata Ba-  
ba*, or the *Golden hagge*, (which I haue read  
in some Maps and Descriptions of these  
countries, to be an Idole, after the forme  
of an old woman) that being demanded  
by the Priest, giues them certaine oracles,  
concerning the successe, and euent of  
things; I found it to be but a very Fable.  
Onely in the Prouince of *Obdaria*, vpon  
the Sea side, neare to the mouth of the  
great riuer *Obda*, there is a Rocke, which  
naturally (beeing somewhat helped by  
imagination) may seeme to beare the  
shape of a ragged woman, with a childe  
in her armes (as the Rocke by the North  
Cap the shape of a Fryer) where the *Ob-  
dorian Samoiotes* vie much to resort, by rea-  
son of the commoditie of the place for  
fishing: and there sometime (as their ma-

ner is) conceiue and practise their force-  
ries, and ominous coniecturings, about  
the good or the bad speede of their iour-  
neys, fishings, huntings, and other such  
like.

They are clad in Seale skins, with the  
haire side outwards downe, as low as the  
knees, with their breeches and neather-  
flocks of the same, both men and women.  
They are all black haired, naturally beard-  
lesse. Therefore the men are hardly dis-  
cerned from the women by their lookes,  
laue that the women weare a locke of  
haire downe along both their eares. They  
liue (in a manner) a wilde and a savage life,  
rouing still from one place of the countie  
to another, without any propriety of house  
or land, more to one then to an other.  
Their leader or director in euery compa-  
ny, is their *Papa* or Priest.

On the North side of *Russia* next vnto  
*Corelia*, lyeth the Countrey of *Lappia*,  
which reacheth in length from the far-  
thest poynt Northward, (towards the  
North-cape) to the farthest part South-  
east (which the *Russe* calleth *Sweetenisse* or  
Holy nose, the Englishmen *Capragrace*) or  
about 345. verst or miles. From *Sweetenisse*  
to *Candelox* by the way of *Verlega*  
(which measureth the breadth of that  
countrey) is 90 miles, or thereabouts. The  
whole Countrey (in a manner) is eyther  
Lakes or Mountains, which towards the  
Sea side are called *Tondra*, because they  
are all of liard and craggy rocke, but the  
in-land partes are well furnished with  
woods growing vpon the hilles sides, the  
Lakes lying betweene. Their dyet is very  
bare and simple. Bread they haue none,  
but feed onely vpon fish and towle. They  
are subiect to the Emperour of *Russia*,  
and the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Den-  
marke*: which all exact tribute & custome  
of them (as was said before) but the Em-  
perour of *Russia* beareth the greater and  
ouer them, and exact of them farre more  
then the rest. The opinion is that they  
were first tearmed *Lappes*, of their briefe  
and short speech. The *Russe* diuidenth  
the whole nation of the *Lappes* into two sorts.  
The one they call *Norwemansky Lapy*,  
that is, the *Norwegian Lappes*: because  
they be of the *Danish* Religion. For the  
*Danes* & *Norwegians* they account for one  
people. The other that haue no Religi-  
on at all, but liue as brute and Heathenish

The Samoiotes  
habite and  
behaviour.

The Lappes.

Their dyet  
and feeding.Diuision of  
the Lappes.

## CHAP. IIII.

Fourthly, concerning Ecclesiasticall Of-  
fices and Orders; The Rites and Sacraments  
observed in the Moscouian Church: with  
their Marriages and other Ceremonies be-  
side.



Concerning the  
gouernment of  
their Church, it  
is framed altoge-  
ther after the  
manner of the  
Greeks, as being  
a part of that

Church, and neuer acknowledging the  
iurisdiction of the Latine Church, vsur-  
ped by the Pope. That I may keepe the  
better measure in describing their Cere-  
monies, then they in the vjing the (where-  
in they are infinite) I will note briefly.

First, what Ecclesiasticall degrees, or  
Offices they haue, with the iurisdiction &  
practise of them.

Secondly, what doctrine they holde  
in matter of Religion.

Thirdly, what Leiturgy, or forme of  
seruice they vse in their Churches, with  
the manner of their administering the Sa-  
craments.

Fourthly, what other strange Cere-  
monies, and superstitious deuotions are  
vied among them.

Their Offices, or degrees of Church-  
men, are as many in number, and the same  
in a manner (both in name and degree)  
that were in the Westerne Churches.  
First they haue their *Patriarch*, then their  
*Metropolitans*, their *Archbishops*, their *Pla-  
dikey* or *Bishops*, their *Protopopes* or *Arch-  
Priests*, their *Papes* or *Priests*, their *Dar-  
cons*, *Fryars*, *Monks*, *Nuns*, and *Eremities*.

Their *Patriarch*, or chiefe director in  
matter of religion vntill this last year, was  
of the City of *Constantinople* (whom  
they called the *Patriarch of Sio*) because,  
being driuen by the *Turke* out of *Constan-  
tinople* (the seat of his Empire) he remo-  
ued to the Isle *Sio*, sometimes called *Chio*,  
and there placed his *Patriarchall* See. So  
that the Emperors & Cleargy of *Russia*,  
were wont yearly to send gifts thither,

The Church  
Officers.The Patri-  
arch.

E e e e 2 and

The Lappes  
vnde of all  
Learning.The Lappes  
vnde of all  
windes.Their Wea-  
pons.The Lappes  
Ma rons S. Pe-  
ters day.

people, without God in the world, they  
call *Diky Lopy*, or the wilde *Lappes*.

The whole Nation is vterly vnlearn-  
ed, hauing not so much as the vie of any  
Alphabet, or Letter among them. For  
practise of witchcraft and forcery, they  
passe all Nations in the world. Though  
for the enchanting of Ships that sayle a-  
long their Coast (as I haue heard it re-  
ported) and their giuing of windes, good  
to their friends, and contrary vnto other,  
whom they meane to hurt by tying of  
certaine knots vpon a Rope (some what  
like to the tale of *Aolus* his winde-bag) is  
a very fable, deuised (as may seeme)  
by themselves, to terrifie saylers for com-  
ming neare their Coast. Their Wea-  
pons are the long Bow, and hand-gunne,  
wherein they excell, as well for quicknesse  
to charge and discharge; as for nearnesse  
at the marke, by reason of their continual  
practise (whereto they are forced) of  
shooting at wilde Fowle.

Their manner is (in Summer time)  
to come downe in great companies to  
the sea side, to *Wardhusse*, *Cola*, *Regor*, &  
the bay of *Vedagoba*, and there to fish for  
Cod, Salmon, and But-fish, which they  
sell to the *Russes*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*,  
and now of late to the English men, that  
trade thither with cloth, which they ex-  
change with the *Lappes* and *Corelians* for  
their Fish, Oyle, & Furs, whereof also they  
haue some store. They hold their Mart at  
*Cola* on *S. Peters* day: what time the Cap-  
taine of *wardhusse* (that is resident there  
for the king of *Denmark*) must be present,  
or at least send his deputy to set prices on  
their stockfish, traine oile, furs, and other  
commodities: as also the *Russe* Emperors  
Customer, or tribute taker, to receiue his  
custome, which is euery paid before any  
thing can be bought or solde.

When their fishing is done, their  
manner is, to draw their Carbasses, or  
Boates on shore, and there to leaue them  
with the keele turned vpwards, till the  
next spring tide. Their trauaile too and  
fro, is vpon sleds, drawne by the Ollen  
Deere: which they vse to turne a grazing  
all the Summer time, in an Island called  
*Kilden* (of a very good soyle, compared  
with other parts of that Countrey) and to-  
wards the Winter time, when the Snow  
beginneth to fall, they fetch them home  
againg, for the vse of their sledde.

and to acknowledge a spirituall kinde of homage, and subiection due to him, and to that Church. Which custome they have held (as it seemeth) ever since they professed the Christian religion. Which how long it hath bene, I could not well learne, for that they have no story or monument of Antiquity (that I could heare of) to shew what hath bene done in times past within their Countrey, concerning either Church or Commonwealth matters.

Onely I heard a report amongst them, that about three hundred yeares since, there was a marriage betwixt the Emperour of *Constantinople*, & the kings daughter of that Countrey: who (at the first) denied to ioyne his daughter in marriage with the Greeke Emperour, because he was of the Christian Religion. VVhich agreeeth well with that which I find in the story of *Laonicus Chalcocondyles*, concerning Turkish affaires in his fourth booke: where he speaketh of such a marriage, betwixt *Iohn* the Greeke Emperour, and the Kings daughter of *Sarmatia*.

And this argueth (out of their own report) that at that time, they had not receyued the Christian Religion: As also, that they were conuerted to the faith, and withall peruerued at the very same time, receyuing the doctrine of the Gospel corrupted with superstitious euil at the very first, when they tooke it from the Greeke Church, which it selfe then was degenerate, and corrupted with many superstitious and fowle errors, both in Doctrine & Discipline: as may appeare by the *Storie of Nicephorus Gregoras*, in his eighth and ninth bookes.

But, as touching the time of their conuersion to the Christian faith, I suppose rather, that it is mistaken by the *Ruffe* story, that which I find in the *Polonian* story, the second Booke, the third chapter: where is sayde, that about the yeare 990. *Vladimir* Duke of *Russia*, married one *Anne*, sister to *Basilus* and *Constantinus* brothers, and Emperours of *Constantinople*. Whereupon the *Ruffe* receyued the Faith and profession of Christ. Which, though it be somewhat more ancient then the time noted before out of the *Ruffe* report; yet it falleth out all to one reckning, touching this point, vizin what truth and sincerity of doctrine the *Ruffe* receyued the first

stamp of religion: forasmuch as the *Greeke* church (at that time also) was many waies infected with error and superstition.

In the yeare 1588. came vnto the *Moske* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*, called *Hieronimo*, being banished (as I sayd) from the *Turke*, as some other reported, by the Greeke Clergy deputed. The Emperour being giuen altogether to superstitious deuotions, gaue him great entertainment. Before his coming vnto *Moske*, he had bin in *Italy* with the Pope, as was reported there by some of his company. His errand was, to consult with the Emperour, concerning these points.

First, about a league to passe between him and the King of *Spain*, as the meetest Prince to ioyne with him in opposition against the *Turke*. To which purpose also Ambassages had passed betwixt the *Ruffe* and the *Perfian*. Likewise from the *Georgians* to the Emperour of *Russia*, to ioyne league together, for the inuading of the *Turke* on all sides of his dominion: taking the advantage of the simple quality of the *Turk* that then was. This treatie was helped forward by the Emperours Ambassador of *Almaigne*, sent at the same time to sollicite an inuasion on the partes of *Polonia*, that lyeth towards *Russland*, and to borrow money of the *Ruffe* Emperour, to pursue the warre for his brother *Maximilian* against the *Suedens* son, then King of *Poland*.

But this consultation concerning a league betwixt the *Ruffe* & the *Spaniard* (which was then in some forwardnesse, and already one appointed for Ambassage into *Spain*) was defeated, by means of the overthrow giuen to the *Spaniard* king by her Maiesty, the Queen of *England* the last yeare before. VVhich made the *Ruffe* Emperour and his Counsell, to giue the sadder countenance to the *English* Ambassador there at that time: for that they were disappointed of so good a policy, as was this coniunction, supposed to be betwixt them and the *Spaniard*.

His second purpose (whereto the first serued as an introduction) was, in reuenge of the *Turke* and the Greeke Clergy, that hadde thrust him from his seate, to treat with him about the reducing of the *Ruffe* church vnder the Pope of *Rome*. VVherem it may seeme, that coming lately from *Rome*, hee was set vpon by the

The translation of the Patriarchall Sea from Constantinople or Sio to Mosko

The first intention.

An alliance betwixt the Ruffe & Perfian.

The second intention.

the Pope, who hath attempted the same many times before, though all in vaine: and namely in the time of the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, by one *Anthony* his Legate. But thought this (belike) a far better meane to obtaine his purpose, by treaty and mediation of their owne Patriarch. But this not succeeding, the Patriarch fell to a third point of treaty, concerning the resignation of his Patriarchship, and translation of the Sea from *Constantinople*, or *Sio*, to the City of *Mosko*. Which was so well liked, and entertained by the Emperour (as a matter of high religion and policy) that no other treaty (specially of forraign Ambassages) could be heard or regarded, till that matter was concluded.

The reasons wherewith the Patriarch perfwaded the translating of his Sea to the City of *Mosko*, were these in effect.

First, for that the Sea of the Patriarch was vnder the *Turke*, that is enemy to the faith: And therefore to be remoued into some other Countrey of Christian profession.

Secondly, because the *Ruffe* Church was the onely naturall Daughter of the *Greeke* at this time, and holdeth the same Doctrine and Ceremonies with it: the rest being all subiect to the *Turke*, and fallen away fro the right profession. VVherem the subtil *Greeke* (to make the better market of his broken ware) aduanced the honour that would grow to the Emperour, and his Countrey: to haue the Patriarchs seate, translated into the chiefe City, and seate of his Empire. As for the right of translating the Sea, and appointing his successour; hee made no doubt of it, but that it pertained wholly vnto himselfe.

So the Emperour and his Counsell, with the principall of his Clergy, being assembled at the *Moske*, it was determined, that the Metropolitane of *Mosko*, should become Patriarch of the whole Greeke Church, and haue the same full authority and iurisdiction, that pertained before to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*. And that it might be done with more order and solemnity, the 25. of January, 1588. the Greeke Patriarch, accompanied with the *Ruffe* Clergy, went vnto the great Church of *Prechiste*, or our Lady, within the Emperours Castle (hauing first

wandered through the whole City in manner of a procession, and blessing the people with his two fingers) where hee made an Oration, and deliuered his resignation in an instrument of writing, and so layde downe his Patriarchall staffe. Which was presently receiued by the Metropolitane of *Mosko*, & diuers other ceremonies vsed about the inauguration of this new Patriarch.

The day was holden very solemne by the people of the City, who were commanded to forbear their works, and to attend this solemnity. The great Patriarch that day was honored with rich presents sent him from the Emperour & Emperesse, of Plate, Cloth of Gold, Furs, &c. carried with great pompe through the streets of *Mosko*, and (at his departing) receiued many gifts more, both from the Emperour, Nobility, and Clergy. Thus the Patriarchship of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*, (which hath continued since the Council of *Nice*) is now translated vnto *Mosko*, or they made beleue, that they haue a Patriarch, with the same right and authority that the other had. VVherem the subtle *Greeke* hath made good advantage of their superstition, & is now gone away with a rich booty into *Poland*, whither their Patriarchship be current or not.

The matter is not vnlke to make some Schisme betwixt the Greeke and *Ruffe* Church, if the *Ruffe* hold this Patriarchship that he hath so well payed for, & the *Greekes* elect another withall, as likely they wil, whither this man were banished by the *Turke*, or deputed by order of his owne Clergy. Which might happen to giue aduantage to the Pope, & to bring ouer the *Ruffe* Church to the Sea of *Rome* (to which ende peraduenture hee deuided this stratagem, and cast in this matter of Schisme among them) but that the Emperours of *Russia* knew well enough, (by the example of other Christian Princes) what inconuenience would grow to their State and Countrey, by subiecting themselves to the *Romish* Sea. To which ende, the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich* was very inquisitive, of the Popes authority ouer the Princes of Christendome, and sent one of very purpose to *Rome*, to behold the order and behaviour of his Court.

VVith this Patriarch *Hieronimo* was driuen out (at the same time by the great

A solemne Holiday in Mosko.

An easie matter to be perfwaded.

A solemne great multitude.

The Polonian history.

Demetrio Archbishop of Larissa excluded with the Patriarch.	Turke) one Demetrio, Archbishop of Larissa: who went into England, and pretended the same cause of their banishment by the Turke (to wit) their not admitting of the Popes new Kalender, for the alteration of the year. Which, how unlikely it is, may appear by these circumstances.	polites, and superiors to the Bishops. The next are the <i>Pladikes</i> , or Bishops, that are but fixe in all: of <i>Crutiska</i> , of <i>Resan</i> , of <i>Ofer</i> , and <i>Torshack</i> , of <i>Collo-menska</i> , of <i>Folodener</i> , of <i>Sudalla</i> . These haue every one a very large Diocesse: as diuiding the rest of the whole Country among them.	Bishops.
Reasons of good & great likelihood.	First, because there is no such affection, nor friendly respect, betwixt the Pope and the Turke, as that he should banish a subject, for not obeying the Popes ordinance, specially in a matter of some sequell, for the alteration of times within his owne Countries.	The matters pertaining to the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, of the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, are the same (in a manner) that are vied by the Clergie in other parts of Christendome. For, besides their authority over the Clergie, and ordering such matters as are mere Ecclesiastical; their jurisdiction extendeth to all testamentary causes, matters of marriage, and divorcements, some pleas of injuries, &c.	Ecclesiastical jurisdiction.
	Secondly, for that he maketh no such scruple in deducting of times, and keeping of a iust and precise account from the incarnation of Christ: whom hee doth not acknowledge, otherwise then as I noted before.	To which purpose also they haue their Officials, or Commisaries (which they call <i>Batarsen V'lakitsky</i> ) that are Lay-men of the degree of Dukes, or Gentlemen, that keepe their Courts, and execute their jurisdiction. Which, besides their other opprobrious over the common people, raigne over the Priests: as the Dukes and Dicks do ouer the poore people, within their Precincts.	Their Gentlemen, Commisaries.
The Patriarchs jurisdiction.	This Office of Patriarchship now translated to Mosko, beareth a superior authority ouer all the Churches, not onely of <i>Russia</i> , and other the Emperors dominions; but throughout all the Churches of Christendome, that were before vnder the Patriarch of <i>Constantinople</i> , or <i>Sio</i> : or at least, the <i>Russe</i> Patriarch imagineth himselfe to haue the same authority. He hath vnder him (as his proper Diocesse) the Prouince of <i>Mosko</i> , besides other peculiars. His Court or Office is kept at the <i>Mosko</i> .	As for the Archbishoppe or Bishop himselfe, he beareth no sway in deciding those causes, that are brought into his Court. But if hee would moderate any matter, he must do it by entreaty with his Gentleman Officiall. The reason is, because these <i>Batarsky</i> , or Gentlemen officials, are not appointed by the Bishops, but by the Emperour himselfe, or his Counsell, and are to giue account of their doings to none but to them. If the Bishop can entreat (at his admission) to haue the chioise of his owne Officiall, it is accounted for a speciall great fauour. But to speake it as it is, the Clergie of <i>Russia</i> , as well concerning their lands and reuenues, as their authority and jurisdiction; are altogether ordered and ouer-ruled by the Emperour, and his Counsell, and haue so much, and no more of both as their pleasure doth permit them.	Opprobrium also: uer the Priests.
The Metropolitans.	Before the creation of this new Patriarch, they had but one Metropolitane, that was called the Metropolitane of <i>Mosko</i> . Now for more state to their Church, and new Patriarch; they haue two Metropolitans, the one of <i>Nouogrod velika</i> , the other of <i>Rostoue</i> . Their Office is, to receiue of the Patriarch, such Ecclesiastical Orders, as he thinks good, & to deliuer the charge of the ouer to the Archbishops: besides the ordering of their owne Diocesse.	The Emperour appointeth the Gentlemen Officials and not the Arch-Bishop.	The Emperour appointeth the Gentlemen Officials and not the Arch-Bishop.
Archbishops.	Their Archbishops are foure: of <i>Smolensko</i> , <i>Cazan</i> , <i>Polsko</i> , and <i>Pologda</i> . The parts of their Office is all one with the Metropolitans: saue that they haue an vnder jurisdiction, as Suffraganes to the Metro-	They haue also their assistants or feuerall Counsellors (as they call them) of certaine Priests that are of their Dioces, residing within their Cathedrall cities, to the number of foure & twenty a peece. These aduise with them, about the speciall and necessary	Aiustance of feuerall counsellors.

The Church reuenues.	necessary matters belonging vnto they charge.	der them; they neither vse it, nor haue any skill of it: the whole Clergie being vtterly vnlearned, both for other knowledge, and in the worde of God. Onely their manner is twice every year, viz: the first of September (which is the first day of their year) and on S. John Baptists day to make an ordinarie speech to the people, every Metropolitane, Archbishop and Bythop in his Cathedrall Church, to this or the like effect.	The first day of the year.
The habite of their Clergie men.	Concerning their rents and reuenues to maintain their dignities, it is somewhat large. The Patriarches yearly rents out of his lands (besides other fees) is about three thousand Rubbels or Maikes. The Metropolitans and Archbishops, about two thousand and five hundred. The Bythops some a thousand, some eight hundred, some five hundred, &c. They haue had some of them (as I haue heard say) ten or twelue thousand rubbels a year; as had the Metropolitane of <i>Nouograde</i> .	That if any be in malice toward his neighbor, he shall leaue off his malice: if any haue thought of treason or rebellion against his Prince, he beware of such practice: if he haue not kept his fasts and Prayers, nor done his other duties to the holy church, he shall amend that fault, &c.	
Their ordinaty habite.	Their habite or apparrell (when they shew themselves in their Pontificalibus, after their solemnest manner) is a Miter on their heads, after the Popish fashion, with Pearle and precious stone, a Cope on their backs, commonly of Cloth of Gold, embroidered with Pearle, and a Crostiers staffe in their hands, layed ouer all with plate of siluer double gilt, with a Crostie or Shepherds crook at the vpper end of it.	And this is a matter of forme with the vttered in as many words, and no more (in a manner) then I haue here set down. Yet the matter is done with that grace & solemnity, in a pulpit of purpose set vpe for this one Act; as if he wer to discourse at large of the whole substance of diuinity. At the <i>Mosko</i> , the Emperour himselfe is euer present at this solemne exhortation.	
Their vpper Gaiment.	Their ordinary habite otherwise, when they ride or go abroad, is a hood on their heads of blacke colour, that hangeth downe their backs, and standeth out like a Bongrace before. Their vpper garment (which they call <i>Reis</i> ) is a gowne or Mantle of blacke Damaske, with many lisse or gardes of white Satin laid vpon it, euery gard about two fingers broad, and they Crostiers staffe carried before them. These followe after, blessing the people with their two forefingers, with a maruelous grace.	As themselves are voyde of all manner of learning, so they are wike to keepe out all means that might bring any in: as fearing to haue their ignorance and vngodlinesse discovered. To that purpose they haue periwaded the Emperours, that it would breed inuouation, and so daunger to their State, to haue any nouelty of learning come within the Realme. Wherein they say but truth, for that a man of spirit and vnderstanding, holpen by Learning and liberrall education, can hardly endure a tyrannical gouernment.	The Priests fearful to haue their ignorance discovered.
The election of bythops	The election, and appointing of the Bythops and the rest, pertaineth wholly to the Emperour himselfe. They are chosen euier ouer of the Monasteries: so that there is no Bythop, Archbishop, nor Metropolitane, but hath bene a Monke, or Fryer before. And (by that reason) they are, and must all bee vnmarried men, for their vow of Chastity, when they wer first shorne. When the Emperour hath appointed whom he thinketh good, hee is inuested in the Cathedrall Church of his Diocesse, with many ceremonies, much after the manner of the Popish inauguration. They haue also their Deanes, and their Arch-deacons.	Some yeares past, in the other Emperours time) there came a Presse & Letters out of <i>Polania</i> , to the City of <i>Mosko</i> , where a Printing-houise was set vp, with great liking and allowance of the Emperour himselfe. But not long after, the house was set on fire in the night time, & the Presse and Letters quite burnt vp, and (as it was thought) by the procurement of the Clergie men.	Learning can hardly iue vn dectryning.
The learning and exercise of the Russe Clergie.	As for preaching the worde of God, or any teaching, or exhorting such as are vn-	They Priests, whome they call <i>Papases</i> are made by the Bythoppes, without any great trial for worthinesse of gifts; before they admit them, or ceremonies in their admission: saue that their heads are shorn (not	A Printing house erected in Mosko.

(not shauen, for that they like not) about an hand bredth or more in the Crowne, and that place annointed with Oyle by the Byshop: who in his admission putteth vpon the Priest, first his Surplese; and then setteth a white crosse on his brest of silke, or some other matter, which hee is to weare eight dayes, and no more: and so giueth him authority to say and sing in the Church, and to administer the Sacraments.

They are men vterly vnlearned, which is no maruell, forasmuch as their makers, the Byshoppes themselves (as before was sayde) are cleere of that quality, & make no farther vse at all of any kinde of Learning, no not of the Scriptures themselves, saue to reade and to sing them. Their ordinary charge and function, is to say the Liturgie, to administer the Sacraments after their manner, to keep & decke their Idols, and to doe the other Ceremonies vsuall in their Churches. Their number is great, because their Townes are parted into many small Parishes, without any discretion, for deuiding them into competent numbers of households, and people for a iust Congregation: as the manner in all places where the meanes is neglected, for increasing of knowledge, and instruction towards God. Which cannot well be had, where by means of an vnequall partition of the people, and parishes, there followeth a want and vnequality of stipend, for a sufficient Ministry.

For their Priests, it is lawfull to marry for the first time. But if the first Wife dye, a second he cannot take, but he must lose his Priesthood, and his living withal. The reason, they make out of that place of Saint Paul to Timothy, 1.3.2. not well vnderstood, thinking that to bee spoken of diuers wiues successively, that the Apostle speaketh of at one and the same time. If he will needes marry againe after his first Wife is dead, hee is no longer called *Papa*, but *Rospapa*, or Priest *Quondam*. This maketh the Priests to make much of their Wiues, who are accounted as the Matrones, and of best reputation, among the Women of the Parish.

For the stipend of the Priest, their manner is not to pay him any tenths of come, or ought else: but hee must stand at the

denotion of the people of his owne Parish, and make vp the Incomes towards his maintenance, so well as he can, by offerings, shrifts, marriages, burials, dirges, and prayers for the dead and the liuing (which they call *Molitua*.) For, besides their publike seruice within their Churches, their manner is, for euery priuate man to haue a prayer saide for him by the Priest, vpon any occasion of businesse whatsoeuer, whether he ride, goe, sayle, plough, or whatsoeuer else hee doeth. Which is not framed according to the occasion of his businesse, but at random, being some of their ordinary and vsuall Church prayers. And this is thought to be more holy and effectual, if it be repeated by the Priests mouth, rather then by his owne.

They haue a custome besides to solemnize the Saints day, that is Patron to their Church once euery yeare. What time all their neighbours of their Country, & parishes about, come in to haue prayers saide to that Saint, for themselves, and their friends: and so make an Offering to the Priest for his paines.

This Offering may yeeld them some ten pounds a yeare, more or lesse, as the Patron or Saint of that Church is of credit and estimation among them. The manner is on this day (which they keepe anniuersary for the Priest) to hyre diuers of his neighbour Priests to helpe him: as hauing more Dishes to dresse for the Saint, then hee can well turne his hand vnto.

They vse besides to visite their parishoners houses, with holy Water, and Perfumers, commonly once a quarter: and so hauing sprinkled and benesed the good man and his Wife, with the rest of their household and household-stuffe, they receyue some deuotion (more or lesse) as the man is of ability. This and the rest laid together, may make vp for the Priest towards his maintenance, about thirtie or fourty Rubbels a yeare: whereof he payeth the tenth part to the Byshoppe of the Diocese.

The *Papa* or Priest is knowne by his long tuts of hayre, hanging down by his eares, his gowne with a broad Cape, and a walking staffe in his hand. For the rest of his habite, he is appparelled like to the common folk. When he saith the Litur-

Prayers for euery priuate man.

Solemnizing the Saints day of the Churches.

The manner of keeping the Priestesses Annuiersarie.

The Priestesses maintenance.

The Priestesses attire, & how hee is knowne

## Chap. 4. Of Moscouia or Russia.

873

Black Priests  
but keeping  
of Benefices.

A Deacon or  
parish Clerk,  
Protopapast.

Friars an infinite  
company  
in the Country,  
and at  
many super-  
stitutions.

Friars live  
safely from  
oppression &  
taxation im-  
posed on the  
Commons.

The Mon-  
astrie is as a  
sanctuary for  
offences com-  
mitted.

gie or seruice, within the Church, he hath on him his Surplese, and sometimes his Cope, if the day be more solemne. They haue besides their *Papas* or priests, they *Churnapapas* (as they call them) that is, *Blacke Priests*; that may keepe their benefices, though they bee admitted Friars withall within some Monastrie. They seeme to be the very same, that were called Regular Priests in the Popish Church. Vnder the Priest, is a Deacon in euery Church, that doth nothing but the office of a Parish Clarke. As for their *Protopapas*, or Arch-priests, and their Archdeacons (that are next in election to bee their *Protopapas*) they serue only in the Cathedral Churches.

Of Friars they haue an infinite rabble, farre greater then in any other Country, where Popery is professed. Euery Citie, and good part of the Country, swarmeth full of them. For they haue wrought (as the Popish Friars did by their superstition and hypocrisy) that if any part of the Realme be better and sweeter then others; there standeth a Friary or a Monastrie, dedicated to some Saint.

The number of them is so much the greater, not only for that it is augmented by the superstitious of the country; but because the Friars life is the safest from the oppressions and exactions which fall vpon the Commons. Which causeth many to put on the Friars weede, as the best Armour to beare off such blowes. Besides such as are voluntary, there are diuers that are forced to sheare themselves Fryers, vpon some displeasure. These are for the most part of the cheefe Nobility.

Diuers take the Monasteries as a place of Sanctuary, and there become Fryers, to avoid some punishment, that they had deserved by the lawes of the realme. For if he get a Monastery ouer his head, and there put on a Coule before hee be attached, it is a protection to him for euery against any Law, for what crime soeuer: except it be for treason. But this *Proiuo* goeth withall, that no man commeth there (except such as are commanded by the Emperour to be receyued) but he giueth them Lands, or bringeth his stocke with him, and putteth it into the common Treasury. Some bring a thousand Rubbels, and some more. None is admitted

vnder three or foure hundred.

The manner of their admission is after this sort. First, the Abbot strippeth him of all his secular or ordinary Apparell. Then he putteth vpon him next vnto his skinne, a white Flannel shirt, with a long garment ouer it downe vnto the ground, girded to him with a broad leather belt. His vppermost Garment is a Weede of *Garras* or Say, for colour and fashion, much like to the vpper weed of a Chimney-sweeper. Then is crowne shorne a hand bredth, or more, close to the vertic skin, and these or the like words are pronounced by the Abbot, while hee clipeth his haire.

*As these haire are clipped off, and taken from thy head: so now wee take thee, and separate thee cleane from the world and worldly things, &c.*

This done, he annointeth his crowne with oyle, and putteth on his Coule: and so taketh him in among the Fraterinitie. They vow perpetuall chastity, and abstinence from flesh.

Besides their Landes (that are verie great) they are the greatest Marchants in the whole Country, and deale for all manner of commodities. Some of their Monasteries dispend in Lands one thousand, or two thousand Rubbels a yeare. There is one Abbey called *Troits*, that hath in lands and tees, the summe of an hundred thousand Rubbels, or markes a yeare.

It is built in manner of a Castle, walled round about with great Ordinance planted on the Wall, and containeth within it a large bredth of ground, and great variety of building. There are of Fryers within it (besides their Officers and other seruants) about seven hundred. The Emperesse that then was, had many Vowes to Saint *Sergius*, that is patron there: to intreat him to make her fruitfull, as hauing no children by the Emperour her Husband. Lightly (euery yeare) she went on Pilgrimage to him from the *Mosko*, on foote, about foure score ordinary miles, with five or sixe thousand women attending vpon her, all in blew Liuries, and foure thousand souldiers for her Guard. But *S. Sergius* hath not yet heard her prayers, though (they say) hee hath a speciall gift and faculty that way.

What Learning there is among they

Their manner  
of shearing  
Friars.

The Abbots  
worde as a  
Friars admission.

Friars the  
greatest Marchants  
in the  
Country.

A warlike  
Abbey.

The Saint to  
make women  
fruitfull in  
Children.

The Emper-  
ress going on  
pilgrimage.

Their vsuall  
charge and  
function.

Partition of  
their townes  
into parishes.

The Ruffe  
priests can  
marry but  
once.

The Quondam  
Priests.

Stipends al-  
lotted to the  
Priests.

The Fryars  
leaving an-  
swerable to  
their Byshops

Questions &  
answers be-  
tweene the  
Author & a  
Ruffe priest.

Fryars, may be known by their Byshops, that are the choise men out of all they Monasteries. I talked with one of them at the City of *Pologda*, where (to trie his skill, I offered him a *Ruffe* Testament, and turned him to the first chap. of *S. Mathers* Gospell. Where he began to read in very good order.

I asked him first, What part of Scripture it was that he had read? Hee answered, that he could not well tell. How many Euangelists there were in the New Testament? He saide he knew not. How many Apostles there were? Hee thought there were twelue. How he should be faued? Whereunto he answered me (with a peece of *Ruffe* Doctrine) that hee knew not whether hee should be faued, or no: But if God wold *Posthouste* him, or gratifie him so much, as to faue him, so it was; he would be glad of it: if not, what remedy? I asked him, Why he thore him selfe a Fryer? Hee answered, because hee would eate his bread in quietnesse and peace.

This is the learning of the Fryars of *Russia*, which though it be not to be measured by one, yet partly it may be gessed (by the ignorance of this man) what is in the rest.

They haue also very many Nunneries, whereof some may admit none but Noblemens Widdowes and Daughters, when the Emperour meaneeth to keepe them vnmarried, from continuing the blood or stocke, which hee would haue extinguished. To speak of the life of their Fryers and Nunnies, it needs not, to those that know the hypocrisie and vncleanes of that Cloyster-broode. The *Ruffe* himselfe (though otherwise addicted to all superstition) speaketh so fowly of it, that it must needs gain silence of any modest man.

Besides these, they haue certaine Eremites (whome they call Holy men) that are like to those Gymnosophists for their life and behaviour: though farre vnlike for their knowledge and Learning. They vse to goe stark naked, faue a clowte about their middle, with their hayre hanging long and wildly about their shoulders, and many of them with an iron collar, or chaine about their neckes or middle, euen in the very extremity of Winter.

These they take as Prophets, and men of great holinesse, giuing them a libertie to speake what they list, without any controulment, though it be of the very highest himselfe. So that if he reprove any openly, in what sort soeuer; they answer nothing, but that it is *Per gratum*, that is, for their finnes. And if any of them take some peece of sale ware from any mans shop, as he passeth by, to giue where the life; hee thinketh himselfe much beloued of God, and much beholding to the holy man, for taking it in that fort.

Of this kinde there are not many, because it is a very hard and cold profession, to goe naked in *Russia*, especially in winter. Among other at this time, they haue one at *Mosko*, that walketh naked about the Streetes, and inuetyeth commonly, against the State and Government, especially against the *Godmoes*, that are thought at this time, to bee great Oppressours of that Common-wealth.

Another there was, that died not many yeares agoe (whom they called *Bafiles*) that would take vpon him to reprove the olde Emperour for all his cruelty, and oppressions done towards his people. His body they haue translated (of late) into a sumptuous Church, neere the Emperours house in *Mosko*, & haue Canonized him for a Saint. Many miracles he doth there (for so the Fryers make the people to beleene) and many Offerings are made vnto him, not onely by the people, but by the cheefe Nobility, and the Emperour & Emperesse themselves, which visite that Church with great deuotion.

But at my being at *Mosko*, this Saint had ill lucke in working his miracles. For a lame man, that had his limbes restored (as it was pretended by him) was charged by a woman that was familiar with him (being then false out) that he halted but in the day time, and could leape merrily when he came home at night. And that he had intended this matter six yeares before.

Now he is put into a Monasterie, and there raileth vpon the Fryers, that theyred him to haue this counterfeyte myracle practised vpon him. Besides this disgrace, a little before my coming from thence, there were eight flaine within his Church, by fire in a Thunder. Which caused his bels (that were tingling before

Prophets and  
men of great  
sanctity.

An Eremit  
now living in  
*Russia*.

Bafiles the  
Eremit

Offerings to  
a dead sup-  
posed Saint.

A merry in-  
dic augur.

all

Nichola the  
Eremit of  
great estima-  
tion.

Presents be-  
tweene the  
Emperour and  
an Eremit.

Lawful repro-  
ue or finde  
fault.

Of their Li-  
turgy or form  
of Church  
seruice, and  
their manner  
of administ-  
ring the Sacra-  
ments.

all day and night long, as in triumphe of the myracles wrought by *Bafiles* their S. J. to ring from what foily; and hath wrought no little discredit vnto this Miracle worker.

There was another of great account at *Plesko* (called *Nichola* of *Plesko*) that did much good, when this Emperours Father came to sacke the Towne, vpon suspicion of their reuolting and rebellion against him. The Emperour, after he had fauled the Eremit, at his lodging, sent him a reward. And the Holy man, to requite the Emperour, sent him a peece of raw flesh, being then their Lent. Which the Emperour seeing, bid one to tel him, that hee marvelled, that the Holye man would offer him flesh to eat in the Lent, when it was forbidden by order of holie Church. And doth *Enasiko* (which is as much to say as lacke) thinke (quoth *Nicola*) that it is vnlawfull to eat a peece of beasts flesh in Lent, & not to este up so much mans flesh, as he hath done already?

So, threatening the Emperour, with a prophesie of some harde aduenture to come vpon him, except hee left murthering of his people, and departing from the Towne, hee faued a great many mens lues at that time.

This maketh the people to like very well of them, because they are as *Papists* to note their great mens fautes, that no man else dare speake of. Yet it falleth out sometime, that for this rude liberty which they take vpon them (after a counterfeyte manner) by imitation of Prophets, they are made away in secret: as was one or two of them, in the last Emperours time, for being ouer-bolde in speaking against his government.

Their morning seruice they call *Zaustana*, that is, Mattins. It is done in this order.

The Priest entereth into the Church, with his Deacon following him. And, when hee is come vnto the middle of the Church, hee beginneth to say with a lowd voyce: *Blaslauey Vladika*, that is, *Blesse vs heavenly Pastor*, meaning of Christ. Then he addeth, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, one very God in Trinity: and Apoly Pomeley*, Or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Lord haue mercie vpon vs, Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, repeated three times.

This done, he marcheth on toward the Chancell or *Sanctum Sanctorum* (as they vnto call it) and so entereth into the *Scharfuey Dvner*, or the heavenly doore: which no man may enter into; but the Priest only. Where standing at the Altare or Table (set neere to the vpper wall of the Chancell) hee sayeth the Lordes prayer, and then againe *Apoly Pomeley*, or *Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Lord haue mercie vpon vs, &c.* pronounced twelue times. Then prayed be the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Vnto the Deacons and people say, Amen. Next after, the Priest addeth the Psalmes for that day, and beginneth with, *O come let vs worship and fall down before the Lord &c.* and therewithall himselfe, with the Deacons, and people, all turn themselves towards their Idols or Images that hang on the Wall, and (crossing themselves) bow downe three times, knocking theyr heads to the very ground. After this, hee readeth the ten Commandements; and *athanasius* Creede, out of the Service booke.

This being done, the Deacon that standeth without the heavenly doore or Chancell, readeth a peece of a Legend, out of a Written Booke (for they haue it not in Print) of some Saints life, Miracles, &c. This is diuided into many parts, for euery day in the yeare, and is read by them with a plaine singing Note, not vnlike to the Popish Tune, when they sing their Gospells.

Aftet all this (which reacheth vnto an houre, and an halfe, or two howers of length) he addeth certaine set Collectes, or prayers vpon that which he hath read out of the Legend before: and so endeth his Service. All this while stande burning before their Idols, a great many of Wax Candles (whereof some are of the biggenesse of a mans waste) vowed, or enjoyed by penance, vpon the people of the Parish.

About nine of the clocke in the Morning, they haue another Service, called *Obeiana* (or Compline) much after the order of the Popish Service, that bare that name. If it be some high or Festiual day, they furnish their Service besides, With *Blesse be the Lord God of Israel, &c.* and *We praise thee, O God, &c.* sung with a more solemn and curious note.

The heavenly  
doore, for none  
to enter but  
the priest,

Worship to  
their Idols  
and Images.

Nine a clocke  
seruice in the  
morning.

Their



Their euen-  
ing Service.

Their Euening Service, called *Veche-  
na*, where the Priest beginneth with *Blis-  
sauer Vlasika*, as hee did in the morning,  
and with the Psalmes appoynted for the  
*Veche-na*. Which being read, he singeth,  
*My soule doth magnifie the Lord, &c.* And  
then the Priest, Deacons, and People, all  
with one voyce sing, *Alpody pomelui*, or  
*Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, thirty times to-  
gether. Whereunto the boyes that are  
in the Church, answer all with one voyce,  
rowling it vp so fast, as their lips can goe;  
*Verij, Verij, Verij, Verij*, or *Praise, Praise,*  
*Praise, &c.* thirty times together, with a  
very strange noyse. Then is read by the  
Priest, and vpon the Holy-dayes sung the  
first Psalm, *Blessed is the man, &c.* And in  
the end of it, is added, *Alleluia*, repeated  
ten times.

Thenext in order, is some part of the  
Gospel read by the Priest, which he ends  
with *Alleluia*, repeated three times. And  
so having said a Collect, in remembrance  
of the Saint of that day, he ends his euen-  
ing Service.

All this while, the Priest stands above  
at the Altare or high Table, within the  
Chancel, or *Sanctum Sanctorum*, whence  
he neuer moueth all the Service time.  
The Deacon or Deacons (which are ma-  
ny in their Cathedrall Churches) stand  
without the Chauncell by the *Scharfuey*  
*Dwerez*, or heavenly doore: for within they  
may not be seene all the Service time,  
though otherwise their office is to sweep,  
and keepe it, and to set vp the waxe can-  
dles before their Idoles. The people do  
stand together (the whole Service time)  
in the Church, and some in the Church  
porch: for Piew or Seate they haue none  
within their Churches.

The Sacrament of Baptisme they ad-  
minister after this manner: The child is  
brought to the Church (and this is done  
within eight dayes after it is borne:) If it  
be the child of some Noble man, it is  
brought in a rich Sled or Waggon, with  
chaires and cushions of cloath of Golde,  
and such like sumptuous shew of their  
best furniture. When they are come to  
the Church, the Priest standeth readie to  
receiue the child within the Church-  
porch, with his tub of water by him. And  
then beginneth to declare vnto them,  
that they haue brought a little Infidell to  
be made a Christian, &c. This ended, he

teacheth the witness, that are two or  
three, in a cerryne set forme out of his  
Booke (what their duty is,) in bringing  
vp the child after he is baptized, viz. That  
hee must bee taught to know God, and  
Christ our Saviour. And because God is  
of great Maiestie, and we must not pre-  
sume to come vnto him, without Media-  
tors (as the manner is when we make a-  
ny suite to an Emperour, or great Prince)  
therefore they must teach him what Saints  
are the best, and chiefe mediators, &c.  
This done, he commaundeth the diuell in  
the name of God (after a coniuring man-  
ner) to come out of the water: and so af-  
ter certaine prayers, he plungeth the child  
ouer head and eares. For this they holde  
to be a poynt very necessary, that no part  
of the child be leif vndipped into the wa-  
ter.

The words that beare with them the  
forme of Baptisme, vttered by the Priest,  
when he dippeth in the child, are the ve-  
ry same that are prescribed in the Gospel,  
and vied by vs, that is, *In the name of the*  
*Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Ghost.*  
For that they should alter the forme of  
the words, and say, *by the holy Ghost*, as I  
haue heard they did, following certaine  
heretikes of the Greeke Church, I found  
to be vntue, as well by the report of them  
that haue bene often at their Baptismes,  
as by their Booke of Leiturgie it selfe,  
wherein the order of Baptisme is precise-  
ly set downe.

When the child is baptized, the Priest  
layeth Oyle and Salt tempered together  
vpon the fore-head, and both the sides of  
his face, and then vpon his mouth, draw-  
ing it along with his finger ouer the child's  
lippes (as did the Popish Priests) saying  
withall, certaine prayers, to this effect:  
That God will make him a good Christi-  
an, &c. All this is doone in the Church  
porch.

Then is the child (as being now made  
a Christian, & meet to be receiued with-  
in the Church doore) carried into the  
Church, the Priest going before, and is  
there presented to the chiefe Idoll of the  
Church, being layd on a cushion before  
the feet of the Image, by it (as by the me-  
diator) to be commended vnto God. If  
the child be sicke, or weake (specially in  
the Winter) they vse to make the water  
luke warme. After Baptisme, the maner

Instructions  
giuen by the  
priest to the  
witnesses.

The Priests  
words at the  
dipping the  
child in the  
water.

Other cere-  
monies after  
Baptisme.

15

is to cut off the haire from the child's head  
and having wrapped it within a peece of  
wax, to lay it vp, as a relike or monument  
in a secret place of the Church.

This is the manner of their Baptisme,  
which they account to be the best & per-  
fectest forme. As they do all other parts  
of their religion, receiued (as they say) by  
tradition from the best church, meaning  
the Greeke. And therefore they will take  
great paines to make a Profelitte or Con-  
uert, either of an Infidell, or of a forraign  
Christian, by rebaptizing him after the  
Russe manner.

When they take any Tartar prisoner,  
commonly they will offer him life, with  
condition to be baptized. And yet they  
perswade very fewe of them to redeme  
their life so: because of the natural hatred  
the Tartar beareth to the Russe, and the  
opinion he hath of his fals-hood and in-  
iustice. The yeare after *Moska* was fired  
by the *Chrim Tartar*, there was taken a *Di-  
mognoy* (ey, one of the chiefe in that exploit,  
with 300. Tartars more: who had all their  
liues offered them, if they would be bap-  
tized after the Russe manner. Which they  
all refused to do, with many reproches a-  
gainst those that perswaded them. And so  
being carried to the riuer *Moska*, (that  
runneth thorough the City) they were  
all baptized after a violent manner: being  
thrust downe with a knocke on the head  
into the water, through an hole made in  
the Ice for that purpose.

Of *Lieftanders* that are Captiues, there  
are many that take on them this second  
Russe baptism, to get more libertie, and  
some what besides towards their liuing,  
which the Emperour ordinarily vseth to  
giue them. Of Englishmen (since they  
frequented the country) there was neuer  
any found, that so much forgot God, his  
faith, and country, as that he would be  
content to be baptized Russe, for any re-  
spect of feare, preferment, or other means  
whatsoever: I sawe onely *Richard Relph*,  
that following before an vngodly Trade,  
by keeping a *Caback* (against the order of  
the country) and being putte off from  
that Trade, and spoiled by the Emperours  
Officers of that which he hadde, entered  
himselfe into the Russe profession, and so  
was rebaptized, liuing now as much an I-  
dolater, as before he was a rioter and vn-  
thrifty person.

Such as thus receiue the Russe bap-  
tisme, are first caried into some Monaste-  
ry, to be instructed there in the doctrine  
and ceremonies of the Church. Where  
they vse these ceremonies.

First, they put him into a new & fresh  
suite of apparrell, made of the Russe fa-  
shion, and set a Coronet, or (in Sommer)  
a garland vpon his head.

Then they annoint his head with oile,  
& put a wax candle light into his hand: &  
so pray ouer him foure times a day, the  
space of vii. daies. All this while hee is to  
abstaine from flesh and white meats.

The seven dayes being ended, he is pu-  
rified and washed in a Bath-stoue, and so  
the eight day he is brought to the church,  
where he is taught (by the Friers) how to  
behaue himself in presence of their idols;  
by ducking down, knocking of the head,  
crossing himselfe, and such like gestures,  
which are the greatest part of the Russe  
religion.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper,  
they receiue but once a year, in their gret  
Lent time, a little before Easter. Three  
at the most are admitted at one time, and  
neuer aboue. The manner of their com-  
municating is thus. First, they do confesse  
themselves of all their sins, to the Priest  
(whome they call their ghostly Father.)  
Then they come to the Church, and are  
called vp to the Communion table, that  
standeth like an Altar, a little remooued  
from the vpper end of the Church, after  
the Dutch manner.

Heere first they are asked of the Priest,  
whether they be clean, or no: that is, whi-  
ther they haue neuer a sinne behinde that  
they leif vnconfessed. If they answer, *No*,  
they are taken to the table. Where the  
Priest beginneth with certain viduall pray-  
ers, the Communicants standing in the  
meane while with their armes folded one  
within another, like penitentiaries, or  
mourner. When these prayers are end-  
ed, the Priest taketh a spoone, and filleth  
it full of Claret Wine. Then he putteth  
into it a small peece of bread, and tem-  
pereth them both together, and so deliue-  
reth them in the Spooone to the Commu-  
nicants, that stand in order, speaking the  
viduall words of the Sacrament, *Eate this,*  
*&c. Drink this, &c.* both at one time with-  
out any pause.

After that, hee deliuereth them againe  
F fff bread

Of such as re-  
ceiue the Rus-  
se baptisme,  
what ceremo-  
nies are vied  
to them.

The admi-  
nistring of the  
Lords Supper

The Deacons  
office or ser-  
uice.

The manner  
of the Russe  
Baptisme.

Profelittes or  
Conuertes fro  
infideliety.

300. Tartars  
that would not  
be baptized.

Rebaptizing  
of Lieftanders.

An English-  
man rebap-  
tized after the  
Russe manner

bread by it selfe, and then wine carded together with a little warme water, to represent blood more rightly (as they thinke) and the water withall, that flowed out of the side of Christ. Whiles this is in doing, the Communicants vnfolde their armes. And then folding them againe, follow the Priest thrice round about the Communion Table, and so returne to their places againe. Where hauing said certaine other prayers, hee dismisseth the Communicants, with charge to be merry, and to cheere vp themselves for the fewen dayes next following. Which being ended, he enioyneth them to fast for it as long time after. Which they vse to obserue with very great deuotion, eating nothing else but bread and salt, except a little cabbage, and some other heare or roote, with water or quaffe mead for their drinke.

Bread and salt  
the Russian  
fast.

This is their manner of administering the Sacraments. Wherein what they differ from the institution of Christ, and what ceremonies they have added of their owne, or rather borrowed of the Greekes, may easily be noted.

Their cheefe errors in matter of faith, I finde to be these.

Of the Doctrin  
of the Russe church,  
and what error it holdeth.

First concerning the word of God it selfe, they will not reade publicly certain Bookes of the Canonickall Scripture, as the Bookes of *Moses*; specially the foure last, *Exodus*, *Leuiticus*, *Numeri*, and *Deuteronomie*, which they say are all made disauthenticke, and put out of vse by the coming of Christ; as not able to discern the difference betwixt the Morall, and the Ceremoniall law.

The Bookes of the Prophets they allow of, but reade them not publicly in their Churches, for the same reason; because they wer but directers vnto Christ, and proper (as they say) to the Nation of the Iewes. Onely the booke of *Psalmes* they haue in great estimation, and sing & say them daily in their Churches.

How they allow of the new Testament.

Of the new Testament they allow, and reade all except the Revelation: which therefore they read not (though they allow it) because they vnderstand it not, neither haue the like occasion, to know the fulfilling of the propheties contained within it, concerning especially the Apostasie of the Antichristian Church, as haue the Westerne Churches. Notwith-

Aposlasie of  
the Antichristian Church.

standing they haue had their Antichristes of the Greek Church, and may find their own falling off, and the punishments for it (by the Turkish inuasion) in the propheties of that Booke.

Secondly (which is the fountain of the rest of all their corruptions both in Doctrine and Ceremonies) they holde with the Papists, that their Church Traditions are of equall authority with the written word of God. Wherein they prefer them selues before other Churches: affirming, that they haue the true and right traditions, deliuered by the Apostles to the Greek Church, and so vnto them.

3. That the Church (meaning the Greeke, and specially the Patriarch & his Synod, as the head of the rest) haue a soveraigne authority to interpret the scriptures, and that all are bound, to hold that interpretation as sound and authentique.

4. Concerning the diuine Nature, and the three persons, in the one substance of God, that the Holye ghost proceedeth from the Father onely, and not from the Sonne.

5. About the office of Christ, they hold many fowle errors, and the same (almost) as doth the Popish Church; namely, that he is their sole Mediator of redemption, but not of intercession.

Their cheefe reason (if they be talked withall) for defence of this error, is, that vnapt and foolish comparison, betwene God and a Monarch or Prince of this world, that must be sued vnto by Mediators about him: wherein they giue special preferment to some aboue others, as to the blessed Virgin, whom they call *Precieuse*, or vndeified: & *S. Nicolas*, whom they call *Scorapomnick*, or the *Speedy helper*, &c. say, that he hath 300. Angels of the cheefe, appointed by God to attend on him. This hath brought them to an horrible excessse of idolatry, after the grossest and prophaneft manner; giuing vnto their Images, all Religious worship of Prayer, Thanksgiuing, Offerings, and Adoration, with prostrating and knocking their heads to the ground before them, as to God himselfe. Which because they doo to the picture, not to the portraiture of the Saint, they say they worship not an Idoll, but the Saint in his image, & so offend not God. Forgetting the commendment of God, that forbiddeth to make the image

2. Traditions  
equall to the  
holy scripture

3. The church  
to haue soveraigne  
authority in interpreting  
the scriptures.

4. The holy  
ghost to proceed from the  
Father onely.

5. Christ not  
sole mediator  
of intercession.

An idle  
comparison of  
God, vnto a  
Prince of the  
world.

S. Nicolas the  
speedy helper

A vaine  
exalting  
palpable  
idolatry.

image or likenesse of any thing, for any religious worshippe or vse whatsoever. Their Church walles are very full of them, richly hangd and set forth with Pearle & stone vpon the smooth Table. Though some also they haue embossed, that sticke from the boord almost an inch outwards. They call them *Chudoudites*, or their miracle workers: and when they provide the to set vp in their churches, in no case they may say that they haue bought the image but exchanged money for it.

Miracle workers.

6. Iustification by works.

6. For the meanes of Iustification, they agree with the Papists, that it is not by faith onely, apprehending Christ; but by their works also. And that *Opus operatum* or the worke for the worke sake, must needs please God. And therefore they are all in their numbers of Prayers, Fastes, Vowes, and offerings to Saints, Almshouses, Crossings, and such like, and carrie their numbering beads about with them continually; as well the Emperor and his Nobility, as the common people, not onely in the Church, but in all other public places, specially at any set or solemne meeting, as in their Fasts, Law Courtes, common consultations, entertainment of Ambassadors, and such like.

7. Saluation by meritt.

7. They say (with the Papists) that no man can be assured of his saluation, till the last sentence be passed at the day of judgment.

8. Auricular confession.

8. They vse Auricular confession, and thinke that they are purged (by the verie action) from so many sins as they confesse by name, and in particular to the Priest.

9. Three Sacraments.

9. They do hold three Sacraments, of *Baptisme*, the *Lords Supper*, and the *last anoyning or unction*. Yet concerning their Sacrament of extreame Vnction, they hold it not so necessary to saluation, as they doe Baptisme; but thinke it a great curse and punishment of God, if any dye without it.

10. Al damned that dy without baptisme.

10. They thinke there is a necessitie of Baptisme, and that all are condemned that dye without it.

11. Anabaptisme.

11. They rebaptize as many Christians (not being of the Greeke church) as they conuert to their Russe profession: because they are diuided from the true Church, which is the Greeke, as they say.

12. Difference of meates.

12. They make a difference of meates and drinckes, accounting the vse of one, to be more holy then of another. And there-

fore in their set fasts, they forbear to eat flesh, and white meates (as we call them) after the manner of the Popish superstition: which they obserue so strictly, and with such blind deuotion, as that they will rather die, then eat one bit of flesh, egges or such like, for the health of their bodies in their extreme sicknesse.

13. They hold marriage to be vnlawfull for all the Clergy men, except the Priests only, and for them also after the first wife (as was said before). Neither do they wel allowe of it in Lay-men after the second marriage. Which is a pretence now vsed against the Emperours onely brother, a child of six yeares old: Who therefore is not prayed for in their Churches, as their maner is otherwise for the Princes blood because he was borne of the first marriage, and so not legitimate. This charge was giuen to the Priests by the Emperor himself, by procurement of the *Godmothers*: who make him beleue, that it is a good polity, to turne away the liking of the people from the next successor.

13. Marriage for some persons vnlawfull

Many other false opinions they haue in matter of Religion. But these are the cheife, which they hold partly by meanes of their traditions (which they haue received from the Greeke Church) but specially by ignorance of the holy Scriptures. Which notwithstanding they haue in the Polonian toong (that is at one with theirs, some few words only excepted) yet few of them read them with that godly care which they ought; to doe: neither haue they (if they would) bookes sufficient of the Olde and New Testament for the common people, but of their Leiturgie onely, or Booke of common Seruice, whereof there are very great numbers.

An ill perswasion in priests.

The Polonian tongue differ very little.

All this mischeefe cometh from the Cleargie, who being ignorant and godlesse themselves, are exceedingly warie, to keepe the people (likewise) in their ignorance and blindness, for they liuing and bellies sake: partly also from their manner of Government selected among them: which the Emperours (whom it specially behooueth) like not to haue changed by any innouation, but to retaine that Religion that best agreeth with it. Which notwithstanding it is not to be doubted, but that hauing the word of God in some sort (though with-

The Clergie cause of all ignorance.

out the ordinary meanes, to attaine to a true sence and vnderstanding of it) God hath also his number among them. As may partly appeare, by that which a *Ruffe* at *Moske* laid to a follower of an Ambaſador, ſpeaking againſt their Images and other ſuperſtitious: That God had giuen vnto his Country light to day, and might giue it to morrow (if he pleaſed) to them.

As for any inquisition or proceeding againſt me for matter of religion, I could heare of none: ſaue (a few yeares ſince) againſt one man and his wife, who were kept in cloſe priſon, the ſpace of 28. yeares, till they were ouer-growne into a deformed faſhion, for their hayre, nailes, colour of countenance, and ſuch like, and in the ende were burned at *Moske*, in a ſmall houſe ſet on fire. The cauſe was kept ſecret, but like it was for ſome part of truth, in matter of religion: though the people were made to beleue by the Priests and Fryars, that they held ſome great & damnable hereſie.

The manner of making and ſolemnizing their Mariages, is different from the manner of other Countries. The man (though he neuer ſaw the woman before) is not permitted to haue any ſight of her all the time of his wooing: which hee doth not by himſelfe, but by his Mother, or ſome other ancient woman of his kin or acquaintance. When the liking is taken (aſwell by the Parents, as by the parties themſelves, for without the knowledge and conſent of the parents, the contract is not lawfull) the fathers on both ſides, or ſuch as are to them in ſtead of Fathers, with their other chiefe friends, haue a meeting and conference about the dowry, which is commonly very large, after the ability of the Parents: ſo that you ſhall haue a Market-man (as they call them) giue a thouſand Rubbels, or more with his daughter.

As for the man, it is neuer required of him, nor ſtandeth with their cuſtome, to make any ioynter in recompence of the dowry. But in caſe he haue a child by his Wiſe, ſhe enioyeth a third deale after his deceaſe. If he haue two children by her, or more, ſhee is to haue a courtieſie more, at the diſcretion of the husband. If the husband depart without iſſue by his wife, ſhee is returned home to her friends without any thing at all, ſaue onely her

dowry: if the husband leaue ſo much behinde him in goods. When the agreement is made concerning the Dowry, they ſigne bonds one to the other, aſwell for the payment of the dowry, as the performing of the marriage by a certain day. If the woman were neuer married before, her father and friends are bound (beſides) to aſſure her a maiden. Which breedeth many brabbels and quarrels at law, if the man take any conceit, concerning the behauiour and honeſty of his wife.

Thus the contract being made, the parties begin to ſend Tokens the one to the other; the woman firſt, then afterward the man, but yet ſee not one another till the marriage be ſolemnized. On the eue before the marriage day, the bride is carried in a *Collimago*, or Coach, or in a ſled (if it be Winter) to the bridegroomes houſe, with her marriage apparrell and bedſtead with her, which they are to lye in. For this is euer provided by the bride, and is commonly very faire, with much coſt beſtowed vpon it. Heere ſhee is accompanied all that night by her mother, and other women: but not welcomed, nor once ſeene by the bridegroome himſelfe.

When the time is come to haue the Marriage ſolemnized, the Bride hath purpoſe her a kinde of hooſe, made of fine knitworke or Lawne, that couereth her head, and all her bodie down to the middle. And ſo accompanied with hir friends and the bride-groome with his, they goe to Church all on horſebacke, though the Church bee neere hand, and themſelves but of very meane degree.

The wordes of contract, and other ceremonies in ſolemnizing the marriage, are much after the order, and with the ſame words that are vſed with vs: with a ring alſo giuen to the Bride. Which being put on, & the wordes of contract pronounced: the Brides hand is deliuered into the hand of the Bridegroom, which ſtandeth all this while on the one ſide of the Altar or Table, and the Bride on the other. So the marriage knot being knit by the Priſt, the Bride commeth to the Bridegroom (ſtanding at the end of the Altar or Table) and falleth downe at his feet, knocking her head vpon his ſhooe, in token of her ſubiection & obedience. And the Bridegroom againe caſteth the

Agreement concerning the Dowry.

No ſight till the marriage be ſolemnized.

Ceremonies in marriage.

The Bride token of obedience to her husband.

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lappe of his Gowne or vpper garment, ouer the Bride, in token of his duty to protect and cheriſh her.

Then the Bridegroom and Bride, ſtanding both together at the Tables end, cometh firſt the father, and the other friends of the Bride, and bow themſelves downe low to the Bride-groome: and ſo likewiſe his friends bow themſelves to the Bride, in token of affinity and loue, euer after, betwixt the two Kindreds. And withall, the father of the Bridegroom, offereth to the priſt a loafe of bread; who deliuereth it ſtraight againe to the father, and other friends of the Bride, with attestation before God and their Idols, that he deliuer the Dowry wholly and truly at the day appointed, and hold loue euer after, one Kindred with another. Wherevpon they breake the loafe into peeces, and eate of it, to teſtifie their true and ſincere meanings, for performing of that charge, and thenceforth to become as graines of one Leate, or men of one Table.

Theſe Ceremonies being ended, the Bride-groome taketh the Bride by the hand, and ſo they goe on together, with their friends after them, towards the Church porch. Where meet them certaine with pots and cups in their hands, with Meade and Ruſſe Wine. Whereof the Bride-groome taketh firſt a Charke, or little cuppe full in his hand, and drinketh to the Bride: who opening her hood or vaille belowe, and putting the Cup to her mouth vnderneath it (for being ſcene of the Bride-groome) pledgeth him againe.

Thus returning altogether from the Church, the Bride-groome goeth not home to his owne, but vnto his Fathers houſe, and ſhe likewiſe to hers, where cyther entertaine their friends apart. At the entering into the houſe, they viſe to ſling Corne out of the windowes vpon the Bridegroom and Bride, in token of plenty and fruitfullneſſe to be with them euer after.

When the Euening is come, the Bride is brought to the Bride-groomes Fathers houſe, and there lodgeth that night, with her vaille or couer ſtill ouer her head. All that night, ſhee may not ſpeak one word (for that charge ſhee receiueſt by tradition from her mother and other matrons her Friendes) that the Bride-groome

muſt neither heare, nor ſee her, till the day after the marriage. Neither three dayes after, may ſhe be heard to ſpeake, ſaue certaine few words at the Table, in a ſet forme, with great manners and reuerence to the Bride-groome. If thee be haue her ſelfe otherwiſe, it is a great prejudice to her credite and life euer after: and will highly bee diſliked of the Bride-groome himſelfe.

After the third day, they depart vnto their own houſe, and make a feaſt to both their friends together. The marriage day, and the whole time of their Feſtiuall, the Bride-groome hath the honor to be called *Moloday Knez*, or young Duke, and the Bride *Moloday Knezya*, or yong Durcheſſe.

In liuing with their wiues, they ſhow themſelves to be but of a barbarous condition: vſing them as ſeruantes rather then wiues. Except the Noble women, which are, or ſeeme to bee of more eſtimation with their husbands, then the reſt of meaner fort. They haue this ſowle abuſe, contrary to good order, and the word of God it ſelfe, that vpon diſlike of his wife, or other cauſe whatſoeuer, the man may go into a Monaftery, & ſheare himſelfe a Fryer, by pretence of deuotion, and ſo leaue his wife to thiſte for her ſelfe ſo well as the can.

The other Ceremonies of their Church, are many in number: eſpecially, the abuſe about the ſigne of the Croſſe, which they ſet vp in their high-ways, in the tops of their Churches, and in every doore of their houſes, ſigning themſelves continually with it on their foreheades & breſts, with great deuotion, as they will ſeeme by their outward geſture and behauiour. Which were much leſſe offence, if they gaue not withall, that Religious reuerence and worſhippe vnto it, which is due vnto none but God onely, and vſed the dumbe ſhew and ſigning of it, inſtead of Thankſgiuing, and of all other duties which they doe owe vnto God.

When they goe euery day in the Morning, they keepe commonlie in the ſight of ſome Steeple, that hath a croſſe made on the toppes of it: and ſo bowing themſelves towards the croſſe, they ſigne themſelves withall on their foreheades and breſts. And this is their thankſ-

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Signs of loue and affinity betweene the parents and friends,

Drinking of the Bride and Bridegroom together.

The euening and night ceremonies.

Tiſes giuen to the Bride-groome and Bride.

Barbarous behaviour in liuing with their wiues,

The other Ceremonies of the Ruſſe Church;

Riſing in the morning.

A man and his wife kept in priſon 28. yeares, and after burned

The manner of ſolemnizing their Mariages.

After liking taken on both ſides.

The manner of endowment for Wiues.

giuing to God for their nights rest, without any word speaking, except peradventure they say, *Alpody Pomelny*, or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs.*

When they sit downe to meate, and rise againe from it, the thankgiuing to God, is the crossing of their fore-heads and breasts. Except it be some few that adde peradventure, a word or two of some ordinary prayer, impertinent to that purpose.

When they are to giue an oath, for the deciding of any controuersie at law, they do it by swearing by the Crosse, and kissing the feete of it, making it as GOD, whose name onely is to be vsed in such triall of Iustice.

When they enter into any house (where euer there is an Idoll hanging on the wall) they signe themselves with the crosse, and bow themselves to it.

When they beginne any worke, be it little or much, they arme themselves first with the signe of the crosse. And this commonly is all their prayer vnto God, for good speede of their businesse. And thus they serue God with crosses, after a crosse and vaine manner: not vnderstanding what the Crosse of Christ is, nor the power of it. And yet they thinke all strangers Christians, to be no better then Turkes, in comparison of themselves (and so they will say) because they bow not themselves, when they meete with the Crosse, nor signe themselves with it, as the Russe manner is.

They haue holy water, in like vse and estimation as the Popish Church hath. But herein they exceed them, in that they doe not onely hallow their holy water stockes, and tubs full of water; but all the Riues of the Country once every yeare. At *Mosko* it is done with great pompe & solemnity: the Emperour himselfe being present at it, with all his Nobility, marching through the streetes towards the Riuer of *Moskua*, in manner of procession, in this order as followeth. First goe two Deacons, with banners in their hands, the one of *Precheiste* (or our Lady) the other of *S. Michael*, fighting with his Dragon. Then follow after, the rest of the Deacons and the Priests of *Mosko*, two and two in a ranke, with coaps on their backs, and their Idols at their breasts, carried with girdles or slings, made fast about their

necks. Next the Priests, come their Bishops in their pontificalibus: then the Fryars, Monks and Abbots: and after, the Patriarchs in very rich attire, with a ball, or sphere on the top of his myter, to signify his vniuersality ouer that Church. Last commeth the Emperour, with all his Nobility. The whole traine is of a mile long, or more.

When they are come to the Riuer, a great hole is made in the yce, where the market is kept, of a rod and a halfe broad, with a stage round about it to keepe off the preafe. Then beginneth the Patriarch to say certaine prayers, and coniueth the diuell to come out of the water: and so casting in salt, and censing it with frankincense, maketh the whole Riuer to become holy water. The morning before, all the people of *Mosko* vse to make crosses of chawke ouer euery doore, & window of their houses: lest the diuell being coniuert out of the water, should slye into their houses.

When the ceremonies are ended, you shall see the black gard of the Emperours house, & then the rest of the Towne with their pailles and buckets, to rake off the hallowed water for drinke, and other vses. You shall also see the women dippe in their children ouer head and eares, and many men and women leap into it, some naked, some with their clothes on, when some man would thinke his finger would freeze off, if hee should but dippe it into the water. When the men haue doone, they bring their hories to the riuer, to drinke of the sanctified water; and so make them as holy as a horse. Their set day for this solemne action of hallowing their riues, is that we call *Twelfe day*. The like is doone by other Bishops, in all parts of the Realme.

Their maner is also to giue it to their sicke, in their greatest extremitie; thincking that it will eyther recouer them, or sanctifie them to God. Whereby they kill many, through their vnreasonable superstition, as did the *Lord Borris* his onely sonne, at my being at the *Mosco*: whom he killed (as was sayd by the Physicians) by powring into him colde holy water, and by presenting him naked into the Church, to their Saint *Easileo*, in the colde of the Winter, in an extremitie of sicknesse.

They

Order obserued at the Riuer.

After the ceremonies are ended.

Horses drinke of the holy water on Twelfth day.

Drinking of holy water.

The Image of Christ in processions.

Brewing with holy water.

Palme Sunday ceremonye by ancient tradition.

Another ceremonye before Christ-mas.

Fasts, besides foure severall Lents, and at what times they are.

They haue an Image of *Christ*, which they call *Neruchi*, (which signifies as much as *Made without hands*) for so their priests (and superstition withall) perswades them it was. This in their processions, they carry about with them on high vpon a pole, enclosed within a Pixe, made like a Lanthorne, and doe reuerence to it, as to a great myserie.

At euery brewing, their manner is likewise, to bring a dish of their woort to the Priest, within the Church: which being hallowed by him, is poured into the brewing, and so giueth it such a vertue, as when they drinke of it, they are seldom so sober. The like they doe with the first fruites of their come in Haruest.

They haue an other ceremony vpon *Palme Sunday* of ancient tradition: what time the Patriarch rideth through the *Mosko*, the Emperour himselfe holding his horse bridle, and the people crying, *Hosanna*, and spreading their vpper garments vnder his horse feete. The Emperour hath of the Patriarch for his good seruice of that day, 200. rubbles of standing pension. Another Pageant they haue much like vnto this, the weeke before the Natiuity of Christ. When euery Bishop in his Cathedral Church, setteth forth a shew of the three children in the Queen. Where the Angell is made to come flying from the roofof the Church, with great admiration of the lookers on, and many terrible flashes of fire, are made with rozen, and gun-powder, by the *Chaldeans* (as they call them) that runne about the rowne all the Twelue dayes, disguised in their Players coats, and make much good sport for the honour of the Bishops Pageant. At the *Mosco*, the Emperour himselfe, and the Empreffe neuer faile to be at it, although it be but the same matter played euery yeare, without any new invention at all.

Besides their fasts on Wednesdayes, and Fridayes throughout the whole yeare, (the one, because they say Christ was sold on the Wednesday, the other, because he suffered on the Friday) they haue foure great Fasts, or Lents euery yeare. The first, (which they call their great Lent) is at the same time with ours. The second, about Midsummer. The third, in Haruest time. The fourth, about Hallowntide: which they keepe not of pollicie, but of

meere superstitions.

In their great Lent, for the first weeke, they doe care nothing but Bread and sale, and drinke nothing but water, neyther meddle with any matter of their vocation; but intend their shruing and fasting only.

They haue also three *Vigils* or *Wakes* in their Lent, which they call *Stoknia*, and the last Friday their great *Vigd*, as they do call it. What time the whole parish must be present in the Church, and watch from nine of the clocke in the Euening, vntill sixe in the Morning, all the while standing, except when they do fall downe, and knocke their heads to their Idoles, which must be an hundred and seauentie times, iust through the whole night.

About their burialsles also, they haue many superstitious and prophane ceremonies: as putting within the finger of the corpses, a Letter to Saint *Nicholas*, whom they make their chiefe Mediator, and (as it were) the Porter of Heauen gates, as the Papists doe theyr *Peter*.

In Winter time, when all is covered with snow, and the ground so hard frozen, as that no spade, nor pickaxe can enter; their manner is not to bury their dead, but to keepe the bodies (so many as die all the Winter time) in an house, in the suburbs, or out-parts of the towne, which they call *Bolsedom*, that is to say, *Gods house*: where the dead bodies are piled vp together, like billets on a wood-stake, as hard, with the frost, as a verie stone, till the Spring-tide come and dissolve the frost; what time euery man taketh his dead friend, and committeth him to the ground.

They haue besides, their yeares and months mindes, for their friends departed. What time they haue prayers faide ouer the graue by the priest; who hath a penny ordinary for his paines. When any dyeth, they haue ordinarie women mourners, that come to lament for the dead party: and stand howling ouer the body, after a prophane, and heathenish manner (sometimes in the house, sometimes bringing the body into the backside: *Asking him what he wanted, and what he meant to die?* They bury theyr dead, as the party vied to goe, with coate, hose, bootes, hatte, and the rest of his apparel.

Many

Vigils or Wakes they haue three.

Burialsles, and their superstitious ceremonies at them.

No buriall in the winter.

Month-mindes for departed friends.

Buriall according as they were liuing.

Sitting downe to meate.

Oath for deciding controuersies.

At entering into houses.

At beginning worke.

Holy water.

Hallowing of Riues.

The hallowing of the Riuer at Mosko.

Many other vaine and superstitious ceremonies they haue, which were long and tedious to report. By these it may appeare, how farre they are fallen from the true knowledge and practise of Christian Religion: hauing changed the Word of God, for their vaine traditions, and brought all to externall, and ridiculous ceremonies, without any regard of spirite and truth, which God requires in his true worship.

## CHAP. V.

*Lastly, an Oeconomical discourse of the Emperours Court; his Familie and Household affaires: And more priuate behaiour of the people.*

Of the Emperours domestike or priuate behaiour.



The emperours ghostly father

He Emperours priuate behaiour, so much as may be, or is meete to be knowne, is after this manner: Hee riseth commonly about foure of the clocke in the morning. After his apparelling and washing, in cometh his ghostly father, or priest of his chamber, which is named in their tongue, *Oretz Duhuuna*, with his Crosse in his hand, wherewith he blesteth him, laying it first on his fore-head, then vpon his cheekes, or sides of his face, and then offreth him the end of it to kisse. This being doone, the claike of the crosse (called *Chreshy Deyack Proferi*) bringeth into his chamber a paynted Imago, representing the Saint for that day. For euery day with them hath his seuerall Saint, as it were a patron for that day. This he placeth among the rest of his Image gods, wherewithall his Chamber is decked, as thicke almost as the wall can beare, with Lampes and wax Candles burning before them. They are very costly and gorgeously decked with pearles and precious stones. This Image being placed before him, the Emperour beginneth to crosse himselfe after the *Russe* manner; first on the fore-head, then on both sides of his breast, with *Ajbody Pameluy, Pameluy mena hoshpody, sacroy mena*

His priuate prayer, and the manner how it is performed in ceremonies

*grefnick Syhodesius*: which is as much to say, as, *Helpe mee O Lord my God, Lord comfort mee, defend and keepe mee a sinner from doing euill, &c.* This he directeth towards the Image or Saint for that day, whom he nameth in his prayer, together with our Lady (whom they call *Precheiste*) Saint *Nicolas*, or some other, to whom he beareth most deuotion, bowing himselfe prostrate vnto them, with knocking his head to the very ground. Thus he continueth the space of a quarter of an houre or thereabouts.

Then cometh againe the ghostly father, or chamber priest, with a silver boile full of holywater, which they call in *Russe*, *Sveta Voda*, and a sprinkle of Basill (as they call it) in his hand, and so all to be sprinkled first the Image gods, and then the Emperour. This holy water is brought fresh euery day from the Monasteries, farre and neere, sent vnto the Emperour from the Abbot or from the Priour, in the name of the Saint, which is patron of that Monastery, as a speciall token of good will from him.

These deuotions being ended, he sendeth in to the Emperesse, to aske whether she hath rested in health, &c. And after a little pause, goeth himselfe to salute her in a middle roome betwixt both their chambers. The Emperesse lyeth apart from him, and keepeth not one Chamber, nor Table with the Emperour daily, saue vpon the eue of their Lents, or commo Fast: what time she is his ordinary guest at bed and boord. After their meeting in the morning, they go together to their priuate Church or Chappell, where is saide, or sung a morning Seruice (called *Zaurana*) of an houre long or thereabouts. From the Church he returneth home, & stretch him downe in a great Chamber, to be seene and saluted by his Nobility, such as are in fauour about the Court. If he haue to say to any of the, or they to him, then is the time. And this is ordinary, except his health, or some other occasion alter the custome.

About nine in the morning, he goeth vnto another Church within his Caste: where is sung by Priests and Choristers, the high Seruice (called *Obedna* or *Complin*) which commonly lasteth the space of two houres: the Emperour in the mean time, talking commonly with some

Sprinkling with holy water.

The emperours visitation of the Emperesse.

The Emperour giueth audience euery morning.

The emperours high and low seruice.

of his Councell, Nobilitie, or Captains, whi: h haue to say to him, or hee to them. And the Councell likewise conferre together among themselves, as if they were in their councell house. This ended, he returneth home, and recreateth himselfe till it be dinner time.

Hee is serued at his Table on this manner; First, euery dish (as it is deliuered at the Dresser) is tasted by the Cooke, in the presence of his high Steward, or his Deputy. And so is receiued by the Gentlemen waiters (called *Shilshy*) and by them carried vp to the Emperours Table, the high Steward going before. There it is receiued by the Sewer (called *Erastny*) who giueth a taste of euery dish vnto the Taster, and so placeth it before the Emperour. The number of his dishes for his ordinary seruice, is about seauentie; dressed somewhat grosely, with much garlike and salt, much after the Dutch manner. When he exceedeth, vpon some occasion of the day, or entertainment of some Ambassador, he hath many more dishes. The seruice is sent vp by two dishes at a time, or three at the most, that hee may eate it warme: first the baked, then the roast meates, and last of all, the brothes. In his dining Chamber is an other Table: where sit the chiefe of his Nobility that are about his Court, and his ghostly Father, or Chaplaine. On the one side of the Chamber standeth a Cubbard, or Table of Plate, very fayre and rich, with a great cesterne of Copper by it, full of yce and snow, wherein stand the pots that serue for that meale. The taster holdeth the cup that he drinketh in all dinner time, and deliuereth it vnto him with a say, when he calleth for it. The manner is to make many dishes out of the seruice, after it is set on the Table, and to send them to such Noblemen and Officers, as the Emperour liketh best. And this is counted a great fauour and honour.

After dinner, he layeth him downe to rest, where commonly hee taketh three houres sleepe, vntill hee doe employ one of the houres to bathing or boxing. And this custome for sleeping after dinner, is an ordinary matter with him, as with all the *Russes*. After his sleepe he goeth to Euentong (called by them *Ve-churna*) and thence returning (for the most part) recreateth himselfe with the

Emperesse till supper time, with iesters, and dwarfes, men and women, that doe tumble before him, and sing many songs after the *Russe* manner. This is his common and vniuersall forme of recreation betwene his meales, wherein he most delighteth.

One other speciall recreation, is the fight with wilde Beares, which are caught in pittes, or netts, and are kept in barred Cages for that purpose, against the Emperour bee disposed to see the pastime. The fight with the Beare is on this sort: The man is turned into a circle walled round about, where hee is to quite himselfe so well as hee can; for there is no way to flee out. When the Beare is turned loose, he cometh vpon him with open mouth. If at the first push hee misse his ayme, so that the Beare doe come within him, he is in great danger. But the wilde Beare being very fierce, hath this quality, that giueth aduantage to the Hunter. His manner is, when he assaileth a man, to rise vp right on his two hinder legges, and so to come roaring with open mouth vpon him. And if the Hunter then can push right into the very breast of him betwene his fore-legges (as commonly he will not misse) telling the other end of the Boare-speare at the side of his foot: and so keeping the pike still towards the face of the Beare, hee speedeth him commonly at one blowe.

But many times these Hunters come short, and are eyther slaine, or miserably torne with the teeth and talents of the fierce beast. If the party quite himselfe well in this fight with the Beare, he is carried to drinke at the Emperours Seller doore, where he drinketh himselfe drunke for the honour of *Hopodare*. And this is his reward, for aduenturing his life for the Emperours pleasure.

To maintaine this pastime, the Emperour hath certaine Huntsmen, that are appointed for that purpose, to take the wilde Beare. This is his recreation commonly on the Holy-daies. Sometimes he spendeth his time in looking vpon his Goldsmiths and Jewellers, Taylors, Embroyderers, Painters, and such like, and so goeth to his supper. When it draweth towards bed time, his Priest saith certaine prayers; and then the Emperour blesteth and crosseth himselfe, as in the morning,

Fight with Beares, by men put to them.

The manner to kill the Beare.

His preparation to bed.

The Emperours seruice at his Table.

A Table for the Nobility, &c.

His sleeping after dinner.

His evening recreation, or betweene meales.

A description  
of the Empe-  
ror, when the  
Author was  
there.

for a quarter of an houre or thereabouts, and so goeth to his bed.

The Emperor that now is (called *Theodore Iusnowich*) is for his person of a mean stature, somewhat lowe and grosse, of a fallow complexion, and enclining to the droppe, hawk nosed, vnsteady in his pace, by reason of some weaknesse of his limbes, heauy and vnactive, yet commonly smiling almost to a laughter. For quality otherwise, simple and slowe witted, but very gentle, and of an easie nature, quiet, mercifull, of no martiall disposition, not greatly apt for matter of pollicy, very superstitious, and infinite that way. Besides his priuate deuotions at home, hee goeth euery weeke commonly on pilgrimage to some Monastery, or other that is nearest hand. He is of 34. yeares old, or thereabouts, and hath reigned almost the space of fixe yeares.

Of the Empe-  
rors priuate,  
or household  
Officers,  
Master of the  
Horse,

The cheefe Officers of the Emperors household, are these which follow. The first is the Office of the *Boiaren Condehens*, or Master of the Horse. Which containeth no more then is expressed by the name, that is, to be Ouerseer of the horse, and not *Magister equitum*, or Master of the horsemen. For hee appointeth other for that seruice, as occasion doth require (as before was said.) He that beareth that Office at this time, is *Boris Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Empreffe. Of Horse for seruice in his wars (besides other for his ordinary vses) hee hath to the number of ten thousand, which are kept about *Mosko*.

The next is the Lord Steward of his household, at this time, one *Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe*.

The third is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his monies, jewels, plate, &c. now called *Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe*.

The fourth his Controller, now *Andreas Petrowich Clesimine*.

The fifth his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that Office at this time, is called *Eistema Bisabroza Paitelnichay*.

The sixth his Tasters, now *Theodore Alexandrowich*, and *Iuan Vasilowich Godonoe*.

The seuenth his Harbengers, which are three Noblemen, and diuers other Gentlemen that do the Office vnder the. These are his ordinary Officers, and Offices of the cheefest account.

Of Gentlemen beside that waite about his Chamber and Person (called *Shisley Strapfy*) there are two hundred, all Noblemens sonnes.

His ordinary Guard is 2000. Hagbutters, ready with their pieces charged, and their march lighted, with other necessary Furniture continually day & night: which come not within the house, but waite without in the court or yard, where the Emperor is abiding. In the night time, there lodgeth next to his bedchamber, the cheife Chamberlaine, with one or two more of best trust about him.

A second chamber off, there lodge fixe other of like account, for their trust and faithfulness.

In the third Chamber lie certaine yong Gentlemen, of these two hundred, called *Shisley Strapfy*, that take their turnes by forties euery night.

There are Groomes besides, that watch in their course, and lye at euery gate and doore of the Court, called *Effopnick*.

The Hagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was saide before) watch about the Emperors lodging, or bed-chamber by course two hundred and fifty euery night, and two hundred and fifty more in the Court yard, & about the Treasure house.

His Court or House at the *Mosko*, is made Castle-wise, walled about with great store of faire Ordinance planted vpon the Wall, and containeth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses. Which are appointed for such as are knowne to be sure and trusty to the Emperor.

The priuate behaviour and qualitie of the *Russe* people, may partly bee vnderstood, by that which hath bene sayde concerning the publique state and viage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are, for the most part, of a large sife, and of verie fleshy bodies; accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their beards, to haue them long and broad. But, for the most part, they are very vnwely and vnactive withall. Which may be thought to come, partly of the Climate, and the numbnesse which they get by the colde in winter, and partly of their dyet, which is most of rootes, onions, garlicke, cabbage, and

Gentlemen  
of the Cham-  
ber.

The Guard.

Night time.

Groomer.

The Guard  
for his lodg-  
ing.

Of the pri-  
uate behaui-  
our, or quality  
of the Russe  
people.

Continuation  
of their bod-  
ies.

Their ordina-  
ry dyet.

Their drinke  
at their meales

The after-  
noones rest.

Drinking  
drunke euery  
day.

Their often  
vse of Bath-  
stoues.

Two extre-  
mities of heat  
and colde.

At coming  
out of their  
Bathstoues.

and such like things that breed grosse humours, which they vse to cate alone, and with their other meates.

Their dyet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a *Churk*, or small cuppe of *Aqua-vita*, (which they do call *Russe* wine) and then drinke not till towards the end of their meales, taking it in largely, and all together, with kissing one another, at euery pledge. And therefore, after dinner there is no talking with them, but euery man goeth to his bench to take his after-noones sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights rest. When they exceed, and haue varietie of dishes, the first are their baked meates (forrosse meates they vse little) and then their portage and broaths. To drinke drunke, is an ordinary matter with them euery day in the week. Their common drinke is *Mead*, the poorer sort vse water, and thin drinke called *Quasse*, which is nothing else (as wee vse to say) but water turned out of his wittes, with a little branne meathed with it.

This dyet would breede in them many diseases, but that they vse bath-stoues, or hot-houses, in stead of all physicke, commonly twice or thrice euery weeke. All the Winter time, and almost the whole Summer, they heate there *Peaches*, which are made like the *Germane* Bathstoues, & their *Potlads* like Ovens, that so warme the house, that a stranger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the Winter of heate within their houses, and of extreme colde without, together with their dyet; maketh them of a darke and fallow complexion, their skinned being tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: specially the women, that (for the greater part) are of faire worse complexions, then the men. Whereof the cause I take to be their keeping within the hot-houses, and busying themselves about the heating & vsing of their bathstoues, and peaches.

The *Russe*, because that he is vsed to both these extremities of heate and of colde, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then strangers can doe. You shall see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their Bathstoues all on a froth, and fuming as hot almost as a Pig at a Spit, and presently to

leape into the River starke naked, or to poure colde water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the Winter time. The women, to mend the bad hue of their skins, vse to paint their faces with white and red colours, so vifibly, that euery man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter, because it is common, and liked well by their husbands: who make their Wives and Daughters ordinary allowance, to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themselves much, to see them of fowle women, to become such faire Images. This parcheth the skinned, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is off.

They apparell themselves after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attire is on this fashion.

First a *Taffia*, or litle night-cappe on his head, that couereth little more then his crowne, commonly very rich, wrought of silke and gold thred, and set with pearle and precious stones. His head he keepeth shauen close to the very skin, except he be in some displeasure with the Emperor. Then hee suffereth his hayre to grow and hang downe vpon his shoulders, couering his face as vgly and deformedly as he can.

Ouer the *Taffia*, hee weareth a wide Cap of blacke Foxe (which they account for the best Furre) with a *Tiara* or long bonnet put within it, standing vp like a *Persian* or *Babylonian* Hat.

About his necke (which is scene all bare) is a collar set with pearle and precious stones, about three or foure fingers broad.

Next ouer his shirt (which is curiously wrought, because he strippeth himselfe into it in the Summer time, while he is in the house) is a *Shepon*, or light Garment of silke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a *Caslan* or a close coate buttoned, & girt to him with a *Persian* girdle, whereat hee hangs his kniues and spoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as low as his anckles.

Ouer that he weareth a loose garment of some rich silke, furred and faced about with some gold Lace, called a *Ferris*.

Another ouer that, of Chamlet, or like stuffe, called an *Alkaken*, fleeced and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly brooched

Womẽ there  
paint grossly

The Noble-  
mans attire.



brooched and set all with pearle.

When he goeth abroad, he casteth ouer all these, which are but sleight (though they seeme to be many) another garment called an *Honoratkey*, like to the *Alksben*, saue that it is made without a collar for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth, or Camells haire.

His buskins, which he weareth in stead of hose, with linnen folds vnder them in stead of boot-hose, are made of a *Persian* leather called *Saphian*, embroidered with pearle. His vpper stockes commonly are of cloth of gold.

When he goeth abroade, hee mounteth on horse backe, although it be but to goe to the next doore; which is the custome and maner also of the *Boiarskey*, or gentlemen.

The *Boiarskey* or gentlemen attire is of the same fashion, but differe in stufte; and yet he will haue his *Casian* or vnder-coate sometimes of cloth of golde, the rest of cloth or silke.

The Noble woman (called *Chyna Boiarskiena*) weareth on her head, first a hall of some soft silke (which commonly is red) and ouer it a frontlet, called *Obroja* of white colour.

ouer that, her Cap (made after the coife fashion of cloath of golde) called *Shapka Zemzka*, edged with some rich furre, and set with pearles and stones. Though they haue of late begunne to disdain embroidering with pearles about their caps, because the *Diacks*, and some Merchants wiues haue taken vpe the fashion.

In their eares they weare eare-rings (which they call *Sargee*) of two inches or more in compasse, the matter of golde set with Rubies, or Saphires, or some like precious stone.

In Sommer they goe often with kerchiefs of fine white lawne or Cambricke, fastened vnder the chinne, with two long tassels pendent. The kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich pearle.

When they ride or goe abroad in rainy weather, they vse to weare white hats with coloured bands, called by them *Scapa Zemsky*.

About their neckes they weare collers of three or foure fingers broad, set with rich pearle and precious stones.

Their vpper garment is a loose gowne

(called *Opephen*) commonly of Skarlet, with wide loose sleeves, hanging downe to the ground, buttoned before with great gold buttons, or at the least, siluer and gilt, nigh as bigge as a walnut. Which hath hanging ouer it fastened vnder the cappe, a large broad cape of some rich Furre, that hangeth downe almost to the middes of their backs.

Next vnder the *Opephen* or vpper garment, they weare an other, called a *Leitnick*, that is made close before with great wide sleeves, the cufte or halfe sleue vp to the elbowes commonly of cloath of golde: and vnder that a *Ferris Zemsky*, which hangeth loose buttoned through-out to the very foote.

On the hand-wreasts they weare very faire Bracelets, about two fingers broad of pearles and precious stones. They goe all in Buskins of white, yellow, blew, or some other coloured leather, embroidered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noble woman of *Russia*, when she maketh the best shew of her selfe. The gentlewoman's apparell may differ in the stufte, but is all one for the making or fashion.

As for the poore *Mousick*, and his wife, they goe poorly clad. The man with his *Odnoratkey*, or loose gowne to the small of the legges, tied together with a lace before, of coure white or blew cloth, with some *Shube* or long waist-coate of Furre, or of sheepe-skinne vnder it, and his furred cappe, and buskins.

The poorer sort of them haue their *Odnoratkey*, or vpper garment, made of Cowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the sommer time, commonly they doe weare nothing but their shirts vpon their backs, and buskins on their legges.

The woman goeth in a redde or blew gowne, when she maketh the best shew, and with some warme *Shube* of Furre vnder it in the winter time. But in the sommer, nothing but her two thirts (for so do they call them) one ouer the other, whether they be within doores, or without.

On their heads, they weare caps of some colored stufte, many of veluet, or of cloth of gold; but for the most part, kerchiefs. Without eare-rings of siluer, or some other metall, and her crosse about her necke, you shall see no *Russian* woman, be she wife, or maide.

The vnder gownes.

Bracelets.

Womens buskins.

The Musicks, or common mans attire.

The poore man.

The Musicks wife.

Head attires.

Eare-rings & Crosse.

As

Then vices and capacities

As touching their behaiour, and quality otherwise, they are of reasonable capacities, if they had those meanes that some other Nations haue, to traine vp their wits in good nurture and learning. Which they might borrow of the *Polonians*, and other their neighbors: but that they refuse it of a very selfe pride, as accounting their owne fashion to be farre the best. Partly also (as I sayd before) for that their manner of bringing vp (voyd of all good learning, and ciuill behaiour) is thought (by their gouernors) most agreeable to that State, and their manner of gouernement. Which the people would hardly beare, if they were once ciuilled, and brought to more vnderstanding of God, and good policie.

This causeth the Emperours to keepe out all meanes of making it better, and to be very wary for excluding of all peregrinitie, that might alter their fashions. Which were lesse to be disliked, if it set not a print into the very mindes of his people. For, as themselves are very hardly and cruelly dealt withall by their chiefe Magistrates, and other superiours; so are they as cruell one against an other, especially ouer their inferiours, and such as are vnder them. So that the basest and wretchedest *Christian* (as they call him) that stoupe and croucheth like a dogge to the Gentleman, and licketh vp the dust that lieth at his fecte, is an intollerable tyrant, where he hath the aduantage.

Cruelty of the Russe people.

By this meanes the whole Countrie is filled with rapine, and murder. They doe make no account of the life of a man. Yee shall haue a man robbed sometime in the very streets of their Townes; if hee goe late in the evening: and yet no man to come forth out of his doores to rescue him, though he heare him cry out. I will not speake of the strangeness of the murders, and other cruelties committed amongst them, that would scarcely be beleued to be doone amongst men, especially such as professe themselves to be Christians.

Vagran begg poore.

The number of their vagrant and begging poore is almost infinite; that are so pinched with famine and extreme neede, as that they doe begge after a violent and desperate manner; with, *Giue me, and cut mee; Giue mee, and kill mee;* and such like phrales. Whereby it may be ghesied,

what they are towards strangers, that are so vnnaturall and cruell towards their owne. And yet it may be doubted whether is the greater, the crueltie, or intemperancie that is vsed in that Countrie. I will not speake of it, because it is so foule and not to be named. The whole Countrie ouerfloweth with all sinne of that kinde. And no maruell, as hauing no law to restraine whoredomes, adulteries, and like vnclannesse of life.

Intemperance

As for the truth of his word, the *Russe* (for the most part) maketh small regard of it: so he may gaine by a lie, and breach of his promise. And it may be said truly (as they know best that haue traded most with them) that from the great to the small (except some few that will scarcely be found) the *Russe* neyther beleueeth anie thing that an other man speaketh, nor speaketh any thing himselfe worthy to be beleued.

No care of word or promise.

These qualities make them very odious to all their neighbours, especially to the *Tartars*, that account themselves to be honest and iust, in comparison of the *Russe*. It is supposed by some, that doe well consider of the state of both Countreies, that the offence they doe take at the *Russe* gouernement, and their manner of behaiour; hath beene a great cause to keepe the *Tartar* still heathenish, and to mislike (as hee dooth) of the *Christian* profession.

The Russe odious to his neighbours.

## CHAP. VI.

If it may be so ordered or limited, that poison given at a certaine day shall not cause death, until a time appointed and prefixed.



For, though you can much more clearly and exactly resolute this doubt; yet notwithstanding, seeing you please to vnderstand mine aduice therein, concerning the limitation and efficacy of poysons, at a day or time prefixed; I shall briefly resolute you of my iudgement.

This is the last paradox of the first Decad.

I haue euen more helde it absurde and gggg ridicu.

A comparison  
deriued from  
physicall me-  
dicines of best  
worth.

ridiculous (although it bee maintayned in vulgar opinion) that venoms or poysons should be limited to a certaine time, by empoysoners. For, how can it be so, seeing Physicall medicines, euen such as are most profitable, whose vertue (in knowledge thereof, is limited to the composition and quantitie of the dose) cannot be apprehended, but by long and frequent experience? And that being knowne, doth not yet leaue vs any certaine act, but conjectural: wherefore, I cannot see by what reason, an empoysoner should gaine a prefixion of time, for the efficacie of his poyson. For, it is not lawfull to make triall, without danger, nor without punishment: euen as if the action of Physicall receipts, should be experimented vpon healthfull persons.

Triall of poy-  
sons made on  
Dogs, Hogs,  
Birds, &c.

It may be alledged, and I am of the same opinion too, that they approue their poysons vpon beasts, as Dogges, Swine and Birds, and that thereby they constitute rules to themselves, hauing obserued diuers times of death, according to the nature of the poysons. As if the natures of men, (being the most temperate of all creatures) and the other were not verie farre different. Besides, it is much more easie, that a precise and certaine houre of euent and successe, should happen vnto beasts, then to men. For, creatures deprived of reason, haue very little diuersitie (in their kinde) betweene them, feeding on one and the same pasturage, and being not addicted to sundry studies, and occupations: from whence ensueth, that euen by and of the same things, beasts endure (almost) passions alike.

Little diuer-  
sities betweene  
vnerasonable  
creatures in  
their kinde.

Very great &  
strange varie-  
ties among men,  
for seldom or  
never are two  
found of one  
and the same  
complexion.

But for men, although they agree together in kinde, yet notwithstanding they are so different, as seldom or neuer, shall we find two together of like nature in face: but are diuerse in complexions, conditions and occupations or professions, and no one like other among a thousand. Vndoubtedly, I am of the minde, that in the kinde of man, there is as many differences among particulars, as there is diuersities of kinde among all other creatures. And therefore, it ought to be helde altogether abusive, and noway firme, and such conjecture of empoysoners; as is very easie to be proued, and made plaine to euery vnderstanding: and vpon this hopefull persuasion, wee will fall presently to our

business.

Many haue thought and held, that *Theophrastus* (a very graue and approued Philosopher) was the Authour of this opinion, because he wrote thus of *Aconitum*. *It is said to be compounded in such sort, that it can kill at a certaintime: as namely, within two moneths, three moneths, sixe moneths, a whole yeare, and sometimes in two yeares. And some affirme, that such people shall die more miserably, then if they could haue resided longer time. For their bodies will impair by little and little, perishing in a daily languishing: where as such as die suddenly, haue the more easie death.*

*Theophrastus*  
a learned Phil-  
osopher, his  
opinion of A-  
conitum.

But the authoritie of *Theophrastus*, or of our felues, can moue nothing in this matter; considering, that he wrote this, more vpon others opinion, then his own, as the words themselves doe euidently testifie. And if any one desire to know the cause of this periuatation, hee shall meete with a two-folde answer thereto. The first is, the subtle cratiness of men, who flatter and fondly play with their owne vices. For how many may be found, that can not so patiently endure, when they are reprobued in some euill, happening by an external accident; as if one should tell them, that it receiued originall by a bad temperature of their body, or of their owne intemperance? For, admit that nothing could be faide, to bee the cause of the first constitution, and therefore (by consequent) the reproofe of this imperfection concerned him nothing: yet notwithstanding, because it is our owne nature, we will conceale and couer it, yea, and fauour it beyond measure. So that if there happen any fault on the behalfe of our imperfection, we stand most in feare to be thereof reprobued. And hence it ensueth, that we more gladly yeelde agreement, to haue the cause from some external occasion, then of any interior.

*Theophrastus*  
not to be cre-  
dited in this  
case.

Two answers  
to the mis-  
takes periuat-  
tion. The first  
an-  
swer.

We can not  
indure reprob-  
our owne im-  
perfections  
reprobued.

Examples in this case are very manifest, euen in such as haue least knowledge, being ignorant in good Arts and Sciences, transported by simple iudgement of felicitie. As aged, and the most part of weak-witted people doe, to whom nothing admissible can be spoken; ynelesse it be referred to some Saint, or poyson closely giuen, or to the witching lookes of some old woman: whence proceeded the complaint whereof *Virgill* speaketh.

The ignorance  
of causes in-  
dueth (very of-  
ten) a false opi-  
nion and  
superstition.

*I know not by what ill use I of wrong,  
My tender Lambes (enchanted) walke along.*

For there must needes be probable lying, that either instantly, or soone after the poyson is giuen, or continued in the surest manner; if any length or respite of time can be giuen thereto.

The second  
answer and  
elucidation of  
the second  
cause.

The other cause of this opinion, is the depraued interpretation of Astronomical Theoremes or Speculations. For the prooffe whereof, Astrologers constitute (which is true) the diuers manners or passions of inferior bodies, to be from the diuers coniunction, opposition and interchanged aspect of the superiour. From hence, the ignorant vulgar take occasion, to ground and establish the varietie of effects, euen vpon the least differences that can bee obserued in the celestiall bodies. As when they constitute some one plant, to haue power and efficacie against feaues; provided, that it be gathered before Sunne rising. This is an error spread too farre abroad. For, not onely from these differences (triuiall, light, and of no account at all) men commonly construct the diuersitie of effects in their kinds: but also would haue the accidents of those effects to be diuers, for the selfe same reason; euen as is the time to manifest the efficacie of poyson. The folly (in this point) further related by *Theophrastus*, he sayth: *That death happeneth in as short a time, as a Plant is to be gathered. Let vs seeke then for a true solution of this Probleme, by reason rather then the testimonies of any.* Which we may most commodiously doe (if I abuse not mine owne iudgement) by beginning with the definition of venome or poyson; to the end it may be the easier vnderstood, what the matter is that vttereth our instant disputation.

The like gift  
of heathes gathered  
vpon Saint  
Johns Eve or  
Vigile.

*Theophrastus*  
his words for  
the sudden en-  
suing of death

A definition  
of poyson or  
venome, and  
what it is vnder-  
stood to be

We properly call venome or poyson, what ouer being receiued into the body, doth so fight against the body, as it is not to be surmounted; but contrariwise, doth so alter the body, as the body it selfe alters in diuer. In all venoms there are two especiall differences: for, eyther they are enemies to humane nature, by reason of their manifest qualitie; or else they are aduerses thereto in their whole substance. Moreover, some may kill quickly, others more tardily, euen of their owne proper nature. Such kill suddenly, and in fewest daies and houres, which are immediately carried to

the profunditie of the hart. Such venoms are extremely hot, and (for the most part) corrosiue or putrefactive; the Greeks call them *Serpiques*, endued with most subtil parts. For, colde and grosse venomes are more ydle, and insinuate into the veines and arteries more slowly.

Some there are, which infect and kill the body, by their onely vapour or inuisible exhalation. Others, that holde the prime place of atrocitie and malignitie. As certaine poisons artificiall, which haue so subtil a vertue, as being but rubbed or annointed vpon the stirrups, will pierce throw the booties of the Rider, euen till it attaine to the naked soale of his foote, and from thence ascendeth vp into the body, by the foulsprales or orifices of the skinn, and so corrupt all the members. Brides and Saddles of horse may also be infected, and afterwards, inducted by natural heat into the arteries and veins of the rider entering by the pores in his hands and thighs. As in like manner, Garments, Beds and Coverings may be poysoned. To these venoms may be referred, such as kill only by sight, smell, or being but tasted onlly (without swallowing or letting downe) suddenly destroying a man, without any the least lingering.

Of some that  
destroy sooner  
then other.

Poysoning  
mens stirrups,  
bridles & sad-  
dles for hor-  
ses, garments,  
beds, &c.

All venomes or poysons bring present death with them, so as there remains not any time of respite, for succor to sane the poore mans life, but he dies. I vnderstand, that such poysons are in frequent vse among the *Turkes*, and such other nations. Groffer venoms or poisons do differ from these, as being slower in performing their action; but in the end burne very strongly, bite, eat, torment, & (by their lingering) beget the greater strength & cruel violence.

Now there is not onely a difference of efficacie, in poisons of diuers kinds, but also there happens to them as great a varietie of respites, to hurt according to their constitution and temperature, by whom they are taken. For some feeble the harme sooner or later then other; some are ouerthrowne thereby, others escape. Because many times it comes so to passe, that the poisons power is mitigated & overcome, by the very complexio of him that hath receiued it, else, that it is so strong of itselfe, as it needeth no other counterpoyson to vanquish it. So falleth it out with them that dwell in pestilent aires, & others that

Such (spee-  
ling  
poysons are in  
daily vse a-  
mongst the  
Turkes and o-  
ther barba-  
rous nations.

Difference in  
the poisons,  
and difference  
in their times  
of working.

Of bodies pe  
ntially in-  
fected.

A very ridicu-  
lous affirma-  
tion.

Galen in Pa-  
rad. 1. Dec. 2.

A kind of yd-  
le argumenta-  
tion.

A Goate is a  
beast, there-  
fore a Goate  
is an Asse.

At a solemn  
Banquet in I-  
talie made by  
Cesar Borgia.

An example  
derived from  
physicall pur-  
gatives.

are attained with the plague: some of them being sicke, chance to die suddenly, others later, and other (in the end) escape.

If it be so, it seemes then altogether ridiculous to affirme, that it is possible to give a poison, which (at a day prefixed, & at a certaine time of that day) shall cause the parties death, & that the condition of the poison is so to doe. To which error I may well referre another, fauouring of the same taste, and which we have long since ouerthrowne, to wit: *That medicines take the beginning of their mutation or changing from our heste.* VVhence it ensueth, that being grossly pressed, they produce their effects the later. But if I should consent to them herein, yet notwithstanding, they can neuer come to approve their affirmation, vnlesse it be capriciously. For if any man argue thus: This drugged discouereth his power later then this; therefore he will doe it at a certaine time. The argumentation is false, and Aristotle calleth it *Elenchus non consequens*: Euen as if a man should say, A Goate is a Beast, therefore a Goate is an Asse. For, *To do a thing late, and to do a thing at a certaine time*, are of diuers kinde, and differ from doing a thing in some time.

Heereby it appeareth, that these great Professours haue no other eye, but onlie on the conditions of the poysons, as in this poynt it is very euident, for we heare no distinction of bodies: but onely presence of the poyson, whereunto they onely attribute the limitation of time, and not to any complexion in the parties. Observation hath bene made, that poison hath bene giuen at a Feast or Banquet to diuers persons, all in one houre, (when friends haue merrily met together, without suspicion of any such villanie) where-off some dyed suddenly, others died within some few dayes after, and some felt no anguish at all, yet every one received a like quantitie.

The like we see to happen daily in purgative medicines, which being giuen to diuers persons (euen all alike in measure, and all alike in preparation) they worke vpon some bodies very suddenly, others more slowly, others very hardly, and vpon some nothing at all. Moreover, the vacuities of some men is with much ease, others with great difficultie, grievously grinding or cutting, and frequent debility

of the heart. What need is there then of alleading many men, when vpon one and the same man, one and the same medicine cannot produce the same effects:

Seeing then, that according to the diuers and vnparallelled complexion, & conformation of the body, we see such things to happen, for the most part; and besides, that the iust temperature of every particular man is no way to be comprehended: how then shall any one man dare to say, how long time naturall heate shall resist or withstand poison? Say I admitted, that some one man should be so expert an empoisoner, that he could weigh (in a certainty of judgement) the power of his poison, euen as exquisitely as he weigheth muske in the Ballance: yet notwithstanding, I will neuer graunt, that he can as exactly limite poyson, for the nature of him that is to receive it: but he will faile somewhat of the end, or of the time by him propoosed. For, Physicke it selfe is held to be a Science, grounded but vpon coniectures, concerning what is to be prescribed for euery man, in the proper quantitie and qualitie of meetest remedies. For, *no man knoweth how to write or speake iustly or properly*, as Galen saith in the third booke of his Methods. And a little after: *In the Arte of Physicke (saith he) there is no aie thing or remedie, but may bee named in his kinde: but that which cannot be spoken, written, nor entirely appointed or ordained, is the quantitie for every one.*

Hee repeateth this same matter many times, and to the purpose ensuing, as enstrueting, that euery man hath his peculiar curing, and that the naturall propriety is vnspokeable and incomprehensible of an exact Science. Vulgar Physitians call it *Idiosyncrasis*, the naturall propriety, as Galen saith. And because all confesse, that it cannot be comprehended; they attribute the true Art of Physicke to *Asculapius* & *Apollo*. For the principle, and foundation (as it were) of perfect, compleate, & infallible Physicke (which Galen calls; *The true Arte of Medicine*) is the particular knowledge of Naturals. VVhereupon he makes this addition. *If I knew how to acknowledge iustly, the nature of each one in particular: I should verily thinke to be such a one as Asculapius, and to know as much in my understanding. But because it is not to be doone, I am determined to exercise my selfe*

The complexion and temperature of all men is incomprehensible, neither can poysons worke in one and the same manner vpon them.

Physicke a Science grounded but on coniecture.

Galen in lib. vi. superat.

*so much, to come so neere him as a man may, and to exhort others therein to follow mine example.*

If Physicke then be coniecturall, and not certaine in the party that prepareth or appointeth remedies to euery body, & the issue is not to be seene, but finally by a long obseruation and experience; who can perswade himselfe herein concerning poysons? For, if in the Art of physicke, Experience is dangerous, as the wise & learned Hippocrates well aduiseeth vs: it is easie to conceiue, how vnertain the prooue of poysons are, because it is not lawfull to experiment their vertue, both without danger and punishment also, as whole medicines in diuersitie of persons.

And whatsoeuer hath bin obserued vpon brute Beasts, as I formerly saide, is very vnapt for any accommodation to a man, because the natures of men and beasts are greatly differing, as namely by this prooue: that Stares feede safely vpon Hemlocke, and Quales on Helleborus, which are both physicke and poyson to vs. From these reasons then we may collect finally, that the Arte (if it may be teamed an Arte) or coniectures of empoisoners, is to be esteemed very erroneous, and of slender firmnes: considering, that one selfe same poyson, produceth his action, sometimes quickly, and sometimes slackly; and that not so much by any reason in it selfe; as by the nature and complexion of the body, wideness or narrowness of the passages, strength or weaknesse of naturall heate; and the plenty or scarcity of sensible excrements, & diuers other meanes.

For the power of poyson remaineth sometimes vaine and fruitlesse, or mightily rebated, according to such bodies, as haue their faculties of the soule stout and strong, by reason of an excellent good temperature. And Galen thinketh, that the building and composition of the body, is the cause why Hemlocke killeth a man, & nourisheth Stares. Whereto he addeth, the strength and vigour of heate, diminishing and subtilizing, in regard he is perswaded that it happeneth so, that colde poysons better and sooner doe declare their force, when they are giuen to hotte natures. Which may appeare a Paradoxe to many: but hauing bin made most euidently apparant by the said author, I dare

let the prooue passe vpon my credite, because his experience is warrantable.

As for the nature of excrements, they weaken the actions of poysons, being repugnant to their qualities. For if there be any abundance of phlegme in the entrails, the power of hot poyson will be greatly rebated: and on the contrary, hot moisture hasteneth the action of such a poyson. Likewise, ouer-copious chollic stoppeth and breaketh the stupefactiue venome received, whereas phlegme fauoreth it. And all that these wicked empoisoners do know, is nothing else, but what poysons onely kill, by euident condition of their qualities, and that they hurt with all their substance. Such are they as kill by corrupting or corroding, which must haue time to enforce their mallice (as Galen saith) whereas other do weaken themselves by their tardying. For they do all putrifie in time, & so much the more, as the place is moister and hotter.

Such then as worke by putrifying, time doth augment their action: because they encrease the corruption, and in regard they cease not to corrupt themselves; reciprocally they corrupt and rot the body. From whence ensueth, that death is caused long time after: especially such poysons as are of grosse and earthy substance. Thus you may see, what empoisoners haue learned by long obseruation.

First, they know how to distinguish venomes, which kill by their insigne and notorious qualities, from other that cause death by their whole substance.

Secondly, that they naturally bring to any man whatsoeuer, a most sudden harme, and yet doe not discouer their vigour, but vpon longer time.

Thirdly, that (of both the two kinds) they kill either sooner or later (without any respect to the body) according as they haue the most, or the least quantitie.

Fourthly, they can deale in such sort, that all poysons shall be tempered according to their owne pleasure, and make them sweeter or sharper, because they should kill the sooner or slower, which is without any secret or myracle of nature.

VVe usually exercise the same cunning, in purgative drugges, setting an edge on such as are dull and slowe, and giue them as spurs to further purpose: and contrariwise, wee retaine ouer-hasty penetration

Of the several action of poysons vpon phlegme and chollic, by their scanting or abound-  
ing.

Of poysons that haue their working by putrefaction.

What apprehension empoisoners haue of them by four meanes in obseruation.

Application of purgative drugges in physicks.

Effects of  
poysons im-  
possible to be  
pointed to a  
moment of  
time.

Diuerſity of  
effects both  
in the agent  
and patient.

The iudge-  
ment and an-  
ſwer of Pedro  
de Albano  
vpon this  
point.

Face ſpotted  
or bewitched.

Phyſionomy  
exp.

A kind of more  
then ordinary  
ſkill to haue  
ſuch know-  
ledge.

in the other, by mingling with them, ſuch as are naturally more ſlacke & tardy. But that a man ſhould limit the effects of poyſons, to a certaine day, and to a point or moment named; we hold to be meerly abſurd and ridiculous, becauſe the nature of each man cannot be perfectly knowne (as we haue before ſufficiently declared) from whence proceedeth the moſt vncertaine tearme or time of euery poyſon, for procuring the death of a man. For euery naturall action meeteth with diuers effects, according to the diuers diſpoſition, as well of that which worketh, as of that which ſuffereth. And this happeneth, not onely by reaſon of euident qualities, but alſo of hidden and proper: whence alſo it enſueth, that the thing which doth this man a great deale of harme, may bee as profitable to another.

*Pedro de Albano* (whom ſome call the Reconciler, or Peace-maker) where hee explicated this queſtion, propoundeth: That he may do it, who hauing certainly knowne the continuance of a mans life, by the meaſure and quantity of his radical humour: may giue him a poyſon, that ſhall conſume in ten yeares ſpace. From hence he collecteth, ſome men may bee poyſoned, that droope and dry away dailie (vulgarly tearmed in *Italian*, *Herbatiæ Strigati*) and ſo it may bee ordered ſometimes, that poyſoning may bee limited. But that it is to be preſuppoſed by Aſtrologie, I hardly thinke to be euer diuined.

I confeſſe, that all ſuch as are ſeene to droope and decay by little and little, being empoynoned, haue a long affliction: but yet there is no certaine time when thoſe men ſhall bee taken hence. *Pliny* ſpeaketh of no time knowne more certaine of death, then vſe of the Sea Hare (a venomous fiſh) bringeth, where he ſaith: *Such men as (in eating) ſeele poyſon, and by the fiſt ſigne perceiue the poyſon: ſhall die in as many houres after, as the Hare hath liued.* Now, who ſhall diuine the age of the Hare, to the ende, that the appointed hour of death, may be fore-tolde thereby?

And yet if I did admit them, that a man did know how many dayes the Hare hath liued: I can neuer grant (for al that) that all men ſhall dye at one and the ſame time; becauſe one and the ſelfe ſame poyſon, worketh diuerſly, according to the

diuerſity of mens bodies, as it hath bene more then ſufficiently proued. So that it had bene much more truly ſaide (as the ſame *Pliny* after addeth) *The ſaide poyſon can haue no certainty of time, according as Licimus Macer alſo ſaith.*

Poyſon can  
haue no cer-  
tainty of time

## CHAP. VII.

*Of diuers erroneous and idle opinions, continued in ſantaſtick braiues, and verily beleued, as if they were ſound truths.*



People erre in many matters, concerning diuers creatures (haply not inuented of them ſelues) but held by elder and precedent intimation, as little alſo apprehended or vnderſtoode by them; but, perhappes, meerer fictions of their owne braiues, vpon ſome appearing probable reaſons. As wiſe and worthie Poets, who haue enſtricted bad and beſtiall men, to the imitation of vertue, by witty fables and and pleaſant inuentions, which euer hath bene, and ſtill is permitted as lawfull in them, euen as the licence is allowed to Painters, as *Horus* ſiſtifieth ſaying:

*Poets and Painters equall power conſtaine,  
To ſay or do, what beſt ſhall like their braine.*

As for Painters, we ſee that they figure an Angell in the forme of a Youth, cloathed with a garment of Starres, bare headed, and hauing wings like a Bird. And the Soule of man is repreſented like to a young Infant, ſtark naked. The diuell, ſo haue hornes, and a dreadfull taile: And yet neuertheleſſe, theſe are but ſpirites without bodies, and cannot carry the ſemblance of any viſible creature.

In the like manner, Hell, which is but a place, is figured with a hideous gaping throat: Death, being but a priuation of life, is reſembled by the Anatonized bones of a dead man, carrying a Scythe in his hand. Loue, which is but a paſſion and accident, not ſubſiſting any way of it ſelfe; is painted and pretended like a naked

Reports de-  
liuered by an-  
cient people,  
do carry no  
mean credite  
among many.

The ſaying of  
Horace.

The variable  
ſhapes giuen  
by Painters  
to many  
things.  
Angell.  
Diuell.

Hell.  
Death.

Loue.

The Winds.

The twelue  
ſignes in the  
Zodiack in ſe-  
uerall figures.

The figures  
of heauen.

The Planets.

The Starres.

The elements  
Fire, Ayre,  
Water, Earth.

Creatures  
figured in ſa-  
bulous manner  
The Salamander.  
The Dolphin.

The Pellicane.

childe, and blind, wearing wings, a Bow, and a Quiuer furniſhed with Arrowes. The Winds, which are but a moued agitated Ayre; are figured with mens heads, hauing their Cheekes hugely ſwolne, euen as we ſee one founding of a Trumpet.

As for Aſtrologers, though they want paintings, whereby to enſtrict ignorant people: yet haue they demonſtrations likewiſe, and preſentation is made of the twelue Signes of the Zodiack (which are but certaine Starres) yet diſpoſed into diuers figures, as one of a Ramme, another of a Bull, the third of two twinned infants, &c. And ſo the images of heauen which are out of the Zodiack; one in forme of a Beare, another of an Eagle, others in riuers, in an Harpie, Dogge, Dragon, &c. And next the Planets, which are but ſtars, as Saturne, Iupiter, Mars, Mercurie, and Venus; theſe beare the forme of perſonages, in diuers habites and countenances: but the Sun and Moone are otherwiſe ſhewne and diſtinguiſhed.

Painters alſo haue euermore denoted the figure of a Starre with ſiue rayons or beames, thereby expreſſing their twinkling ſplendour: although all the Starres do not ſparkle in that manner; and well we know beſide, that they are all round in figure, without points or corporeall beams. As for the Elements, they figure the fire (which is inuiſible) like vnto our artificiall fire, which is not much amiſſe to the purpoſe. The Ayre cannot be painted, no more then heauen, cleare and tranſparent bodies; but yet they are repreſented by a blew or azure colour. Water is figured by Waues, and the Earth in ſhape of a Globe, rounde as a Ball.

Of Creatures, they counterfeyte ſome fabulouſly: as the Salamander, which is no ſuch thing as it is painted; nor the Dolphin likewiſe, as it is preſented in Armes and Deuices; Nor the Flower de Luce, as it is commonly knowne to euery one. And the Heart, be it of a man, or of other creature, it is of no ſuch ſhape as Painters giue it.

The Pellicane is figured, with her ſharpe Beake turned vpon hir beſt, which ſhe launceth therewith, to make hir blood yſſue forth, for the nouriſhing of hir yong ones, euen to the price of her owne life,

dying thereby: And yet we ſee and know that the Pellican hath her beak edgeleſſe, flat, and broad; juſtly like in faſhion vnto the Apothecaries Sparule or Slice, as being no way able to wound her beak. Alſo, the Greeke worde [*Pellican*], ſignifying an Axe or Coopers Adge or Ads, plainly declareth that her Beake is flat, & as it ſhould be.

Moreouer it is ſayde, that the Site or Hee-Bird, beareth the yong ones, euen as with blowes on the face, or (as wee vſe to ſay) boxes on the eare, vntill they are almoſt dead; and then the Dam woundeth her beak, to reſtore them with her blood: blowes commonly are giuen with flat, and not pointed things.

The Phoenix, being painted burning her ſelfe in a fire, prepared purpoſely for her; is much more fabulous. But al theſe things are lawfully permitted to Painters and Poets (as we ſaide before) vpon ſome good reſpect and ſecret reaſon, needleſſe to bee reported here; making men onely but of certaine erroneous opinions, which the vulgar holde for ſure and moſt certaine, and which are the more excuſable, becauſe many great Philoſophers and ancient Phyſitions, haue defended the like opinions.

### 1. Of the Viper.

I haue bin a very ancient opinion, that the Viper ioyneth with her male, by receiuing his head in at her mouth (through defect of other genitall partes) and that the female by the delight ſhe feelleth, locketh her teeth ſo faſt together, as thereby ſhe biteth off her males head, and ſo conceyeth. Afterwards, when the time for delivery cometh, the yong ones hauing no other yſſue, and (euen as it were) to reuenge the death of their Father: bite and reare the belly of their mother, whereby ſhe dyeth. Here is the reaſon why it is ſaide of a *Posthumus*, of whom the mother dieth in deliuerance, *He is like the Viper, that neuer ſeeth his father nor mother.* This hath ſometime ſerued as an Emblem with this deuice or motto, *Quod tibi fieri non viſi, alteri ne feceris.*

All this is falſe, and fauored by many, but badly; that being well vnderſtoode which *Aristotle* hath ſaid. *The Viper* (ſaith he) *is conceived of Egges which ſhe hatcheth*

The Phoenix.

In what man-  
ner the Viper  
is ſaide to en-  
gender by hir  
male.

Words giuen  
of the *post-  
humus*.

What thou  
wouldeſt not  
haue done to  
thee, doe not  
thou to ano-  
ther.

*Arist. in Anim.  
lib. 9. cap. 7.*

The Viper de-  
livereth her  
broode, but by  
one daily.

in her belly, and become little Vipers: they come fourth all formed, being dejoyled of the membrane or thinn skinne, which containeth them within the wombe, and that is their secondine. But the later-most (mooned with impatience) bite and teare that membrane, to issue forth the more hastily. For the damme or mother bringeth above twenty, and yet delivereth but one daily; which maketh the him-most impatient, and constraineth them angrily to gnawe the tunicle or membrane; but neither the mothers sides or belly, as is vainely imagined.

Many may be deceived also, concerning the originall and etymologie of the word, as if *Vipera* were to say, *Quasi vi patiens*: whereas it is (indeed) of *Vivum patiens*. For there is not any Serpent, that produceth her broode or young alive, or living, but the Viper. Others lay egges, which (out of the belly) are converted into Serpents.

#### 2. Of the Beasur, called *Caster* also.

The naturall  
understanding  
of the Beasur.

It is vulgarly helde, that this beast teareth away his testicles with his owne teeth, when he perceiveth himselfe to be pursued by Hunt-men: having a kind of knowledge naturally, that they seeke him only for them. Whereupon some thinke, that this name of *Caster* was given him: because he geldeth himselfe, and so (by consequent) becometh chaste.

Which is meere false, for, as *Diocorides* wrote long since; hee can by no means reach or touch his stones. Those are onely two tumours, which (by yeares) comes to him, & are as impostums, full of fatte matter or suppuration, called *Cistofariam*, which also hee can not teare away. And he is not teamed *Caster*, of gelding, or of chastitie; but of the Greeke word *Gaster*, which signifieth a Belly, because he is full punched, and this is nothing else, but by changing the letter *G* into *C*. Read hereupon the most learned History of *M. Rondestetus*, of Fishes, in the last chapter of the second Tome.

#### 3. Of the Salamander.

Great error is there also, concerning the true nature of this creature, which is said to live in the fire, and hath power to extinguisht it. From which coniecture,

was taken the device of great King *Frances*, the first of that name (father of Arts and Sciences) *Nutrisco, & extingo*: I feed and extinguisht.

*Diocorides* hath very learnedly delivered the contrary, and *Galen* also saying: That the Salamander can resist the fire for some time; but it burneth, by tarrying any long while therein. Nevertheless, it were better to hold with *Aristotle*, in saying; That the Salamander is not burned in the fire, but walkes aloft upon it, extinguisht both the flame and coales.

Experience, which is more strong then all authorities of the wisest in the world, teacheth vs, that this is a matter no way to be credited. As for the figure of the Salamander, the portraiture thereof also is meere fabulous, and contrived by Painters, who have thrust such an imagination upon it; making the also of it, to be a farre greater Beast then it is. It is like to the smaller sort of Lizzards, which frequent the walles in *Languedoc*, named *Langroles*, and in *Daulphine* *Larmises*. But the Salamander is somewhat greater, marked with many spots. His body is full of a white moyture, and thicke like Milke, which issueth forth by the pores of the skinn, pressing it never so little. Which milke or moyture is so colde, that the Salamander may (for some time) withstand the fire, but yet not long, without burning, roasting and dying, as we have many times made good triall of. Farre is it from quenching the fire, or much lesse living in it: like as the Chameleon lieth by the ayre; and I judge both alike in truth: albeit I never saw any Chameleon alive to make proofe of.

#### 4. Of the Shee-Bear.

It is said also, that the produceth a piece of flesh, not having the forme of any creature: and afterward shee heket it in such manner, that thereby onely shee giueth it both fashion and forme. This is but a kinde of hyperbolicall speaking, for to say truly, the yong one is very violently after the birth, being all couered with foame or froth, and in such a quantity, as it seemeth indeede but a lump of flesh, without any distinction of parts. The Dam or Mother cleaveth it immediately thereof, by licking al the filth away; wher-

Diocorides  
Galenus  
De Tempe.

Aristotle  
Aquilas

Painters have  
used in true  
nature of the  
Salamander.

Life Neuter,  
which is like  
the Lizzards  
burning alive  
and kept  
houses.

A definition  
of the Sal-  
monder re-  
semblance.

The Beasur  
brought forth  
apart it teare  
away the  
vul. although  
unto readily  
distinguish  
away and.

by (not long after) it appeareth in the true shape of a creature. So may we see a W helpe (or a yong Lambe newly yeaned) much muddled and besmeared at the first, as it is hardly knowne at the prime view: but when the Damme hath doone her louing and naturall Office, then all the parts are plainly seene and distinguished.

#### CHAP. VIII.

A vulgar Question: What Language a child shall speake, that never heard any speech. That a man or woman borne dumb, is necessarily deafe. As also, hee that is Nurst among dumbe people, And not, on the contrary, that one dumbe by Nature, should be deafe: And whence it ensueth, that a man is so tardie, in knowing howe to speake.

The opinion  
of the vulgar  
people.



Vulgar people beleuee, and hold it as a thing most assured, that a man shoulde naturally speake the Language of *Adam*, if he neuer learned any other speech from his infancy; even as if hee had bene nurst by a dumbe Woman, among dumbe people, or in a Desert utterly vninhabited of people, where neuer any speech had bene heard.

*Herodotus* declareth in his second book, that *Panmeticus*, a King of the *Aegyptians*, was delicious (on a time) to make proofe hereof, to the end, that he might iudge thereby, what was the most auncient and naturall Language, of all them that were spoken in the world. He caused two Children to bee nurst in a Forrest, where neuer any voyce of man was, or could be heard. After two yeeres were past, and they being brought before the King, sometimes they could pronounce this Word *Bec*, which in the Phrygian tongue, signifieth Bread. Whereupon some gathered, that the Phrygian was the first language of man.

The opinion  
of S. Augustine  
Aug. in Genes.  
lib. 9.

But as *Saint Augustine* saveth, these children might have learned the Word *Bec* (and so retained it) of Goats, among

which they were nourished. For, as hee sheweth in his worke of the quantitie of the Soule; all manner of speaking is by hearing, and by imitation. Notwithstanding, in his Booke of the Cittie of God, hee thinketh and beleueth, that before the confusion of Tongues (which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babel*) the Hebrew Language was naturally to all. As if words were an action proceeding from naturall instinct, or the simple and proper motion of the soule: even as if they had power in themselves (and of themselves, with some naturall inclinations) to bring forth in evidence and effect speech, without any enstructing. Such knowledge is to sucke, to cry, mourne, laugh, mouing hands and feet, & when strength serueth, to go.

The Goate, Lambe, Chicken, and other such like creatures, so soone as they are bred and brought forth, bring themselves to the teates, knowing naturally, that there is their nourishment. Beeing grown greater, they make choise (among a thousand diuers plants) such as best digest and agree with their complexion. They bleate and cackle, euen from their production, which answereth to the cries of children: and this is done without teaching, or any enstructing, or so much as example or imitation.

Man hath the like actions and representations, euen as other creatures, simply naturall of his owne, and without any apprenticeship. But the worde or Speech, which is a voyce significative, expressing the conceptions of a reasonable Soule: they proceede onely and wholly from a Science or Discipline, which is comprehended by the means of hearing. So that it is impossible, that any one being deafe, from his birth, and persevering in the same deafenesse, should euer knowe how to speake, although that his tongue, and other parts thereto appointed, are most exquisitely composed and ordained, as none more formally can be any way desired.

What then shall wee say of him that neuer heard any thing? Speech is a Discipline, no lesse then that of Musick: both the one and the other, are apprehended by hearing. From whence it cometh, that a childe (in what place soeuer it is nourished and brought vp) apprehendeth

Aug. in Civitat.  
Dei. lib. 11. ca. 11

A refutation  
of the latter  
words of S.  
Augustine.

Such things  
as are done  
by instinct of  
nature onely.

That wordes  
or speaking  
proceedeth  
of a science  
or discipline.

Speech is an  
instruction  
comparable  
to Musick.

The mouth  
tongue, or  
learned from  
the Mother.

That Adam  
had neuer  
spoken of  
himselfe, or  
naturally.

Men natur-  
ly more en-  
clined to ill  
then good.

What is truly  
naturall of  
the Soule.

The vnper-  
fected of children  
in their first  
yeares, & the  
effeate enu-  
ing by passi-  
ons of the  
minde,

The opinion  
of Aristotle,  
that the soule  
hath nothing  
of it selfe, as  
concerning  
Sciences.

eth and retaineth the same vulgar Language (which some rearme Vernacle or Maternall) whatsoever it be, either Hebrew, Greeke, Latine or Barbarisme; one is as easie to him as another. For, in hauing nothing by naturall impression, he is indifferent to all: like as the colour of white receiue all other tinctures, and some kinde of water all fauours; and so in the like comparisons.

Adam could neuer haue spoken any naturall language of his owne, no more then we: but God inspired him with an vnderstanding soule, capable of such a language as pleased him: As he did like wife to *Eue*; and their first children learned to speake by them, euen as ours now do of vs.

Heere wee are to know, that from the corruption of our first Parents transgression, we haue and hold all our naturall conditions and inclinations, and namely, the very greatest imperfection that can be, of enclining more vnto euill then good, more truly rearme Original sinne. But as concerning speech or speaking, we haue it not but by aptitude & habilitie, euen as all other disciplines or enforcements.

That which is truly naturall of our soule, is enchaired or carraied into a body of such quality, temperate and completion, as man ought to haue for his perfection. For the sonde nicenesse of birth, is like the infant in his first yeare, vnapt to reason, by the imperfection of his body, and likewise as they, who by accident of sicknesse, or passion of minde (as Loue and idle disturbances) become weakly brained, foolish, fottish, lunaticke, and mad. In all which imperfections, the soule is euermore her owne, remaining still in her integrity: and yet (neuertheless) cannot exercise her reason, by not hauing the body at her command.

Aristotle enstructeth (to singular good purpose) That our soule is ignorant of all things, and like vnto a new Table, newly polished and prepared, wherein nothing hath bene depicted or engrauen, when it was infused into the body of man, but sent downe from Heauen as we beleue. Shee hath nothing but simplicity, sincerity, purity, facility and conueniencie, with inclination and aptitude to euery Arte and Science, and to all

knowledge of things diuine and humane (which is the true definition of Philosophy) Alwayes referred and excepted, those faculties and actions, necessarily required in a liuing soule, as those in Beasts; which our soule exerciseth in the body from the very beginning, and before the infant is borne, without doctrine or discipline (as already hath bene related).

Doctrine is not requisite in her, but for Artes and Sciences, hauing nothing in her, whatsoever diuine Platolayeth to the contrary, affirming; That the reasonable soule hath knowledge of all things, when it cometh into the body: but being plunged and swarmed in the great humidity of the body, it forgetteth all. Like to him that becometh obliuious, or (as they say in Greeke) sicke of a Lethargie, in regard of the Phlegmaticke humour which drowneth his braine. But afterward, in such measure, as the body loseth this great humidity, and drieth it selfe by little and little: the Soule also recouereth it selfe by paucity of degrees, and comprehendeth all things demonstrated and shewne vnto her, as in remembering and acknowledging her selfe, and not in learning any nouelties.

This was the opinion of good olde Plato, which maketh well for such as affirme, that wee haue some certainty of Language, which came from our first Parents, Adam and Eue: and that wee should (in time) speake the very same, if the other, which wee ordinarily heare in our houses, did not preoccupare it. But in truth, our soule neyther knoweth, nor holdeth (of it selfe) any Language, nor is affected or giuen to any one in particular: but inclineth equally, and is indifferent to all tongues, and in so good manner, as one hindereth not another, which (perhaps) a naturall tongue would, if it had any at all. At leastwise, some flippes or branches would be remembered thereof, as in such, that could not altogether forget the accents, or the prolations, with some certaine words and phrases of their mother-tongue.

The reasonable soule then, hauing not any language of it selfe, is very proper and apt to comprehend, and well to expresse by sound and entire in-  
ments,

The true definition of philosophy concerning the Soule.

The opinion of Plato, quite contrary to that of Aristotle, concerning the capacity of the soule.

A naturall Language from our first Parents: Adam & Eue.

That our soul knoweth not any manner of language naturally.

The happy memory of King Mithridates.

That the voice is onely of nature, and not of words or speech.

Every creature hath properly a voice.

Arist. Probl. 57. lib. 11.

What it is to speake, how it is formed, and to what ende.

How an infant first to practice & attain to speech.

ments, all diuersity of tongues. As it is recorded of King *Mithridates*, to haue so happy a memory; that he could well and properly speake two and twenty diuers Languages.

By nature, we haue no more simply then a voice, common to all other creatures that breathe, and different onely in them, by and according to their kindes. For every animal hath a proper voice, which grossely signifieth his affections or passions: Which is no way knowne how to be expressed (saith *Ammenius* vpon Aristotle) or represented by letters or syllables, no more then the sundry murmures of the Sea, and of the Windes. Euen so, man in his prime or first moneths, when hee liueth simply as a beast, hath nothing but a voice onely, before hee learns to speake: whereof being depriv'd, he is said to be dumb, although he hath not lost his voice. Whereof Aristotle speaketh very notably in his Problems: That Man onely is dumb.

Speech then is nothing else, but to fashion and articulate the voice naturally, by addition of a vocall consonance, in the composing and enterlacing, for the expressing of significant words, which explicate, and (as a man may say) do infancture and produce the conceptions of man: which are infinitely more diuers, and in farre greater number, then those of other Creatures, exempted of reason and discourse. And therefore it greatly behooueth, that a man should know extraordinarily, how to diuersifie his voice, for answering to that which the great capacity of his spirit containeth.

An infant collecteth and assemblith diuers conceptions in his vnderstanding, and the words which he heareth (accompanied with some actions) strue to make signification of all: which he comprehendeth by little and little, and then retaineth by frequent reiteration. Afterward, when his tongue is growne more firme and able; hee strueth to represent that which he hath retained, by imperfect fumbling, and at the ende of a little long apprenticeship, speaketh like to a young Parrot, after a long time spent in listening. For otherwise, as well the one as the other, would haue but his branches or flippes, which is the naturall voice, without any other signification, then of certaine affections or passions, as we haue already said.

Lets now obserue that which Aristotle saith, in his Historie of Creatures. Those creatures which speake, haue voyce also: but all such as haue voyce, speake not. For, such as are deaffe by nature, are also dumb: whereby they may yet render a voyce, but not speake one word. And in his Booke of the Senes, and their organs, where he maketh a comparison of such as are blind and deaffe borne, he saith, Deaffe and dumbe are as accidents, which necessarily follow one another. Alfo *Alexander Aphrodisiens* produceth in his Problems, that being demanded, why men borne deaffe, should be dumbe likewise; answereth familiarly, They can neuer speake that which they neuer heard.

For better confirmation of this matter, we must necessarily adde that which Aristotle writeth in the same place before alledged, concerning the Voyce, and the singing of Birdes, which is in part simply naturall, and in part of some intelligence and learning as his owne amongst them. For, I will not heere inferre, that some man may reach a Bird, to tune another Song beside her owne: and the enstrucion of the dammes (both he and she) to their young ones. Whereby we may easily comprehend, that if Birdes haue one naturall song (which is the voyce common to all their kinde) and another taught or apprehended in time of continuing with their owne: that they could not so keepe and enioy, as if they had bin immediately seperated, and taken out of the nest. Euen so in like manner, an infant to be frequented with all people that speake, and (by their meere conuersation) instructed to speake; would else haue none other but his owne naturall voyce, as at the instant of his birth, and bringing into the world.

The voyce (saith Aristotle) displaeth, what difference is made to be among the languages of Beasts & Birdes, euen among them of one and the same kinde, in diuers places. Let the Partridge in sundry Countries (eue for example, hauing diuers notes; for some chucks or ionks, and others clacker or chirpe. And there are diuers smaller Birdes, which chaunt no such notes as their Dams doe; but being taken out of their Nests, are quite changed from paternall education: and so learne the tunes of other enstru'd Birdes, or of mens voices: inuring themselves to their notes, customs and manners. Sometime it hath bene obserued in a Nightingale, that taught

Difference betweene the voyce and speech. Arist in 4. lib. Aene. lib. 9. cap. 1.

Alex. Aphrodisiens lib. Probl. 133.

That the singing of Birdes is in part by apprehension or learning.

A child without teaching to speake, could haue but his naturall voyce.

Arist in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 7.

That Birdes do learne diuers notes & tunes one of another, besides their owne.



taught her *Targon* to her young ones, and so gave them imitation to diuers songs. For, speech cannot come of nature, as the voyce doth: but is to be attained by study and discipline. Thus you may perceiue also, why men make use of diuers Languages, albeit they are like to one another in voyce, &c.

The conclusion  
on what men  
boine dumbe  
are deafe also

Me-thinks this should seeme prooffe enough, that speech is a thing properly learned by the means of hearing, from whence it enlueth inuitably, that such as are deafe borne, & they that neuer heard any speech (without being deaffe) are dumbe by consequent, except (by succession of time) they doe enioy hearing, and their eares be vnstoppt; as we haue diuers times obserued, and made practise of, by children that haue not spoken before seauen or eight yeares.

What difference  
there is  
betweene the  
speech of In-  
fants & that  
of Birds.

Now I come (in passing along) to touch a point not impertinent to our purpose, to wit: What difference there is in the speech, which an Infant learneth of himselfe, from that of a Parrot, a Starling, a Pycar Larke, a Linner, a Thrush, a Rauen, a lalye, and such like, as they haue learned. Very certaine it is, that as their foules are different, euen so is their Language: in regard that a childe vnderstandeth what he speaketh, and would speake so and so, or better if hee could, to explicate and make his conceptions vnderstood: whereas on the contrary, a Bird hath not any intelligence, of the signification of whatsoever it pratleth. So that, if a Bird demanda, or answere sometime (prouing to purpose) it is by hap or aduenture, and not ordinary; except it bee suggested, remembered, or else expressly made to speake it.

Whosoever  
Birds practise  
is quite with-  
out any intel-  
ligence.

Moreover, a Bird will alwaies adde some crosse thwarting word or other, which argueth sufficiently, that it hath not any intelligence at all. Whereupon it hath bin commonly said, that whosoever speaketh, and knoweth not what he speaketh, prateth like a Parrot. So a simple man may learne some folly, or vnfitting words, in the *Germane, Polish*, or any other vnknowne tongue to him, and ignorantly vse it as a salutation, and be derided for his labour: like others, that thinking to bee reputed learned, will vse many Latine sentences and phrases, quite contrary to their owne meaning in the speaking.

It remaineth now to know, seeing the naturall dumbe man is deaffe by consequent: if likewise the man dumbe by nature (by reason of some defect in his tongue, or in other parts requisite for speaking) bee also deaffe consequently? *Laërtianus Firmianus*, in his Booke of the workes of God, would haue it to bee so: but being too grosse an Anatomist (as is easily comprehended by his reasons) hee is not in this point to be credited. *Alexander Aphrodisiæus*, in the place before alledged, seemeth to say no: but he buildeth vpon no good foundation, when he saith; That there is a paire of nerves, which come from the Braine, one portion whereof goeth to the tongue, and the other to the eares. And that by this means, the affections of the tongue and of the eares, doe easily communicate themselves together. Also, forasmuch as that one of the said portions may bee offended and corrupted, without the other: it happeneth also, that a man may become deaffe by some disease, and yet (on the contrary) not be dumbe.

But his supposition holdeth no place in this point, no more then the reasons of some moderne men; following *Pedro de Albano*, termed the Peace-maker, saying: That the first likeness in the Nerves of the Braine, which mooueth the tongue, is firmly allied to the first likeness, which serueth for hearing. For, as I will neuer grant, that defect of speech followeth deafenesse, by any consent or sympathy of the tongue with the eares, but only through want of enstrudion, which should be receiued by the eares: so can I not consent, that by the vice or incongruity of those parts dedicated to speaking, hearing should any way be offended.

In the acte also there is no likelyhood or coherence, considering that those parts worke not, eyther for the integrity, nor for the construction of the eares, and lesse for the enstrudion of hearing, who (for herselfe) hath no neede of any teaching, no more then the sight, or any of the exteriour senses. And as for them, they require nothing else, but to be free and open, without any impeachment or hinderance, and that their object should bee neere, within a certaine distance. Why then, we see and heare naturally, without any doctrine or discipline. Seeing then, that hearing neyther taketh or apprehendeth any thing of the verball instruments,

The second  
Argument:  
whether the  
dumbe man  
by birth is al-  
so deaffe by  
consequent.

Lesson in Opus.  
De lib. 5. cap. 7.

Alex. Aphrodisiæus  
lib. Probi. 133.

Diuers both  
ancient and  
moderne writ-  
ters decided in  
this point.

An especiall  
note well  
worth the ob-  
serving.

What the ex-  
terior senses  
doe necessarily  
require.

nor

Hearing ap-  
prehendeth  
nothing of the  
verball instru-  
ments, nor of  
words.

nor of words themselves (as concerning her owne simple action to heare) he that is dumbe from his birth, by the imperfection of his tongue, shall not be deaffe in that respect: no more, then as if from a braue discouraging man, the tongue should bee torne out of his head. And it hath bene commonly obserued, that such as haue their tongues cut or slit, haue heard neuer a iot the lesse in that regard, neither found any defect in their hearing.

If it be true then, that the instruments of speech, conferre not nor communicate particularly with the eares, and that speaking worketh nothing with hearing, as (on the contrary) hearing doth, and is necessarie for speech; it enlueth plainly, that the dumbe by nature, shall neuer heare in that respect (supposing, that the organ of the eare or hearing, is no way therein interferred. And that the deaffe by birth, must be dumbe necessarily: although in his tongue, and those other parts, requisite for speech, there is not any defect at all. Obserue then I praye, that in all this purpose, I speake of birth and of Nature, indifferently, to signifie the deafe or dumbe from the beginning. And I name the dumbe from birth, not he that cannot speake (for so wee should bee all dumbe) but hee that is not any way apte to speake.

Let vs come now to the third point. From whence it proceedeth, that a man hauing so prompt and able a spirite, that hee comprehendeth all thinges in small compasse of time; is yet (notwithstanding) so slow and tardie in knowing how to speake, and articulate his voyce. Whereas on the contrary, beasts & other creatures, immediately, or soone after their production, haue their voyce absolute & perfect, euen as well and fully, as euer they shall haue.

*Aristotle* in his Problemes, maketh answer hereto, saying; The voyce of man hath great diuersities in it; other creatures expresse no Letters at all, or very fewe, (as two or three onely) and without Consonants, which, ioyned with Vowels, make the worde. Speech (saith he) is not sly and simply of the voyce, but is perfected and accomplished of the affection or condition of the voyce, with signification; and the affections of the voyce, they are the letters. Children therefore, before they know how, or can pronounce

letters, expresse their passions (no otherwise then as beasts do) by a natural voyce and no way taught or instructed, which is common to all infants, of any country whatsoeuer. But yet speech is different in Towne and Towne, nay, in one and the same Towne or City, by reason of the voyce artificially distinguished, thorough the great diuersity of letters coupled, and interlaced of infinite kinds; whereof proceedeth diuers words, signifying an infinity of things. Seeing then, that there are so many manners or fashions of speaking, and that (of five or six letters) may be made fifty feuerall words, and al differing the one from the other: wee may easilie thereby vnderstand, why an infant formeth his voyce so late, in regard of beasts, who haue their voyces merely simple, & (as *Alexander Aphrodisiæus* sayth) most naturall of all creatures.

For, whatsoeuer is extremely diuers, & must be diuersified by many differences, cannot bee attained in any short space of time. Be it in regard of the soul, which apprehendeth the Science of speaking; or be it in the tongue, which ought to expresse it, & requirith time also, both to break and enable the words in their vttering, as we vse to say of the hand, for instruments of Musick. Whereupon he that is dumbe, beginneth at the first to mumble and stutle in the mouth, being not able to make a sound of all the Letters, nor to pronounce words with any hability; onely by reason of the tongues softnes, whereas her rudenesse requirith a new labour.

There is another doubt vpon the same purpose, which is much more vncleare to explicate, & *Aristotle* propoundeth it in his Problemes. From whence it cometh, that some infants begin to speake before due age, to whom commonly the words are formed, and after they haue wel expressed some words, become dumbe again, and return to the first condition, until the ordinary terme and time of speaking? Many haue held this to be prodigious, & especially, when it is told them, that some haue spokē at the very point of their birth. Questionles, it is very rare, and hardly to be credited: and yet it may well happen by naturall reason, as thus. An infant, at the same instant it heareth, it vnderstandeth, & then it may speake. But ordinarily, hearing goeth far before vnderstanding, & vnderstanding likewise precedeth

H h h h spea-

A child's  
speech hath  
many diuersi-  
ties and oddi-  
culties in it.

Difference of  
speech almost  
in euery Little  
and Towne.

Concerning  
the voyce of  
beasts.  
Alex. Aphrod.  
lib. Probi. 141

Things of ex-  
treme diuersi-  
tye came time  
or their lear-  
ning.

Arist. in lib. 11.  
Probi. 17.

What is the  
reason, that  
some infants  
speake before  
their time, &  
afterward be-  
come dumbe

speaking: the instrument for speech and words, is not (as yet) of such temperature as is convenient for explicating those things which the spirit hath conceived.

On the contrary, some speake much sooner then they knowe how to vnderstand (as we haue already saide of Parrats and other Birds that prattle) counterfeiting such words as they heare: vntill time conuenient for them both, that is to say, ability to vnderstand and speake. Such children then, to whom the obiectes of hearing make much sooner impression in the soule, then the instrument of Speech knowes how to perfect: it happeneth to them sometimes, that after they haue vnderstood diuers things, suddenly they pronounce them. And especially after they sleepe, when the spirits haue made themselves more copious; they haue the more strength and impetuous vigour, to moue the tongue in distinct manner. But this endureth not, neither can be of any long continuance; but the infant will returne to his first dumbnesse againe.

In like manner, sometimes wee shall finde our selues so disposed as (without thinking thereon) words and sentences will meerey flow in our mouths: whereof againe (at other times) we shall be so delayed and hindered, as wee can scarcely, or with any easie possibility, expresse things well knowne and familiar vnto vs. Euen so it may come to passe, that an infant shall speake something, and afterward his tongue returning to the first ordinarie condition: he becommeth dumbe, vntill the vttermost time of his perfection and strength.

It is a contrary case, in an infant that becommeth dumbe by deafnesse, after he hath spoken some gibbridge or prittie prattle, yea spoken intelligibly; as we haue heard credibly reported, concerning all the male children of M. *Anthony Butin* (a famous Apothecary in *Tolosa*, dwelling at the signe of the three Kings) fro which his daughters were exempted. They all spake, till about the age of foure years, & afterward became deafe in such sorte, as they could not heare any noyse; and so (by little and little) ceased to speake. This hapned, in regard that their hearing continuing no longer, they did easie forget

the little Language, which they had learned in their first yeares. As an infant (indeed) is very obliuious, by reason of his great humidity; and particularly the saide *Butins* children, who were verie rheumaticke. And so hauing no longer means of continuance, to apprehend and speake by hearing, they became dumbe. As any one, who hath learned some few French or Dutch words, through want of continuing conference in those Languages, forgets the little he had before. Or hee that discontinueth his Grammar, or from other Science, or playing on Instruments of Musike, easily forgetteth all by want of vse.

These and such like accidents hapning daily, confirme our first proposition, in fauour whereof, we haue thus largely discoursed. For, if one may become dunib, by reason of deafnesse, which happeneth by accident, & after he could speake who will make any doubt at all, but that the deafe by birth, must needs be incurably dumbe?

I will adde heereto a very notable accident, which maketh some-what to this purpose: of some, that by a Vvounde or hurt, or some sicknesse beside of the braine: haue wholly lost remembrance of all things, yea euen of speech, which they learned againe by little and little, like as children do, hauing hearing at their command, and the instruments of speech no way engaged. Graue men, and woorthie of faith, doe testifie, to haue seene some wounded in the head, from one side to the other, and euen in the eye (whereof M. *Rondeletius* relateth an History in his practice, and the appendix to the 21. Chapter) who forgot so much as their owne names, and were faine to bee taught all things, euen like yong children. So came they wholly to the first condition of an infant from birth: except vulgar speech, which yet some of them retained. But other impressions of their tongues became estranged, concerning Artes and Sciences learned before, and things which they had formerly both seene and knowne; all quite defaced out of their soules, by the inundation and raine of the harme.

*The End of the Ninth booke.*

Men learning Languages, may loose them by want of vse.

Deafe by birth, is incurably dumbe.

Of such as haue forgot all things, and their owne very names.

*Rondeletius lib. praecept. Cap. 21.*



## The Tenth Booke.

### CHAP. I.

*Of the Kingdome of Ireland: The Antiquity, Originall, and first Inhabitation thereof, according to the confirmation of the best approved Authors.*



IN the yeare of the world 1525, the holy Patriarch *Noah*, began to admonish the people, of vengeance to follow, for their wicked liues and detestable finnes; and hee prepared to builde the Arke, as thereby foreshewing to his kinsfolke and friends, the vniuersall Flood or Deluge that was to ensue, and wherewith the whole face of the earth should be couered within few yeares, except amendment grew from them in short time; all which he did before the Flood, one hundred and sue and twenty yeares. But when euery man seemed to neglect his worthe admonitions: *Noe* came to *Noah*, who was named *Cefara*, hearing this dreadful prophesie of her Vnckle, and doubting least it would come to pass: indeed, determined (with certain friends of hers) to seek their fortune in some forraigne Region. Persuading her selfe, that if she could find a Country neuer inhabited, and consequently vnspotted with sin: the generall sentence of Gods wrath would not there take effect.

Hereupon, rigging a Nauy, shee committed her selfe to the seas, sayling forth till: length she arrived in *Ireland*, with three men only, and fifty women; hauing

lost the residue of her company, by misfortune of sundry shipwrackes, sustayned in that her long and troublesome voyage. The names of the men were these, *Bibhi*, *Lagria*, and *Fintan*. The coast where shee first set foote on land, and where also she lyeth buried, was cald *Auicular Litus*. The Shipping ruine or store. The Stones, wherein the memory hereof was preserved from violence of the Waters, haue bene scene of some, as they themselves haue reported, but how truly I haue not to say.

Within forty daies after her coming on Land there, the vniuersall Floude came, and ouer-floued all that coast, as well as the other parts of the worlde. But whereas this tale bewrayeth it selfe (too manifestly) to bee an vntueth, if time and other circumstances be thorowly examined; I will stand no longer about the prooffe or disproofe thereof. Onely this is sufficient (I thinke) to bring it out of credite, to consider: that the Art of Navigation or sayling, was vnkowne to the world, before the vniuersall Deluge, and no part inhabited, except the continent of *Syria*, and thereabout.

But to let passe such a forged fable, with the record thereof engrauen in a Stone, (a device borrowed, as some thinke, from *Iosephus*) it shall bee sufficient for the glory of the Irish nation in their Antiquity, to graunt, that *Ireland* was discovered and peopled by some of *Noahs* kindred, euen as the first Islands of the Worlde (if they wil needs haue it so, as the likelihood is great) according to which is set forth in their histories. When about 300. yeares after the generall floude, immediately vpon the confusion of Tongues; *Asph*

*Bibhi*, *Lagria*, *Fintan*.

*Auicular Litus*.  
manuscript 1556

This tale carries a like lihood of any truth in it.

*Rab. Isaac in Gen. 5.*

*Antiquities*  
After the deluge  
and sometime  
300. yeares  
N. 100. be-  
tweene *Noahs*  
Flood, &  
Babel.

The warning given by *Noah* of the world: vniuersall destruction by water.

*Cefara*, who was the name of *Noah*.

*Cefara* arrived in *Ireland*, with three men, and fifty women.

Of such infants as loo- sell prattle to please, and yet saile ther- of afterwards.

An apt comparison of some conditions in our selues, answerable to childrens imperfections.

Of children becoming dumbe by deafnesse.

A rare example of dumbnesse.

and his posteritie (imboldened by *Noahs* example) aduentured by ship, to commit themselves to passe the seas, and to search out the unknowne corners of the world, and so finding out diuers isles in the west parts of the world.

There was (say they) in that retinue, one of the same progeny named *Bartolennus*, or *Bitholenus*, who, encouraged with the late attempt and successe of *Nimrod*, kinsman to *Ninus* (then newly intruded vpon the Monarchy of *Assyria*) searched to farre west-intending to attaine to some gouernement, where he might rule without any partner in authoritie; till at the length, Fortune brought him and his people vpon the coast of *Ireland*. Heere hee seled himselfe with his three sonnes *Languine*, *Salanus* and *Ruthurgus*, right actiue and stout Gentlemen, who, searching the Land from side to side, and from end to end, left remembrances of their names, in certaine notable places, and named after themas *Lingune*, *Stragrus* & mount *Salanus*, since named *Saint Dominicks* hill, and *Ruthurgus* his Poole. Little is remembered of *Bartolennus*, sauing that in short space (with many hands working at once) he ridde and made playne a great part of the Countrey, ouer-growne with woods and thickets.

Thus became *Ireland* inhabited by this people, vnder the gouernement of the three Sonnes to *Bartolennus*, and their offspring, for the space of three hundred yeares. Together with *Bartolennus*, arrived in *Ireland* certain vngodly people of *Nimrods* race, woorthily tearmed Giants, as those that (in bodily shape) exceeded the common proportion of other men, and vsed their strength to gaine soueraigntie, and to oppresse the weak with rapine and violence. That lineage (*Chams* brood) did grow, in short while, to great numbers, and alwaies endeououred themselves (wherefoeuer they came) to beare the rule ouer others. One cause thereof was their bodily strength, ansverable to their hugeness of stature; another, the examples of *Cham* or *Zorastres* the Magician, & *Nimrod*, grandfather to *Ninus*. Which two persons (in themselves and progenie) were renowned through the world as victorious Princes, ruling ouer two mighty Kingdomes, *Agypt* and *Assyria*.

A third cause also there was, namely,

they repined at the blessings bestowed on *Sem* and *Japhet*, thinking it necessary to withstand all lawfull rule and deminion: left the curse of slavery (prophecied by *Noah*) should light vpon them, as at the length it did. Whereupon, rebelliously withdrawing their obedience, from their lawfull Gouernours heere in *Ireland*, and taking head; they set vp a King of their owne fashion, and maintayning his estate to the oppression of the subiects, by bringing them into continuall bondage. The successe was variable on both sides, betweene the lawfull Gouernours and these vnrulers, with daily rilings and skirmishes, so much to the griefe of them, who conered to liue in quiet order vnder their rightfull Princes: that they determined, with the chance of one generall battell, eyther wholie to subdue those proud rebellious tyrants, or else, to end their liues in freedom, and so be rid of further misery.

But first, whereas there had growne certayne debates and enmities amongst themselves, whereby they had weakened their owne forces, they held it not amisse, to make peace together, before they put their whole state in hazard of one battell against the Giants: concluding therefore an agreement, & ioyning in league (with promise) to assist each other in subduing the common enemy. Growing to assemble their power, out of all partes of the land, and coming to ioyne battell with the Giants; after they had fought fiercely together for the space of certayne houres: victorie enclined to the rightfull part, so that the lawfull Kings preuailing against the vsurping tyrants, great slaughter was made on the whole broode of that mischieuous generation. For the Kings, meaning to free themselves from all danger in time to come, vsed their happy victorie with too great crueltie, which after turned to their owne confusion. For, sparing neyther man, woman, nor childe that came in their way, for mere despise, & fuller satisfying their intended reuenges, they vouchsafed not to bury the carcases of their slaine enemies, but cast them out like a sort of dead dogs; through the noyfull stench whereof, such an infectious pestilence ensued in all places, only thotow the ayres corruption, as few escaped with life, besides such as got away by Sea.

And hereby runnes a vaine tale among the

Exall examples are too quickly followed.

Rebellion against Gouernours.

A very generous and warlike resolution

It is not good in weakness, to warre with strong men,

Victory ouer such by rule, and with more rigour then needed.

A very strange infectious pestilence. *Amman*, 22:7.

the *Irish*, that one of the Giants named *Ruamus*, chancing to be preferred from this mortalitie, liued 2041 yeares, which is more then twise the age of *Methusalem*. By this man (say they) *Saint Patrick* was informed, concerning the whole estate of the Countrey, and afterwards, (vpon request) having received Baptisme of the sayd *Saint Patrick*: hee deceased in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour. foure hundred and thirty, as in the *Irish* historie hath bene very vnadually written. But, letting that passe, wee finde it recorded, That an infinite number of Giants were slayne and destroyed, in manner as hath bene already related: yet some got themselves into lurking Caves and Dens, and kept closely there, till lacke of food caused them to come forth, and make shift for sustenance. When, perceiving no resistance, because the Land was (in a manner) left desolate; they waxed bolder, and when they vnderstoode how matters had passed: they seled themselves in the best parts of the Countrey, easily subduing the poore silly soules that remayned, and so reuoining their lineage, they became lords of the whole Land, keeping the same in subiection, three score yeares together.

Among the sons of *Japhet*, we read in *Genesis*, that *Magog* was one, who planted his people in *Scythia*, neare *Tanis*, from thence, about the yere of the world, 2317 *Nemodus*, with his foure sonnes, *Starius*, *Garbanelles*, *Annius* and *Fergusius* Captaines ouer a faire companie of people) were sent into *Ireland*: who passing by *Grecia*, and taking in such as were desirous to seeke aduentures with them; at length they landed in *Ireland*, inhabited the Countrey, and multiplied the Land, although not without continuall warre, which they helde with the Giants two hundred and sixteene yeares. At the end of which tearme, the Giants preuailing, chased them thence agayne, so that they returned into *Syria*. This was about the yeare after the Creation (as by their account it should seeme) two thousand foure hundred thirtie three; from which time, the Giants kept possession of the Land (without forraigne inuasion) till the yeare two thousand seauen hundred and foureteene. But yet all that time, they were not able to frame a Common-wealth: for, falling still at variance among themselves,

and measuring euery thing by might, feaditiously they vexed one another.

Which comming to the knowledge of the *Grecians*, it moued fine brethren, sonnes to one *Dela* (being notable Seamen and skilfull Pilots) to rigge a Naue, & to attempt the conquest of this Land. These were all of the neereft posteritie to *Nemodus*, and named *Gandius*, *Genamius*, *Sagandus*, *Ruthranus* and *Slunius*. When all things were ready, and their companies assembled: they put to Sea, and landed at the length in *Ireland*; where finding the power of the Giants greatly weakened, by their owne quarrells and ciuile dissensions; with the more ease did they come to the end of their owne purpose, winning the whole Countrey, and vterly extirpating that bloodie generation, deadly enemies to mankind: diuiding also the Land into five parts, and in each of them they feruently reigning. Furthermore, to satish all sides, and auoyde contention; they concluded to fixe a Meare-stone in the middle point of *Ireland*, to which each of their kingdomes should extend; so that they might be equally partakers of the comodities, found within the Countrey soile.

These brethren also are supposed, to haue inuented the distribution of Shires into Cantreds, euery Cantred or Baronny to containe one hundred towne-ships. At length, desire of soueraigntie, set the five brethren at variance, and greatly hindered their growing wealth. But *Slunius*, getting the vpper hand, and bringing his foure brethren to a lowe ebbe: tooke on him as chiefe about his other brethren, intruding round about the Meare-middle Stone, for the space of certayne miles, which plot of ground (in time) obtayned the priuilege and name of one intire part, and now maketh vp the number of five parts (into which *Ireland* is sayd to be diuided) and is called *Ath*, and in Latine *Media*; taking this name (as some haue supposed) because (in respect of the other) it contained but the moiety of Cantreds, viz. sixteene; whereas each of the other Cantreds comprehended 32. a peccoe: or else, because it lyeth in the middle of the land. This part *Slunius* ioyned as a surplussage (ouer and aboue his inheritance) to the Monarchy; which part (notwithstanding) grew after to be a seuerall kingdom.

H h h h 3 Thirtie

Bartholennus or Bartolennus, Censuror, Censor.

Languine, Salanus, Ruthurgus, the three sons to Bartolennus.

Ruthurgus Stagnum.

Ireland first inhabited.

Giants arrived in Ireland.

Region the sonnes of Nemodus brought to Alston (Alston Bald) and the Orlennus.

The sonnes of Dela, neere in lineage to Nemodus, skilfull in Navigation.

They posse in Ireland, & vterly roode out the race of the Giants.

They diuided the whole Island into five parts, distinguished by a Meare-stone.

A Cantred.

Desire of Soueraigntie is the cause of variance.

Meth or the middle part of Ireland, and how it attained that name.

Slanius dyed  
and was bur-  
ied in a moun-  
taine in Meth

Thirty yeares the Monarchy yet continued in this order; but finally, *Slanius* departed this life, and was buried in a Mountaine of *Meth*, which till nowe (as they say) beareth name after him. Then the Princes, subiect to him, began to stomacke the matter, and denied their obedience to his successor: whereupon ensued continuall Warres betweene them, which (in long time) could neuer be fully ceased. In the necke of these troubles also, there arrived in *Ireland* a new Army of Scythians, who made claime vnto the Land (by a title of right) which they pretended from their fore-father *Nemadus*: and so taking and making parts, they set all in such an vprore, that hauocke vvas made on each side hostily, in most miserable manner.

Brennus cald  
such Ireland,  
to rule one  
part of the  
Iscles people

To be short, they spent themselves, in pursuing one another with such outrage: that they began to grow carelesse, what Nations or Soldiers they receyued to their ayde, either to keepe vp, or beate downe a side. By which occasion, the *Brittaines* also slept in among them, procuring *Brennus* the brother of *Belinus* to direct his course thither with the same Nauy, which he had made ready to passe o-uer into *Gallia*, now called *France*, to the ayde of *Segwine*, then King of the *Allobroges*, that invaded the Countreyes of *Sauoy* and *Daulphinia*.

Segwine King  
of the Allobroges

But his enterprize into *Ireland* tooke small effect, though there were other Kings of the Brittaines, that got dominion there: in such that *Gurguntius*, or *Gurguntius*, the sonne of *Belinus*, accounted *Ireland* (among other his dominions) to belong to him by lineall descent. Notwithstanding, the British Princes neuer enjoyed the quiet possession thereof, longer then they held it by maine force; but were often repelled, and put to the worse with seeking after it, finding there little other gaine then stripes, whereof they carried away good store. But now to come to the Spaniards, that lastly (vnder the conduct of foure Captaines) passed into *Ireland*, from *Bycay*, and inhabited that Island: it shall not be impertinent (following the order obserued) to speake somewhat of their originall, that it may the better appeare, from whence the Irish nation had their first beginning.

In the yearre of the world, 2436. after

the vniuersall flood, 870. while the Israelites serued in *Egypt*, *Gathelus* the sonne of one *Nelus*, a great Lord in *Grecia*, vpon disfauour was exiled his country, with a number of his factious friends and adherents. This noble Gentleman, beeing very wise, valiant, and well spoken: gotte honourable entertaine of *Pharaoh*, turnamed *Orus*. And afterward departing that Countrey, trauesed the seas, and landing first in *Portugall*, after some bickerings with the inhabitants: at length, yet hee got (by their consent) a portion of the Countrey, lying by the bankes of the Riuer, anciently called *Munila*, and nowe *Mondego*, where (shortly after) he began to builde a City, first named *Barachra*, but now *Barjola*, as *Helior Betinus* affirmeth.

After this, when the people vnder *Gathelus* began to encrease in power; thorough perswasion of the Spaniards they neighbours, they remoued into *Gallicia*, where they also builded a City, named *Brigitium*, which is now called *Cornua*. Finally, when they grew into such a huge multitude, that *Gallicia* was not able to sustaine them; *Gathelus*, with a certain number of them, passed o-uer into *Ireland* and there grew into such estimation with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge especially in Languages, hee was highly honoured. For he not onely enriched and beautified the Irish tongue; but instructed them in letters also: he fought vp their Antiquities, and likewise practised their youth in warlike exercises, after the manner of the Greekes and Egyptians, from whence he was descended.

To conclude, hee was so acceptable and welcome to them, that (to gratifie such a worthy benefactor) they agreed to call the Island *Gathelus*, and after his wife *Scotia*. This is one opinion, but yet incredible, not onely to *Humphrey Lluid*, but also to other learned men, and diligent searchers of Antiquities: by reason of the sundry arguments of improbability, as well in the miscount of yeares, as other vnlikelhoods found therein, when the circumstances come to be duly examined, thoroughly weighed, and well considered. Yet certaine it is, that *Ireland* was anciently named *Scotia*, and the people *Scots*, as by diuers old writings it may be sufficiently proued: albeit, by what occasion it took

The history  
of the Spaniards  
arrivall in  
Ireland, vnder  
the conduct of foure  
Captaines.

The Riuer of  
Munda, now  
Mondego.

Barachra now  
Barjola, as  
Helior Betinus  
affirmeth.

The Citie  
Compostella  
of Gallicia in  
Spain.

*Gathelus* passed  
into Ireland,  
and is there  
highly honoured.

The names of  
Ireland, and  
whereof they  
were deniued,  
as they holde  
opinion.

Ireland was  
anciently cal-  
led Scotia.

Bayon builded  
by Gathelus his  
people

The gouernour  
of Bayon, and  
foure brethren  
Spaniards  
travell'd to  
seeke their  
fortune a-  
broad.

*Gurguntius*  
coming from  
the conquest  
of Denmarke.

*Gurguntius*  
appointeth  
the Spaniards  
seates in Ire-  
land; yee lue  
vnder his  
subiection.

first that name, or from whence they came, it is yet doubted. But to proceede with the History, as we finde it. The residue of *Gathelus* his people, which remained in Spain, founded the City of *Bayon*, in the Confines of *Galicie*, and replenished the Sea coastes of *Spain*, with store of inhabitants. And wel-neere about two hundred yeares, after their first arrivall there (when they were againe pestered with multitudes of people) they began to fancie a new voyage: but whether at that time, or some other els, they crossed o-uer into Ireland, is altogether vncertaine.

Notwithstanding, sure it is, that in the dayes of *Gurguntius*, King of the Brittaines, the cheefe Gouernour of *Bayon*, with four Brethren Spaniards, two of which are said to be *Hibernus* and *Hermion*, not the sonnes (as some thinke) of *Gathelus* (as *Helior Betinus* affirmeth) but some other perhaps, that were descended of him; who vnderstanding that diuers of the western Isles were empty of inhabitants: assembling a great company of men, women, and children, embarked with the same in three score great vessels, and directing their course vvestwarde, hovered a long time on the Sea, about the Isles of *Orkeney*. At length, they met (by good hap) with *Gurguntius*, then returning from the conquest of *Denmarke* (as in the British history it appeareth) whom they besought in consideration of their want of victuals and other necessities (being such, as they were no longer able to endure the Sea, being cumbered with such store of women and children) to direct & appoint them some place, where they might inhabit: promising to hold the same of him, and to become liege-people to him and his heires for euer.

*Gurguntius* aduising with himselfe hereon, remembered, with what trouble he held the Irish in subiection, & conceiuing hope that these strangers might either subdue, or wholly destroy that vnuly generation; accepted & took those oathes of the Spaniards with hostages, & furnishing them & their ships, with all needfull things; set them o-uer into Ireland, where, assisted with such Brittaines as *Gurguntius* had appointed to go with them for their guides: they made a conquest of the whole country, & settled themselves joyfully therein.

Some write, that *Ireland* was (before that present) void of all inhabitants: but yet they agree, that these Spaniards were guided thither by the Brittaines, & vnder such conditions as before is recited. Vnder hereby it appeareth, that the kings of Britain had an elder right to the realm of *Ireland*, then by the conquest of *K. Henry 2.* which title they euer maintained, & sometimes prevailed in pursuit thereof, as in the daies of *K. Arthur*, to whom the Irish (as in diuers histories is remembered) acknowledged their due subiection, with payme of their tribute, & making their appearance at the city, called in the British toong, *Caer Lheon*. Whereunto, when their free assent, the submission of their Princes, with lawfull conquest & prescription are annexed, an inuincible title must needs be enforced.

But now to our purpose. The Spaniards substantially assisted with the Brittaines, settled themselves, and diuided their seats in quarters; the foure Brethren reigning severally apart in sundry portions, with good quietnesse and encrease of wealth: vntill pride & ambition armed two of them, against the other two; as *Hibernus* and one of his brethren, against *Hermion* and his Brother. In this dissension, *Hermion* slew his brother *Hibernus*: of whom, at the same time (as some hold) the country was named *Hibernia*. Although some are of opinion, that it tooke name of Iron, by plentifull Mines of that kinde of Mettall, wherewith the land abounded: & so those Authors of Antiquity, which call it *Ierna*, name it more aptly after the speech of the inhabitants, then others which call it *Hibernia*.

Proceede wee now to *Hermion*, who to auoyde the ill opinion of men, by attaining thus to the Soueraignty, making his way through his brothers blood most vnaturally, and in an vnhappy Citill Warre: purged himselfe to his subiects, that neither maliciously, nor contentiously, but for his necessarie defence and safety, hee had borne Armes against his brethren. And to witnesse, how farre he was from all desire to rule alone: hee appointed certaine Captaines, as Kings, to rule (vnder him) severall Countreyes: referring to himselfe but one fourth part, and the portion of *Meth*, allotted to the Monarchy, for the better maintenance of his estate.

The arrivall  
of the Spaniards  
into Ireland,  
and their conquest  
there.

Geffrey Men.

The first were  
subiect to *K. Arthur*, and  
payd him  
Tribute at  
well Chester.

Dissension  
betweene the  
brethren,  
such are the  
fruits of ambition.

*Hibernus*, after  
the name of  
*Hibernus*, as  
some imagined.

No crime so  
manifest or  
detestable,  
that wanteth  
a reasonable  
prouidence to  
excuse it.

These

Ireland di-  
vided into five  
Kingdomes:  
And one four-  
raigne Ruler  
ouer the rest.

These parts appointed fourth in this  
wife, at length grew to five Kingdomes,  
*Leinster, Connaght, Ulster, and Mounster*  
divided into two parts, and sometime to  
more, by vsurping or compounding a-  
mong themselves: but euer, one was cho-  
sen to bee chiefe: foueraigne Monarch o-  
uer them all. Thus it seemeth certainly,  
that the *Spaniards* of the North parts of  
*Spain*, inhabiting about the Countries of  
*Biscaye* and *Gallicia*, came and peopled *Ire-*  
*land* (as both their owne Histories, & the  
*British* do agree wholly) but from whence  
they came first, to inhabit those Coun-  
tries of *Spain*, cannot by me be auouched.  
For no other Writers (but such as haue  
registred the *Scottish* Chronicles) make  
mention of *Gathelus* his coming thither,  
with *Scota* his Wife, and their people, as  
by the said Chronicles is pretended.

An hundred  
and thirty  
Kings from  
Hermion to  
Laogorius.

An hundred and thirty chiefe Kings  
are reckoned of this Nation, from *Her-*  
*mion* to *Laogorius*, the sonne of *Nealus*  
*Magnus*; in whose time, that holy esteem-  
ed man, *S. Patricke* conuerted them to  
Christianity. But now, while the *Irishmen*  
liued in some tollerable rest & order, vnder  
their feuerall Kings; one *Rodericke*, a  
*Scythian* Prince (with a small company of  
men, being weather-driven about the  
Coasts of *Britaine*) was by chance cast  
vpon the thore of *Ireland*. These were  
*Picts*, and the very first that had bin heard  
off in those parts (as some good Authors  
haue recorded) a people (euen from their  
cradle) naturally addicted to contention,  
land-leapers, mercilesse, fierce and hardy.  
They being brought & presented to the  
*Irish* King, desired Interpreters; which  
being granted them; *Roderick* their chiefe  
Commander and Leader, made this re-  
quest for him and his, as followeth.

### The Oration of Roderick, King of the Picts, to the King of Ireland.



Or as degenerate, or falling  
from the courage of our An-  
cestours, but falsioning our  
selues to Fortunes confesse,  
wee are become so crasse of  
*Ireland* (as humble suppliants) who neuer  
before this present, haue embased our selues

to any other Nation. Behold Sir King, and  
regard vs well: no light occasion causeth  
these lustie bodies to stoop. Scythians  
we are, and Picts of Scythia; no small por-  
tion of glory remaineth in these two names.  
What shall I speake of the ciuill warre, that  
hath expelled vs from our native homes, or  
rip vp olde Histories, to mooue strangers to  
bemoane vs? Let our seruants and chil-  
dren discourse thereof at leisure. Our in-  
stant motion is, to grant vs some time of a-  
bode in your Land, for which effect & pur-  
pose, our vtmost necessity beseecheth your fa-  
uour: A King, of a King, and men of men,  
are to craue assistance.

Princes can well discern and consider,  
how neere it toucheth their honour and rep-  
utation, yet, and their owne surety, to re-  
pulsed and releue the state of a King, decayed by  
treson. And manifest it is to all men of  
reasonable consideration, that nothing more  
becometh the nature of men, then to be mo-  
ued with compassion: yet, euen (as it were)  
to feeble themselves hurt, when they heare  
and consider of and other mens calamities.  
Admit then (we beseech you) and recuee a-  
mong yet, these few scattered remnants of  
Scythians. If your roomes be narrow, we  
are not many: If the soile of your Country  
be barren, we are borne and inured to har-  
diness: If you liue in peace, wee are at your  
command as subiects: If you warre, we are  
ready to serue you as Soliaours. We demand  
no Kingdome, no State, no pompeous triumph  
in Ireland. We are here alone, and haue left  
such vanities behinde vs with our enemies.  
Howsoeuer you esteeme of vs, we shall con-  
tent our selues therewith, and learne so to frame  
our likings to yours: as calling into minde,  
what we haue bene, not what we are.

Great consultation was had about the  
request of these strangers, & many things  
debated to and fro. In conclusion, the  
*Irish* gaue forth for answer, the opinion  
of their Antiquaries, such as were skillfull  
in olde Histories, & graue sayings of their  
Elders. Whereby they gathered, that it  
could not be expedient for the, to accept  
the *Scythians* into their Land; because  
commixture of Nations in any Realme,  
bringeth quarrels. Moreover, the mul-  
titude of their owne Inhabitants was  
such, that roome in the whole life was  
scarce able to recuee them: and therefore  
those few new commers, being placed a-  
mong

Dreadfull he  
delibereth of  
what country  
they are, and  
what manner  
of people in  
the Country.

Princes can  
best iudge  
how to suc-  
cure and re-  
leue one an-  
others dis-  
tresses.

Misery is very  
apt in making  
thieves of  
great humil-  
itation.

In doubtfull  
cases it is al-  
ways good  
to consult  
with delibera-  
tion & aduice

mong so many auncient Inhabitants,  
might quickly breed disturbance to bring  
all out of ioynt, neuerthelesse, they re-  
turned them this answer.

### The Answer of the Irish King, to the Oration made by King Rodericke.

WE haue considered on your request,  
as also those extremities vndging  
thereto: And though we may not (conueni-  
ently) recuee you among vs; yet shall you  
finde vs ready in furthering ye to our neigh-  
bours. Not farre hence lyeth the great Isle  
of *Britaine*, in the North-part whereof (be-  
ing vnde of Inhabitants) your manhood and  
politic may purchase roome, to place your  
selues at your ease. We shall appoint Cap-  
taines to guide you thither, and wee shall as-  
sist ye with our Forces in that Countrey.  
Make ready your Shippes, that you may passe  
thither with all conuenient speed.

Wise men  
preuent their  
owne perils  
by putting  
the to others,  
so the Irish  
peruaded the  
Picts to place  
thems in Brit-  
taine.

Marinus, other  
wife called  
Aurragus  
King of the  
Pritaines slew  
King Roderick

The Brittaines  
scooned to  
marry their  
daughters  
with the Picts

lyth, and (by entreaty) obtained Wives  
from them, with condition, that if the  
Crown should hap to fall in contention,  
they should yeelde thus much to the pre-  
rogative of the woman: that the Prince  
should bee elected rather of the blood  
Royall of the Female kinde, then of the  
Male. Which order (saith Beda) the *Picts*  
were very well knowne to keepe vnto his  
time.

Heere I could enter into a long, vari-  
ous and fruitfull discourse, concerning  
great combutions, warres and bloody  
contentions, happening (for a very long  
time) betweene the *Irish*, *Picts* and *Scots*:  
but being impertinent to my intended  
purpose, and little beneficiall to the Rea-  
der, I will first describe the parts and di-  
visions of *Ireland* into Shires and Coun-  
ties, and then proceed to shew, how it  
recueed the Christian faith at the first.

*Ireland* became diuided into foure Re-  
gions; *Leinster* East; *Connaght* West;  
*Ulster* North; *Mounster* South: And in-  
to a fift plot, defalked from euery fourth  
part, yet mearing on each part, called  
thereof *Media*, Meeth, comprizing as well  
East Meeth, as West Meeth. *Leinster* but-  
teth vpon *England*; *Ulster* vpon the *Scot-*  
*tish* Islands, which face with the *Hebrides*,  
scattered betwene both the Realmes:  
wherein (at this day) the *Irish* Scot, Suc-  
cessour of the elder *Scythians*, *Pict* or *Red-*  
*shanks* dwellth. Each of these fiue, where  
they are frame-able to ciuility, & answer  
the Writts of the Princes Courts; are  
funded into Shires or Counties in this  
manner.

In *Leinster* lyeth the Counties of  
*Dublyn*, *Kildare*, *Weisford* or *Gueisford*,  
*Catherlach*, *Kilkenny*, the Counties of  
*Lesse* and *Ophalie*, called the Kings and  
Queenes Counties: these two were so  
named by Parliament, in the Reignes of  
*Phillip* and *Mary*, hauing Shire-Townes  
concordant, as *Phillips* Towne, and *Mary*-  
*Borough*.

*Connaght* hath the County *Clare*.  
*Ulster*, the Counties of *Louth*, *Downe*,  
*Antrim*, one moiety of the Towne of *Dro-*  
*ghedagh* (for the rest is in *Meeth*) and *Car-*  
*refergus*.

In *Mounster* lyeth the Counties of *Wit-*  
*terford*, *Limerike*, *Corke*, the County *Pa-*  
*lantine* of *Tipperary*, *Kerie*, & the Crosse  
of *Tipperarie*. In elder time, *Mounster*

Picts marry  
with the Irish,  
and conuen-  
tione incestuous  
of their kind

The diuisions  
of Ireland.

1 Le. genia.  
2 Connaght.  
3 Ulster.  
4 Mononia.  
5 Media.  
West Meeth  
& East Meeth  
Hebrides.

The Shires &  
Counties of  
Ireland.  
Leinster.

Connaght.  
Ulster.

Mounster, and  
how diuided  
in elder time.

was diuided into East *Mounster*, *Ormond*, West *Mounster*, *Desmond*, South *Mounster*, and *Toomehound*. Now the reason why *Ireland* was thus diuided, you haue heard already. by the five brethren arriving there, valiant and Martiall Gentlemen; *Gandius*, *Gensadius*, *Sagundus*, otherwise named *Gangandus*, *Rutheragus* or *Ratheranus* and *Slanius*.

Another diuision of *Ireland* into the *English Pale*, and the *Irish*.

There was also another diuision of *Ireland*, into the *English Pale*, and *Irishory*. For, when *Ireland* was subdued by the *English*, diuers of the Conquerours planted themselves neere vnto *Dublin*, and the confines thereto adioyning, and so enclosing and impaling themselves (as it were) within certaine lists and territories; they forced away the *Irish*. Inſomuch, as that Country became meete *English*, and thereof it was termed the *English Pale*: which (in ancient time) stretched from *Dundalk* to *Catherlagh* or *Kilkenny*. But afterward, what by the slackneſſe of Marchers, and encroaching of the *Irish* enemy, the ſcope of the *English Pale* became greatly impaired, being cramped and caught into an odder corner of the Country, named *Fingall*, with a parcell of *Meeth* the Kings Land, the Countreies of *Killare* & *Louth*, which parts were applyed cheefely with good husbandry, and taken for the richest and cinieſt ſoyles in *Ireland*. But *Fingall* eſpecially (from time to time) was alwayes ſo addicted to the chiefe points of husbandry; as that they became nicknamed by their neighbors (for their continual drudgery) *Colloones*, of the Latine word *Coloni*, wherunto the clipp *English* word *Clowne*, ſeemeth to be anſwerable.

The employment of the *English Pale*.

*Fingall* excell'd in husbandry.

*Colloones* of *Fingall* clowns.

*Fingall*, and why it was ſo named.

The great civility in ancient times among the impaled dwellers.

The word *Fingall* counteraileth in *English*, the race or ſepte of the *English* or ſtrangers, becauſe they were ſolyeized off that part of the Iſland, grying with their Talents that warre enſt to firmly; that from the Conqueſt, to this day, the *Irish* enemy could not rouse the thence. The Inhabitants of the *English Pale*, haue beene (in olde time) ſo much addicted to their civility, and ſo farre ſequestred from barbarous ſavageſſe; that their onely mother tongue was *English*. And truly, ſo long as theſe impaled dwellers, did ſunder themſelves (as well in land, as in language) from the rude *Irish* rudeneſſe by day by day ſupplanted in the Country,

civility engrafted, good lawes eſtabliſht, loyalty obſerued, rebellion ſuppreſſed, & in the ende, the coine of a young *England* was like to ſhoote in *Ireland*. But when their poſterity became not altogether to wary in keeping, as their Anceſtors were valiant in conquering; the *Irish* language became free denized in the *English Pale*. This canker tooke ſuch deepe roote, that the body, which before was whole and ſound: became ſettered by little and little, and (in a manner) wholly putrified. And not only this parcel of *Ireland* grew to that civility; but *Wiſter* alſo, and the greater part of *Mounſter*. Albeit, of all other places, *Wiſterford*, with the territory baied, and percolod within the River called the *Pill*, was ſo quite eſtranged from *Irishory* (which was rare in thoſe dayes) that if a trauailer of the *Irish*, had pitcht his foote within the *Pill*, and ſpoken *Irish*; the *Wiſterfordians* would command him forthwith, to turne the other ende of his tongue, and ſpeake *English*, or elſe to bring his Troughman with him. But afterward, they ſo acquainted themſelves with the *Irish*, making a mingle-mangle of both languages, that (commonly) the Inhabitants of the meaner ſort, grew to ſpeake neither good *English* nor good *Irish*.

The *Irish* Language free denized in the *English Pale*.

*Wiſterford* ſheweth *English*.

The River *Pill*.

*Ireland* enſeſtrated in the *Christian* faith by *Saint James* the Apoſtle.

*James* the King of *Scotland*.

A *British* woman converted the queen of *Ireland* to the faith.

Wee come now to declare, in what manner *Ireland* came to receiue the *Christian* faith: And finde, that immediately after *Christs* time, *Saint James* the Apoſtle & other, trauailing into theſe *West* parts; did firſt enſtruct the *Irish* people, and teach them the glad tydings of the Goſpel. So that diuers among them, euen then were chriſtened, and beleueed: but not in ſuch numbers (as may be thought) whereby it ſhould be faid, that the Country was generally converted. Notwithſtanding, the *Scottiſh* Chronicles doe avenge, that in the dayes of *Fingormack* their King, who departed this life in the year of our Redemption, 358, *Ireland* was converted to the faith, by this meanes.

A woman of the *British* blood (ſay they) chanced in thoſe dayes to ſerue the Queene of *Ireland*; which woman herſelfe being a *Christian*, firſt enſtructed her Queene and Miſtreſſe, in the faith & true points of *Christianity*, & the Queene her Husband the King, who converted the whole *Irish* Nation. Howbeit, by the report

of the *Irish* Writers themſelves, this ſhould not ſeeme altogether true.

The hereſie of *Pelagius* had greatly decayed *Christian* faith in the *West* parts of the world.

For they affirmed, that their Country was rather ſtill eſteemed as one of the vn-chriſtend ſiles, till about the yeare of our Lord, foure hundred twenty and ſix: when *Celeſtine*, the firſt of that name, gouerned the See of *Rome*, who, on conference had with his Cleargie, touching the reſtoring of the *Christian* faith in the *West* parts of the world (greatly there decayed by the hereſie of *Pelagius*) vnderſtood that *Ireland* alſo, by reaſon of diſtance from the heart of *Chriſtendome*, and rudeneſſe of the Nation; had receiued little fruit at all of true Religion, a thing much to be lamented.

*Paladius* made offer to go into *Ireland*, and therupon was conſecrated Biſhop.

Among other, that then were aſſembled to treat of thoſe matters, was one *Paladius*, Arch-deacon of *Rome*, who offered his charitable trauaile, towards the conuerſion of thoſe lands, whither it ſhould pleaſe them to appoynt him to goe. *Celeſtine* knowing the ſufficiencie of the man, conſecrated him Biſhop, authorized his journey by Letters vnder his Seale, furniſhed him with the Bible with great ſolemneſſe, and other monuments, in furtherance of his good ſpede, for ſo long and tedious a iourney.

*Paladius* landed in the north of *Ireland*, and converted many to the Faith.

At length hee landed in the North of *Ireland*, from whence he hardly eſcaped (with life) into the Iſles adioyning, where he preached the Goſpell, and converted no ſmall number of *Scots* to the *Christian* faith and beleefe; purging alſo that part which was chriſtened, from the infection of the *Pelagians*, as in the *Scottiſh* hiſtorie more at large appeareth. He was required by the *Scots*, that dwell in *Britaine*, to leaue the Iſles, and come ouer to them, there to enſtruct the people in the way of true ſaluation: to the which (with the Popes licence) he ſeem'd willing enough. And the biſhop of *Rome*, the more readily conſidenced thereto, becauſe at that inſtant time, when *Paladius* was to depart: one *Patrick* attended at *Rome*, ſuing for licence to be ſent into *Ireland*.

*Patrick* ſent into *Ireland*, and *Paladius* appointed to go into *Scotland*.

The Pope therefore granted, that *Paladius* might paſſe ouer to the *Scottes* in *Britaine*, and appoynted *Patrick* to goe (with authoritie from him) into *Ireland*,

where, vpon his arriual, hee found the people ſo well bent to heare his admonitions (contrary to their accuſtomed forwardneſſe) that a man would haue imagined, vpon ſight of their readineſſe; that the Land had beene referred for him to conuert. And becauſe it pleaſed God, to beſtow ſuch an vniuerſall benefite on the Land, by his meanes; wee thought good (by following our Author herein) to touch ſome part of the courſe of his life.

This *Patrick*, in Latine called *Patricius*, was borne in the Marches betweene *England* and *Scotland*, in a Towne by the Sea ſide, named *Eiburne*, whoſe fathers name was likewiſe called *Calphurnius*, a Deacon, and ſonne to a Priſt: his Mother, named *Concheſe*, was liſter to *S. Martine*, that famous Biſhoppe of *Tours* in *France*. *Patrick* (of a child) was brought vp in learning, and well enſtructed in the faith, beeing much giuen to deuotion. The *Irishmen* (in thoſe dayes) aſſiſted with ſome *Scots* and *Picts*, were become arch-Pirats, greatly diſquieting the Seas about the Coaſts of *Britaine*, and vſed to ſacke little ſmall Villages, that lay ſcatteringly along the ſhore, and would leade away the Inhabitants captiue home into their Country. And as it chanced, *Patrick* being a Lad of ſixteen years olde, and a Scholler then in ſecular learning: was taken among other, and became ſlaue to an *Irish* Lord called *Machutus*, from who (after the terme of ſix years) he redeemed himſelfe, with a piece of gold, which he found in a clod of earth, that the ſwine had newly turned vp, as he followed the in the time of his captiuiety, beeing appointed (by his Maſter) to take charge of them, and keepe them.

And as affliction (commonly) maketh men religious; the regard of his former education, had ſtamped in him ſuch remorſe and humility, that beeing thenceforth weaned from the world: he betooke himſelfe to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and truth in that Land. And withall not deſpairing, but that (in continuance of time) ſome good might be wrought vpon them; hee learned the Language perfectly. And, alluring one of that Nation, to beare him company for exerciſe ſake; hee departed thence, and got him into *France*, euer hauing in his minde, a deſire to ſee the conuerſion

The towardneſſe of the *Irish* men, to heare *Patrick* preaching.

In what place *Saint Patrick* was borne.

The life of *S. Patrick* diſcourſed briefly.

*Saint Patrick* taken priſoner when he was young, and how hee redeemed himſelfe.

Affliction is an eſpeciall meanes to make men become religious.

The paſſage *Patrick* made into *France*.



uerion of the *Irish* people, whose babes yet vnborne, seemed to him in his dreaming, from forth their mothers wombs, to call for Christendome.

In this purpose, he fought out his vnkle *Marine*, by whose meanes he was placed with *Germanus* the Bith. of *Auxerre*, continuing with him as Scholler or Disciple for the space of fourtie yeares: all which time hee bestowed in the studie of holy Scriptures, Prayers, and such godly exercises. Afterwards, being renowned through the Latine Church, for his wisdom, vertue and learning: hee went to *Rome*, bearing Letters with him in his commendation from the *French* Bishops vnto Pope *Celestine*, to whom hee vntered his whole minde and fecrer vow, which long before hee had conceived as touching *Ireland*. *Celestine* inuested him Archbishop and Primate of the whole Island, fet him forward with all fauor he could deuise, bringing him and his disciples onward to their Countrey.

In the 23 yeare of the Emperour *Theodosius* the younger, being the yeare of our Lord, 430. *Patrick* landed in *Ireland*, and because he spake the tongue perfectly, and withall, being a reuerend personage in the eyes of all men; many listened and gaue eare to his preaching. And the rather, because (as some Writers haue recorded) he confirmed his Doctrine with diuerse miracles. But especially those men regarded his words before all others, that had some taste of the Christian Faith before, cyther by the comming into those partes of *Paladius* and his Disciple one *A'huir*, an *Irish* Bishop, or otherwise by some other. For, it is to be thought, that continually there remained some spak of knowledge of Christianity, euer since the first preaching of the Gospell, which was shortly after Christs Ascension, by *S. James* as before is mentioned. But in continuance of time, *Patrick* wonne the better part of that kingdome to the faith of Christ.

*Laigerius* son to *Nealus* the great Monarch, albeit hee received not the Gospell himselfe; yet he permitted all that would to embrace it. But because he refused to be baptised, and apply to his doctrine; the Bishop denounced against him a curse from God accordingly, but yet tempered with mercy and iudgement, as thus: That during his life he should be victorious: but

after him, neither should the kingdome stand, nor his lineage inherit. Thence hee tooke his way to *Conill*, lord of *Connagh*, who honorably received him, and was converted with all his people; sending him afterward to his brother *Lozan*, king of *Leinster*, who he also converted. In *Mounster* hee found great friendship, by the means of an Earle there, called the Earle of *Daris*, who honored him highly, & gaue him a dwelling place in the East Angle of *Armagh*, called *Sorta*, where he erected many Celles and Monasteries, both for religious men and women. Hee trauelled 30. yeares in preaching through the land, planting Bishops and Priests in conuenient places, whose learning and conuersation, by the speciall grace & fauor of God, established the Faith in that rude nation. Other 30. yeares he spent in his prouince of *Armagh*, among his brethren placed in those houses of Religion, which by his meanes were founded. So he liued (in all) about 122. yeares, and lyeth buried in *Downe*.

Now, concerning the chiefe cities and townes of *Ireland*, we are first to speake of *Dublin*, termed the beaurtie and eye of *Ireland*. I find it recorded, that about the yere 155. three noble Easterlings, being brethren, arrived in *Ireland*, whose names were *Auellanus*, *Sitaracus* and *Tuorus*. *Auellanus* being the eldest brother, built *Dublin*; *Sitaracus*, *Waterford* and *Tuorus*, *Limericke*. Of the founder *Auellanus*, *Dublin* was termed *Auellana*, and after, by corruption of speech, *Eblana*, and so *Palomus* calleth it. Some termed it *Dublin*, other, *Dublinia*, many *Dublinum*, but Authors of better skill name it *Dublinium*. This citie, as it is not inferior for Antiquity to any in *Ireland*, so in pleasant situation, gorgeous buildings, multitude of people, martiall Chiuallry, obedience and loyalty, abundance of wealth, largeness of hospitality, in manners and ciuilitie, it is superiour to all other cities and townes in that realme: whereupon it is commonly called, the *Irish* or yong *London*. The Charter of this citie is large, King *Henry* the 4. gaue it the Sword, in the yere 1409. and was ruled by a Maior and two Bailiffes: which were changed into Sheriffs, by a Charter granted by king *Edward* the 6. the 1347. But it appeares by the ancient Seale of this citie called *Signum episcopature*, that the Citie hath (in elder times) bene gouerned

Conill Lord of Connagh.

Logan King of Leinster.

The Earle of Daris.

The death of S. Patrick & his place of buriall in Downe

The four cities & townes of Ireland.

Dublin, & the first founder thereof, who was Auellanus

Dublin the fourth London.

The Sword quento Dublin. Sheriffs of Bayliffes.

uerned by a Pronott.

*Waterford* was founded by *Sitaracus*, in the yere 155. being a Citie properly builded, and very well compact. Both yong and old there are giuen to thriving, free from factions: the men deale in trafficke, the women in spinning & carding; and as they distill the best *Aqua vite*, so they spinne the cheefest Rugges in *Ireland*.

Of this Citie *Waterford* it is written, to haue continued loyall to the Crowne of *England*, that it is not found registred (since the Conquest) to haue bin stained with the smallest spot of treason, notwithstanding the sundry assaults of traiterous attempts. And therefore the Cities Armes are deckt with this golden word: *Intacta manet*.

*Limericke*, called in Latine *Limericum*, was builded by *Tuorus*, about the very same yere of 155. coasting on the Sea, hard vpon the River *Sennan*; whereby are most notably seuered *Mounster* and *Connagh*, the *Irish* name this Citie, *Loumneagh*, and therefore in English it is called *Limericke*.

*Cork*, in Latine *Corinium* or *Corracium*, the fourth Citie of *Ireland*, happily planted on the Sea: their Hauens being a Hauens royall. On the land-side they were so encumbered with cuill neighbours, the *Irish* Out-laws, that they were faine to watch their gates hourly, to keepe them shut at seruice times, and at meales. And from Sun to Sun, not to suffer any stranger to enter the Citie with his weapon, but to leane it at a Lodge appointed.

*Drogheda*, accounted the best Towne in *Ireland*, and truly not farre behinde some of their Cities: the one moiety of this Towne is in *Meeth*, the other planted on the further side of the water, lyeth in *Witler*.

There ranne a blinde Prophesie of this Towne, that *Rosse* was, *Dublin* is, *Drogheda* shall be the best of the three.

*Rosse*, a Hauens Towne in *Mounster*, not farre from *Waterford*, seeming to haue bene (in ancient time) a Towne of great port, whereof sundry and probable coniectures are giuen, by the olde Duchies, which are now a mile distant from the Walles of *Rosse*: betweene which walles and ditches, the reliques of the ancient Walles, Gates, and Towers (placed be-

tweene both) are to bee scene vnto this day.

*Weisford*, a Hauens Towne not farre from *Rosse*, where of no great matters are recorded: but only that it is to be esteemed by all the English posterity planted in *Ireland*, as a Towne that was the first Fortresse and Harbour, of the English Conquerors, doing them (from time to time) many great and acceptable seruices.

*Kilkenny*, the best vpland, or (as they rearme it) the properest dry Towne in *Ireland*, is diuided into the high Towne, and the *Irish* Towne. The high Towne was builded by the English, after the Conquest, and had a parcell of the *Irish* Towne vnto it, by the Bishops grant, made vnto the Founders vpon their earnest request. *Robert Talbot*, a worthy Gentleman, in the yere one thousand foure hundred, enclosed with walles the better part of this Towne.

*Thomas* Towne, a proper Towne builded in the Countie of *Kilkenny*, by one *Thomas Fitz Anthony*, an Englishman: thereof the *Irish* call it *Ballie mac Andin*, that is, The Towne of *Fitz Anthony*. But because the Reader may perceine, in what parts of the Countie the Cities and cheefe Townes stand, I haue set them downe in this order.

*Drogheda*, *Carrefargus*, *Downe*, *Armagh*, *A'glasse*, *Clagher*, *Manciphan*, *Doonnegan*, *Karref mac Rosse*, *Nerrrie*, *Carlingford*, *Ardie*, *Doonlake*, *Louth*, *Dublin*, *Buhradrie*, *Liske*, *Swords*, *Tushagard*, *Lions*, *Newcastle*, *Rathenale*, *Oughvard*, *Nass*, *Clane*, *Minnab*, *Kilcocke*, *Rathmagan*, *Kildare*, *Laniane*, *Casfle-Towne*, *Phillips-Towne*, *May-borough*, *Kilcullen*, *Casfle-Murten*, *Thistlelemot*, *Kilca*, *Athie*, *Catherlough*, *Leighelen*, *Gauranne*, *Thomas Towne*, *Eneftio ke*, *Casfle*, *Kalkanne*, *Kilkenny*, *Knockeshore*, *Rosse*, *Glennelle*, *Weisford*, *Fernes*, *Fidderd*, *Emscortie*, *Talhamen*, *Wicklow*, *Acklols*, *Waterford*, *Lifmore*, *Doonagarron*, *Yoghill*, *Cork*, *Limericke*, *Kilmallocke*, *Mloana*, *Galanie*, *Anric*, *Loughbrugh*, *Clare*, *Toome*, *Shigagh*, *Rosse comman*, *Arlowme*, *Trimme*, *Doonaghblenne*, *Rathlouth*, *Nananne*, *Aggie*, *Scrine*, *Tarugh*, *Kelmles*, *Doonvaine*, *Greenocke*, *Dulceke*, *Alotigare*, *Fowra*, *Konghene*, *Kilkenny*, *Meisgagh*, *Delunne*.

Weisford.

Kilkenny.

Walles builded in Anno, 1400 by M. R. bert Talbot.

Thomas town

The names of the cheefe Townes in Wilt.

The names of the cheefe Townes in Leinster.

Cheefe townes in Mounster. Cheefe townes in Connagh. Cheefe townes in Meeth. Cheefe townes in Wellmeeth

Disfranch made  
of Meeth into  
two Counties

The names of  
the chieft  
Hauen towns  
in Ireland.

Of the Eccle-  
siastical iur-  
isdiction in  
Ireland.

The Archb-  
shopricks.

29 Suffragans

Vnder Ar-  
magh.

Vnder Dublin

In the foure and thirtie yeare of the Reigne of King *Henry* the eight, it was enacted in a Parliament holden at *Dublin*, before Sir *Anthony Seneleger*, Knight, Lord Deputy of Ireland: that *Meeth* should be diuided and made two Shires, one of them to bee called the County of *Meeth*, and the other to bee named the County of *Westmeeth*. And that there should be two Sheriffes, & Officers conuenient within the saide Shieres, as is more at large exprest in the Act.

*Loughfoyle*, the *Banne*, *Wolderfrith*, *Carregfergus*, *Strangford*, *Ardeglas*, *Longbun*, *Carlingford*, *Kilkeale*, *Dunkalke*, *Kilclogher*, *Duane*, *Drogheda*, *Houlepatrike*, *Nanie*, *Balraie*, *Brimore*, *Balbrigen*, *Rogers-Towne*, *Skerrish*, *Rulb*, *Malahide*, *Banledaile*, *Houth*, *Dublin*, *Dalke*, *Wickinloa*, *Arckloa*, *Weisford*, *Bagganbun*, the *Passage*, *Waterford*, *Dungarun*, *Rosse nowa*, *Toughille*, *Corke mabegge*, *Corke*, *Kinsale*, *Rosse Ill-re*, *Donne*, *Baltinimore*, *Downenere*, *Downeshead*, *Downelounge*, *Attanname*, *Craghaine*, *Downeubwine*, *Balmeskilledge*, *Dangine*, *Ichouse*, *Troile*, *Somme*, *Cajanne*, *Kiluewine*, *Limerike*, *Innisbarre*, *Belalenne*, *Arineneuing*, *Glanemaugh*, *Ballinweham*, *Binnwarre*, *Dowris*, *Woran*, *Roskam*, *Gatwaie*, *Killmiltie*, *Innesbosinne*, *Owran*, *Moore*, *Kilcolken*, *Burske*, *Belleclare*, *Rathfildene*, *Bierweisowre*, *Bucaneis hore*, *Ardenmakow*, *Rosbare*, *Kilgolonne wallalee*, *Rabranne*, *Strone*, *Berweis nowa*, *Zaltra*, *Kalbalie*, *Ardnocke*, *Adrawse*, *Sligaghe*, *Innes Bonfenne*.

The spirituall iurisdiction of Ireland, is ordered into foure Prouinces, whereof the Primacy was euer giuen (in reuereuce of *S. Patrick*, that conuerted the Country) to the Archbishopricke of *Armagh*, who is called *Primas totius Hibernie*, and the Archbishop of *Dublin*, *Primas Hibernie*. Which custome was since confirmed by *Eugenius* the third, in Anno. 1148. or 1152. Who sent withal three other pallies of Archbishopps to be placed, one at *Dublin*, one at *Cashill*, and the last at *Twene*.

To these were Suffraganes in right, nine and twenty, and they all to the *Primas of Armagh*. Vnder whose Prouince are the Bishopps of *Meeth* and *Derren*, *Ardsch*, *Kilmore*, *Cloghere*, *Donne*, *Coner*, *Clonknos*, *Raboo*, *Dromore*.

Vnder *Dublin*, whereunto *Innocentius* the third vntied *Glandelagh*, the Bishop

of *Elphine*, *Kildare*, *Fernes*, *Offorie*, and *Leighlin*.

Vnder *Cashill*, the Bishop of *Waterford*, to whom *Lismore* is vntied, *Corke* and *Clone*, *Rosse*, *Ardrigh*, *Limerike*, *Emelie*, *Killaloe* and *Ardfert*.

Vnder *Twene*, *Kilmaco*, *Olfine*, *Anaghdonne*, *Clonfert* and *Morroo*.

In this recount some difference happeneth, by reason of personall and reall vntien of the Sees, and for other alterations.

*The Names of the Gouernours, Lieutenants, Lord Iustices, and Deputies of Ireland, since the Conquest thereof, by King Henry the second.*



*Richard Strongbow*, Earle of *Pembroke*, Gouernour, *Reimond le Grace* beeing ioynd (for his more ease) in Commission with him.

*Reimond le Grace*, Lieutenant by himselfe.

*William Fitz-Adelme*, Lieutenant, hauing *Iohn de Curcy*, *Robert Fitz-Stephans*, and *Miles Cogean*, ioynd in Commission with him.

*Hugh Lacie*, Lieutenant.

*Iohn Lacie*, Constible of *Che-2* Gouernier, and *Richard de Peché*. J noues.

*Hugh Lacy*, againe Lieutenant.

*Henry Loandoré*, Archbishop of *Dublin*, Lord Iustice.

*Maurice Fitz-Gerald*, Lord Iustice.

*Iohn Fitz-Geffrey*, Knight, Lord Iustice.

*Alan de la Zouch*, Lord Iustice.

*Stephen de Long Espe*, Lord Iustice.

*William Deane*, Lord Iustice.

*Sir Richard Rochell*, or *Capell*, Lord Iustice.

*David Barry*, Lord Iustice.

*Robert Vfford*, Lord Iustice.

*Richard de Excester*, Lord Iustice.

*Jamés Lord Audley*, Lord Iustice.

*Maurice Fitz-Maurice*, Lord Iustice.

*Walter Lord Gennille*, Lord Iustice.

*Robert Vfford*, againe Lord Iustice.

*Fulborne*,

Vnder Cashill

The yeares of  
our Lord.  
1174.

1177.

1182.

1227.

1228.

1253.

1258.

1261.

1267.

1268.

1269.

1270.

1272.

1281.

*Fulborne*, Bishop of *Waterford*, Lord Iustice.

*Iohn Stamford*, Archbischoppe of *Dublin*, Lord Iustice.

*William Vefcie*, Lord Iustice.

*William Dodingfels*, Lord Iustice.

*Thomas Fitz-Maurice*, Lord Iustice.

*Iohn Wozan*, Lord Iustice.

*Theobald Verdon*, Lord Iustice.

*Edmond Butler*, Lord Iustice.

*Roger Lord Mortimer*, Lord Iustice.

*Alexander Bignor*, Archbischop of *Dublin*, Lord Iustice.

*Roger Lord Mortimer*, the second time Lord Iustice.

*Thomas Fitz-Iohn*, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Iustice.

*Iohn Birmingham*, Earle of *Louth*, Lord Iustice.

*Iohn Lord Darcy*, Lord Iustice.

*Roger Outlaw*, Prior of *Kilmannin*, Lord Iustice.

*Anthony Lord Lucy*, Lord Iustice.

*Iohn Lord Darcy*, second time Lord Iustice.

*Iohn Lord Charleton*, Lord Iustice.

*Thomas*, Bishop of *Hereford*, Lord Iustice.

*Iohn Lord Darcy*, ordayned Lord Iustice by Patent, during his life, by King *Edward* the third.

*Raphé Vfford*, Lord Iustice.

*Robert Darcy*, Lord Iustice.

*Iohn Fitz-Maurice*, Lord Iustice.

*Iualter*, Lord *Birmingham*, Lord Iustice: his Deputies were *Iohn Archer*, Prior of *Kilmannin*, and *Baron Carew*, with *Sir Thomas Rokesby*.

*Maurice Fitz-Thomas*, Earle of *Desmond*, had the Office of Lord Iustice, for tearme of his life, by the grant of king *Edward* the third.

*Thomas Rokesby*, Knight, Lord Iustice.

*Almerice de S. Amand*.

*Iohn Butler*, Earle of *Desmond*, appointed lord Iustices by *Sturmes*.

*Maurice Fitz-Henry*, Earle of *Kildare*.

*Lionell*, Duke of *Clarence*, Lord Iustice.

*Gerald Fitz-Maurice*, Earle of *Desmond*, Lord Iustice.

*William Lord Windsor*, the first Lieutenant in Ireland.

*Roger Albion*, Lord Iustice.

*Roger Mortimer*, Iustices & Lieutenants especially recorded, in the dayes of King *Richard* the second.

*Philip Courtney*.

*Jamés Earle of Ormond*.

*Robert Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, Marquesse of *Dublin*, created Duke of *Ireland*.

*Roger Mortimer*, Earle of *March*, Lieutenant.

*Roger Mortimer*, Earle of *March* and *Flister*, Lieutenant.

*Roger Grey*, Lord Iustice.

*Iohn Stanley*, Knight, Lord Lieutenant.

*Thomas of Lancaster*, brother vnto King *Henry* the 4. Lord Lieutenant; whole Deputies at sundry times, were *Alexander*, Bishop of *Meeth*, *Stephen Scroop*, Knight, and the Prior of *Kilmannin*.

*Jamés Butler*, Earle of *Ormond*, Lord Iustice.

*Gerald*, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Iustice.

*Jamés Butler*, Earle of *Ormond*, sonne to the foresaid *Jamés*, Lord Iustice.

*Iohn Stanley*, againe Lord Lieutenant.

*Thomas Cranley*, Archbischop of *Dublin*, Lord Iustice.

*Iohn Lord Talbot* of *Sheffield*, Lieutenant.

*Jamés Butler*, earle of *Ormond*, the second time Lieutenant.

*Edmond* Earle of *March*, *Jamés* Earle of *Ormond*, his Deputy.

*Iohn Sutton*, Lord *Dudley*, Sir *Thomas Strange*, his Deputy.

*Sir Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Christopher Plunket* his Deputy.

*Lion*, Lord *Welles*, Deputy to the Earle of *Ormond*.

*Jamés* Earle of *Ormond*, by himselfe.

*Iohn* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, the Archbishop of *Dublin* (in his absence) Lord Iustice.

*Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *Torke*, Father to King *Edward* the 4. had the Office of Lieutenant, by letters Patents from King *Henry* the sixt, for ten yeares. His Deputies (at sundry times) were the Baron of *Deluin*, *Richard Fitz-Eustice*, Knight; *Jamés* Earle of *Ormond*; and *Thomas Fitz-Morris*, Earle of *Kildare*.

*Thomas Fitz-Morris*, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Iustice in the dayes of King *Edward* the fourth, vntill the third yeare of his reigne. After whom, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, brother to the King, had the Office of Lieutenant during his life, and made his Deputies (at sundry times) these men following:

*Thomas*, Earle of *Desmond*.

*Iohn Tiptoft*, Earle of *Worcester*.

*Thomas*, Earle of *Kildare*.

*Henry*, Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*.

*Sir Rowland Eustace*, Lord Deputy.

*Iiiiz* *Richard*

*Robert Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, Marquesse of *Dublin*, created Duke of *Ireland*.

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	Richard, Duke of Yorke, younger sonne to King Edward the fourth, Lieutenant.	Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Iustice alone, 18. January.	1556.
	Edward, sonne to King Richard the third, Lieutenant, his Deputy was Gerald, Earle of Kildare.	Thomas Earle of Suffex, Lord Lieutenant 19. Marij.	1557.
	Jasper, Duke of Bedford, and Earle of Pembroke, Lieutenant: his Deputy was Walter, Archbishop of Dublin.	Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Iustice.	1558.
	Edward Poyning's Knight, Lord Deputy.	Thomas Earle of Suffex, Lord Deputy, 6. Maij Anno primo Reg. Elizab.	1559.
1494.	Henry, Duke of Yorke, afterward King, by the name of Henry the eight, Lieutenant: his Deputy was Gerald, Earle of Kildare.	Sir Nicholas Arnold, Lord Iustice.	1564.
1501.	Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of Kildare, Lord Deputy.	Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy the third time.	1565.
	Thomas Howard, Earle of Surrey, afterward Duke of Norfolk, Lieutenant.	Doctor Weston, Lord Chancellor.	
	Piers Butler, Earle of Ossorie, L. Deputy.	Sir William Fitz-Williams.	1567.
	Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare, again Lord Deputy.	Sir Henry Sidney, lord Deputy the fourth time.	1568.
1520.	William Skeffington Knight, Lord Deputy	Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputy, 11. Decemb. Anno. 14. Elizab.	1570.
	Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of Kildare, the third time Lord Deputy.	Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy the fifth time, August 3.	1571.
1523.	William Skeffington Knight, Lord Deputy	Sir William Drury, Lord Iustice, 14. September, by Patent, 18. May.	1572.
	The Baron of Dublin, Lord Deputy.	Sir William Pelham, Lord Iustice.	1579.
1529.	Piers Butler, Earle of Ossory, againe Lord Deputy.	The Lord Arthur Grey, Adam, Archbishop of Dublin.	1580.
	William Skeffington Knight, Lord Deputy	Sir Henry Wallop. } Lords Iustices.	1582.
	Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of Kildare, the third time Lord Deputy.	Sir John Perot, Lord Deputy.	1584.
	William Skeffington, againe Lord Deputy.	Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputy.	1588.
1535.	Leonard Lord Grey, Lord Deputy.	Sir William Russell, Lord Deputy.	1595.
	Sir William Bereton, Knight, Lord Iustice.	Thomas, Lord Burrough, Lord Deputy.	1597.
1540.	Sir Anthony Semler Knight, L. Deputy.	Robert Earle of Essex, Lord Lieutenant.	1599.
1541.		Charles Blount, Baron Montjoy, Lord Deputy.	1600.
	The Names of all the Lords, Deputies, and Iustices in Ireland, since the death of King Henry the eight, who dyed in January, 1546.	Sir George Carew, Lord Deputy.	1602.
		Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy.	1604.
		Sir Oliver S. John, Lord Deputy, who yet to this day, continueth in that honorable Office.	1618.
1546.	SIR Anthony Semler Knight, by Patent, dated 24. Marij. Anno primo Edw. 6.		
1546.	Sir Edward Bellingham, Lord Deputy, 22. Aprilis. Anno. 6.		
1547.	Sir Francis Brian, Lord Iustice.		
1548.	Sir William Brabeston, Lord Iustice.		
1549.	Sir Anthony Semler, the third time Lord Deputy, 4. August.		
1550.	Sir James Croftes, Lord Deputy, 29. Aprilis.		
1551.	Sir Anthony Semler, the fourth time Lord Deputy, September 1. Anno primo Reg. Marie.		
1553.	Thomas Lord Fitz-Walter, Lord Deputy, 27. Aprilis.		
1555.	Sir Henry Sidney.		
1556.	Doctor Carew, or Corwen. } Lords Iustices.		

## CHAP. II.

A briefe Discourse, how those parts and Countreys, commonly called, The New world, were first found: Also by whom, and what things were there found, and seen, and brought away thence.



Caruell sayling on the Spanish Seas, where fell a tempest, coming so impetuously from the East, the Windes growing still so crosse and contrary; that at length it was transported into an unknowne Country,

The Windes and Weather will be Commanders at Sea.

transported into an unknowne Country, which neuer was in any Cardes for Navigation. Staying there longer time, then was or could be allowed for returnings; no more remayned living then the Pilote or Maister, and three or foure Mariners beside: who also falling sicke, by extremitie of hunger and tedious labour, dyed also at a Port some few daies distance from thence.

In the house of Christopher Columbus dyed the Pilote Andaluco.

But the Pilote, whose name was Andaluco, dyed in the house of one Christopher Columbus, a native of Cuzcuero, or (as some others say) of Albizola, a small village on the river of Genes, neare to Sauona. With this Columbus remayned all the Pilotes goods of the sayd Caruell, and especially the Papers and Memories of that whole voyage, reporting the height of the lands, which by them had beene discovered, and found. Some say, that the sayd Andaluco trafficked in Canaria and Madera, when this long and farall navigation happened. Others also tearme him a Biscaie, which dealt with England and France: and some repute him a Portuguese, that went and came from Myrrha or India. Others againe report, that the said Caruell went into Portugall, or to Madera, and other Islands; but none doe assure any thing for certaine. It is no maruell then, if Authors do disagree in many points, concerning things happening, or found by graue Ancients, and that the Inuenter of them are not to be knowne; when our selues are ignorant of maters, within the compasse of so small time since, for finding the Occidentall or Westerne Isles (which we call the New-found World) and which was a matter so signall, nouell, and remarkable.

What Christopher Columbus was at his beginning.

But all agree together, that this Andaluco dyed in the house of the sayd Christopher Columbus; who hauing (at the first) bene a Sayler or Mariner, had practised in diuers parts of the world. Afterward, hee learned diligently the measure of the two Tropicks, of the Equator, and of the Clymates, prouing an expert Maister, in making Cardes to sayle by. And to be informed concerning the Meridionall coasts of Affrica, and of other places where the Portugalls had sayled: he went into Portugall, to the end he might make his Cardes the better, and there he married. Or, as some say, in the Ile of Madera: where it may be credited (as most likely)

that he dwelt when the said Caruell coasted there; and the Patron or Pilote thereof lodged in his house, where he recounted to him the voyage he had made, and the new lands by him discovered: to the end that Columbus might set them downe in his Cardes, wherein he was further instructed by him.

It is generally supposed, that Columbus was a learned man, a good Geographer, very singularly experienced in Astronomy and Cosmography; and that he laboured to finde the land of the Antipodes, and the Rico Cifano de Marco Polo. Moreover, he was often heard to say, that (necessarily) by good coniectures, there was another world, which extended it selfe towards the West: whereof Plato, Seneca, and many other Authors, both Greek and Latin, did leaue to Cosmographers some good and considerable arguments. Also, that he had read many good ancient Authors, who, in the place where they discourse on the great Atlantike Ile, make mention of a land unknowne and concealed, more great then Asia or Affrica. And especially Aristotle, writing, that certaine Merchants of Carthage, sayling in those parts of Gibraltar, towards the West & South, after many dayes, found a great Island inhabited, with Ruers navigable.

But, after all this so diuersly deliuered, on the behalfe of Columbus, it is most certaine, that he was not learned, but of good iudgement and vnderstanding, and receiving notice of these new Lands, by the means of Andaluco; he conferred with diuers learned and iudicious men, concerning what had aunciently bene written of other lands and worlds. And the sayd Columbus, wanting means to bring to passe what he so earnestly desired, because he was poore; stood in neede of some farre greater fauour, whereby hee might discover those lands.

Perceiuing then, that the King of Portugall was hindered by his enterprize of Affrica, & navigation into the East, which he had then in readines, and that the king of Castile was busied about the warre of Granada: he sent his brother, named Bartholomew, to Henry the seauenth, king of England, a very rich and potent Prince, (who had at that present time no warres or troubles) to furnish him with fauour and shippes apt and fit for the enterprize,

Reasons of apparent likelihood in the tale of Columbus.

The generall opinion concerning Columbus, touching his sufficiency in learning and judgment.

The Authors further examination, and final conclusion as touching Columbus.

Kings, whose help hee intended to haue moued.

Columbus hindered in dealing with the King of Portugal.

Columbus though discouraged, will yet see the wholly disheartened.

The 2. Dukes of Medina acquainted with this great offer, & refused it also

His petition to the Catholique King Ferdinand & his Queene, & neglecting where he had greatest hope.

promising to bring him home from those unknowne Islands (and in small time) y<sup>n</sup>valuable treasures. But Bartholomew returning thence without any resolution; he began to negotiate with *Alphonso* the fifth King of *Portugall*: of whom he could neither haue fauour nor money, to finde such wealth as he had promised; because the Bishop of *Lisbo*, and one Master *Roderick*, men greatly experienced in Cosmography, contraried him therein, confidently assuring; that there could not bee in the West, any such gold or treasure, as *Columbus* spake of.

Being much dismayed and out of comfort (yet his heart encouraging him still, with hope of a happy and successful adventure) and being imbarqued at *Lisborne*: hee set thence to *Paly de Moguera*, where he spake with *Alphonso Pinzono*, a Pilot well skild in the arte of Navigation: there also he discovered his secret to *John Perez*, a Fryar Minor, in the Conuent of *S. Frances de la Rubida*, a most excellent Cosmographer. These men encouraged him to follow his enterprize, counselling him further, to impart the businesse to *Henry*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and then to *Loarick*, Duke of *Medina Calia*, who in his Port of *S. Maria*, had good and commodious meanes to provide Shipping, and people apt for such a businesse. But these two Dukes helde this Voyage and Navigation, for no other then as a dreame or phantasma; euen as the Kings of *England* and *Portugall* did. In regard whereof, the poore grey Fryar aduised him to goe to the Court of the Catholique King, and (on his behalfe) wrote to Fryar *Fernando de Talaueta*, Confessor to the Queene.

*Columbus* followed this aduice of the Fryar, and came to the Court of *Castile*, in the year 1486. and (by written petition) presented both his sight and demand, to King *Fernand* and Queen *Elizabeth*, who made no great account thereof; as hauing their mindes troubled, for expelling the *Moors* out of *Granado*. He grew then to speake with some, that had neerer eare about the King, and were of most employment with his Maiesty, to negotiate in affaires of importance. But because he was a stranger, meanly habited, and without any other credit, then being commended by a poore Fryar Minor: he

was no way beleued, and much worle listened vnto; whereat *Columbus* grew very greatly displeased.

*Alphonso Quinto-villa*, Great Chamberlaine or Treasurer to the King, kept him in his house, and dietted him at his owne table, taking great delight to heare him talke of such things; as he made promise of in vnkowne Countries. By the helpe of this Great Treasurer, *Columbus* found the meanes, to haue access to audience with *Gonzales de Mendoza*, arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, and Cardinall, who had great credit and authority with their Maiesties. This Lord brought him to the Kings presence, and, after the case was well examined and vnderstood (notwithstanding all was esteemed vaine and false, which *Columbus* had spoken of in the beginning) yet hope was giuen him of expedition, and employment in his voyage of Navigation, to those Islands vnkowne; so soone as the King had taken order for the war of *Granado*, which then lay beautifully in his hand.

*Columbus*, vpon this answer, began to mount his hopes farre higher then before, and was then graciously both heard and esteemed of all the Courtiers, who laughed and made a mockery of him at the first. After the surprizall of *Granado*, he prevailed so successfull, that the Catholique King consented vnto his request, for passage into those vnkowne parts: assigning vnto him in gift, the tenth part of the Rents and Royall tributes, in all the Lands found and conquered: but without prejudice (notwithstanding) to all rights belonging to the King of *Portugall*. And because the King was then vnsupplied of money for this expedition; *Lodowick*, Secretary for his accounts, lent him seuentene thousand Ducats: by meanes whereof, *Columbus* armed & furnished three Caruells at *Paly de Moguera*, and in them fitted 120. men, as well Mariners as Soldiers.

Of one, hee made *Martino Alphonso Pinzono* the Guide and Conducker. Of the second, *Francesco de Vincento Aeneio*, Brethren to the said *Martino*. And himselfe was Captaine and Commander of the greatest Caruell among them; taking also with him his Brother *Bartholomew*, who (in like manner) was very practicke and well experienced on the Seas. From

Some meanes of entrance for Columbus to wastely.

Columbus was persuaded supply by the Catholique King.

Christopher Columbus (by meanes of the Catholique King) armed three Caruells to goe first out the New World.

\*Paulus Iulius faith true His ordering of the Caruells, and setting forth on his Voyage.

Paly

*Paly* he set forward on Friday, being the third day of August, and held on his voyage betweene the West and South, passing by *Gomea*, one of the *Canary* Islands, where he stayed for a small refreshing; & thence onward, followed the directions giuen him in the papers and memories of deceased *Arbalaizo*.

Hauing sayled eight dayes, he espied fo much grasse or Herbage, as if it seemed to be a Meadow; whereof (at first) he & all grew doubtfull, although there was no danger at all, and backe they would haue returned, but that they saw diuers Willow trees a farre off, which gaue an euident and most certaine signe, that some Land must needs be neere.

On the morrow following, which was the eleuenth day of Nouember, in the year 1492, *Rodericke de Triana*, began to cry out aloud, Land, Land: at which words, all ran to see whether they were true or no; and hauing likewise discovered that it was firme Land, they beganne to praise GOD, and sung *Te Deum Laudamus*, mourning euen with great excess of ioy, and proud of a hopefull proceeding.

The first land which they saw, was *Guanahany*, one of the *Iles Lucayes*, situated betweene *Florida* and *Cuba*; where suddenly they went on shoare, and there tooke possession of the New world. From *Guanahany* they went to *Barraco*, the Port of *Cuba*; & there tooke some Indians, and returning backe to the Isle of *Haiti*, cast anchor in the Port, which *Columbus* called *Porte Royall*. There hastily they were faine to land againe; because the chief Caruell smote against a rocke, and began to rise; but yet no person was in perill. When the inhabitants of the Isle saw the Spaniards come on shore so speedily, and with their Armes: they fled from the sea side vp to the Mountaines; imagining them to bee the *Carybes* or *Canibales*, that came to assault them.

After them ran the Spaniards, as hastily as they might, and yet could take none but one woman, vnto whom they gaue Bread, Wine, and Comfittes, as also a smocke, and other Garments, because she was naked, and so sent her away after the rest. She went and told her country people, how kindly they had bin vsed, shewing them the giftes bestowed vpon her:

which caused them presently to come downe againe to the Sea side, to speake with the Spaniards, without any vnderstanding on either side, otherwise then by signes, euen as dumbe folke vse to do. They brought Birds, Bread, Fruits, Gold, and other things, to giue in exchange for Ballads, Beads, Glasses, Needles, Siziers, Pinnes, and other such like things, to the no little ioy and comfort of *Christopher Columbus*, who saluted, embraced, & reverently entreated the Lord of that land, being of his people called *Cachico*. & gifts passed betweene one another, in signe of loue and amity.

The Indians brought boats of their owne, wherein to bestowe the goodes of the cheefe Caruell that was broken, and brought them on Land with the Spaniards, so louingly, euen as if they hadde dwelt all their life time among them: falling downe in reuerence to the Crosse, and beating themselves on the breasts, like vnto Christians.

Now *Columbus*, thinking no time soon enough for his returne to Spaine, with newes to the Catholique King, of what he had seene and done, preuailed so wel with the prompt and sodaine consent of *Cachico*, and the assistance of his subiects: as to build a Cattle of Wood and Earth; wherein hee left eight and thirty Spaniards, vnder the charge of Captaine *Rodrigo d'Arna*, of *Cordona*: to the end, that during his voyage, they might learne the Language and secrets, both of the Nation and Countrey. And this was the first inhabiting of the Spaniards in the *Indies*.

The Castle being finished, *Columbus* tooke with him tenne Indian men, forty Parrats, many Tortoises, Conies, and other strange thinges, farre differing from ours in forme and nature, as testimonies of the places where hee had found them. He brought aboard also into his ships, all the Golde which the people of the countrey had giuen him, in exchange of those toys and trifles which hee returned for them. And, after hee had taken leaue of his friendly Companions, appointed to remaine there in his absence, as also of *Guacanari* (for so was the *Cachico* or king of that Countrey named) who was verie sorry and loath, that hee should depart thence, he sent away with two Caruells,

Cachico the first Indian Prince teene by Columbus.

The kind offices of the Indians to the Spaniards.

Columbus, by consent of *Cachico*, & help of his people, builded a Castle of Wood and earth.

Such things as Columbus carried aboard his Ships with in.

After 8. dayes sayling, Rodrick de Triana was the first man that discovered Land.

The first land landing at Guanahany, between Florida & Cuba.

The Indians fearful of the Spaniards at their landing.

A woman Indian taken & clothed, and let loose again.

wherein were all the other Spaniards of the voyage, except the eight and thirtie before remembered, and (having a successful wind) arrived at *Paly* within 50. daies or somewhat lesse.

The Catholike King and Queene were then at *Barcelona*, whither *Columbus* went to see them; and although it was a long way, and he had many things to carry: yet notwithstanding, they were all conveyed with him by Land, and hee was welcomed vnto the Court with great Honour. Infinite people flocked about him, to see the things which hee brought from the New-found Worlde, which were of extraordinary wealth and riches, beside the strange men, of such colour and habit, as neuer hadde the like beene seene before. Some layde, that hee had found the Navigation, concealed from the *Carthaginians*. And others affirmed it, to be that which *Plato* had written of to bee lost by fortune, and by an over-great quantity of mudde or slime encreasing in the Sea. Some other helde another opinion, saying, That that which *Seneca* had foretold was now accomplished, speaking in his Tragedy of *Medea* after this manner. *The time will come, that (many yeares hence) New Worlde shall be found, and that their Title could not bee the furthest part of the earth.*

Finally, *Columbus* entered the Court of Spaine, the third day of April, a yeare after he had departed thence, presenting to their Maiesties, the Golde and all things else which he had brought from the New World; whereat the King, Queene, and all then present, marvelled not a little, to see such rare things, all (but the gold) novell and vncustomed vnto theyr sight. They highly commended the Parrats, being of so many goodly colours; some of an extraordinary shining green, others of a lively red or Vermillion colour, intermixed with many other of choise splendour, little or nothing at all resembling them that were brought from other places. The Conies were small, having their eares and tayles like vnto Rats, and their colour grizell. Also they greatly praised the Cockes of those Countreies, being farre more beautifull then Pea-cockes, wondering besides, that those Countreies yielded no other Corne, and no other bread was yett felde on there, but such as

was made of rootes and the like things. But their cheefest meruaile was at the men, who had little circlets or Buckles of Gold hanging in their eares, and finely pierced through their nostrilles: theyr bodies being neither white nor black, or browne, but like vnto an Olive colour, or boyled Quinces.

Very attentive was the King, to heare what a worthy Relation *Columbus* made, wondering greatly, that the people should haue no Habite, Learning, Mony, Iron, Corne, Wine, neyther any Animall which was greater then a Dogge, nor Shippes or Boates of any bignesse. And much was his patience moued, when he heard him tell, that they did eate one another, being all idolaters. But hee promised, that if God pleased to blesse him with life and health: he would free them from that horrible inhumanity, and root idolatrie out of those Lands, that could bee reduced vnder his dominion and power. In like manner, hee extended great fauour and courtesie to *Columbus*, commanding that he should sit down before him, because (according to the custome of Spaine) the Gentlemen and other attendants, stand alwayes in the Kings presence, for greater honour to the Royall authority.

Moreover, he confirmed his grant and priuiledge, concerning the tenth part of reuenues in the said Lands, giuing him the title and Office of Admirall of the *Indias*, and made his Brother *Bartholomew* Lieutenant or vice-Admiral to him. All which beeing done, a Courrier or Poaste was dispatched vnto Rome, with letters concerning the New-found lands, to his Maiesties ambassadors, whom (but some few months before) he had sent to congratulate Pope *Alexander* the fixt, at his new creation, and (on his behalfe) to do him obeyance. Which letters of full and further information, they deliuered to his Holinesse; he not a little reioycing at these good newes, as the like did all the Roman Court. In regard whereof, the holy Father, with consent of the whole Colledge of Cardinals, made a new donation to the Kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, of all the Isles and firme landsthat should be found in the West: with charge to send Preachers thither, for conuersion of the Infidels.

The Indian men were their greatest matter of maruell

The people did eate one another, and were idolaters.

Obeyance in the Court of Spaine.

*Columbus* made Admirall of the *Indias*.

News of these Indian discoveries, sent to Rome to pope *Alexander* the fixt.

When

*Columbus* sent againe, with more power to the *Indias*.

A Vicar General sent on the Popes behalfe.

The King and Queene Catholike sent preachers and hardy-crois men into the *Indias*.

His second setting to sea againe for the West *Indias*.

When the Catholike King had receyued this ioyfull answer from the Pope, he sent *Christopher Columbus* againe, with more store of people, for further trafficking in this New-found World, and for vnter destruction of Idolatry, and adoration giuen to false Gods. For the better furtherance hereein, by *John Fonsequio*, Deane of *Siuell*, he sent eight Caruelles, making him President of those countries. He sent also twelue Priestes, of vertuous life, and good learning, with Friar *Bautista Castellano*, of the order of *S. Benedict*, who went to be Vicar-General for the Pope: to the end, that those Ecclesiasticall persons might preach the word of God, conuerting the people to the Faith of Iesus Christ, and do all things appertaining to the conuersion of foules.

Beside all this, many Knights & courtiers, moued by the fame and desire of riches in the same Countreies, and earnest affection to see them; went along with them in company, having diuers Artizans among them, as Goldsmithes, Taylors, Macons, Carpenters, Laborers, Fishermen, and such like persons, fit for diuers employments. The King caused also (at his own charge) to be bought some store of Horses, Kine, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, and Affes, that breed might there enue of them. Great store also was sent of Wheate, Barly, and Graine of all kindes to sowe; with Slips, Sprigs of Vines, Sugar Canes, and Plants of sweete fruites, as also Chalk and Lime to build withall. In breefe, they carried diuers other things for the like needefull vses; entertaining into this seruice 1500. Soldiers, which *Columbus* shipt at *Cadiz* the 25. day of September, 1493. and good prouision of Artillery.

Proceeding on in his voyage, & much more neere to the Equinoctiall then hee did before in his first passage, he came to arrive and take landing in an Island, which he termed by the name of *Desire*, and without any staying there, won the Port *D'Argent*, in the Isle called *Hispaniola*. Passing on thence to *Porte Royale*, where he had left the eight and thirtie Spaniards, who were all slaine by the Indians, because they had lustfully forced their wives and done them many outrages besides. *Columbus* being displeased hereat, yet shewing no outward discontentment, imme-

diately commanded his Macons & other men to fall to worke, for the building of a Towne, which (in honour of the Queene) he named *Isabella*.

He builded also a Fort or castle among the Mines of *Cibao*, where he established as Gouvernor, *Morjes Marguavito*, & sent twelue Caruels thence into Spain by *Antonio de Turco*, which carried many grains of Golde, one especially amongst them, weighing eight ounces, which was found by *Aphonso de Honeda*. Hee sent likewise many Parrats, very faire and goodly, and certaine Indian *Cariibes*, being such as fed on the flesh of men, bred and born in the Island of *Ajay*, which hee called *Santa Cruz*, and hee himselfe, went with three Caruels more, to finde out other Lands: where he found *Cubo* on the South-side, and *Lianica*, with other small Isles in diuers parts.

At his returne backe, he found many Spaniards dead and sicke, and some that hadde carried themselves scarily home with their companions: whereof he commanded some to bee hanged, and others to be well beaten, that had giuen forth euill speeches of him. By means whereof, he had some talke with the Vicare to the Pope, who had written to the King; accusing *Columbus* of cruelty and countenance: which caused his Maiestie to send thither his Chamberlain *Iohn de Agnado*, who sent *Columbus* into Spaine prisoner, to render an account of his behaiour to the King.

*Christopher Columbus* obeying the kings command, went away to iustify himselfe. And arriving at *Medina del Campo* (where as then the Court was) hee came before the King and Queene, presenting infinite graines of Gold to them; some whereof, weighed fifteene, and twenty Ounces a peece, with great lumps of Amber, goodly wilde Olive trees and wonderfull huge plumes of Parrats Feathers, used & worn by the Indians, beside many other strange things.

He made report also vnto their Maiesties, concerning the Countreies founde by him, greatly commending the Islands for their admirable riches; declaring beside, that in the moneth of December, which we hold to be the beaueft time of all Winter, that the Birds there, do then produce their yong ones on the trees; &

A Towne builded by *Colubru*, and called *Isabella* in honour of the queene.

*Columbus* findeth out diuers other small Islands

Spaniards hanged for mildenancie and *Columbus* accused to the king by the Popes Vicar.

*Columbus* returned as a prisoner into Spaine.

*Columbus* his appearing before the King and Queene.

in

The wonder-  
full plentie  
yielded by the  
earth.

in March, the wilde raisins were ripe; and corne (sowne in Ianuarie) yielded graine within seauentie dayes, Lettice and all rootes grew to be very great. Afterward, he gaue a faithfull report to the king, concerning the behaviour of the Spaniards, how he had punished some; and inflicted death vpon other, to the end, that his iustification might the more plainly appeare.

Greatly did the King both commend and thanke him for his good seruice, and knowing, that hee had doone no more then iustice, declared him to be absolved of all imputations layed vnto his charge, furnishing him with eight shippes, for the finding out of other Countries: two whereof *Columbus* sent before with victualles and munition, and with the other like shippes, himselfe set away from Saint

*Columbus* re-  
turneth hono-  
rably to the  
Indies.

*Luca de Barrameda*, about the end of the month of Maie, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand foure hundred ninctie and seauen. And because fame and rumour of *Indian* treasure did spread it selfe, exciting diuers Pirates of *France* to make voyages abroad: hee went to *Madera*, and from thence hee sent three shippes, by the right way, for the Island called *Hispaniola*, with three hundred banished men; and with the other three shippes, he went vnto the Ile of *Cape de Verde*, to make his voyage very neare to the *Aequinoctiall*, arriving at the last in a great Countrey of firme land. On hee went coasting three hundred leagues, beyond the Cape with full sayle, and thwarting the Sea, came to Saint *Dominico*, a towne belonging to his brother *Bartholomew*, and builded on the River *Ozama*, where hee was receiued to be gouernour, as was contained in his Letters of priuiledge and grant, which the King Catholique had made vnto him, and which hee brought thither with him. Albeit some were much displeased thereat, and his brother *Bartholomew* did not greatly like it: because (in his absence) till now, he had the care and managing of all affaires.

His voyage  
very neare to  
the Equinoctiall,

*Columbus* hauing taken on him the gouernement, and made many enterprises against them of the Countrey, finding out many other Islands besides; grew to be enuied by the Spaniards, and in such sort, that a man named *Roldan Simenes* (a great Potestare or Iudge) mutined against him,

Enuy against  
*Columbus* by  
*Roldan* *Simenes*  
and his al-  
liates, and  
great com-  
plaints written  
against him to  
the King.

and three-score and ten men more, all leagued and coniuured against him, who forsaking *Columbus*, went to *Siracusa*, and wrote infinite euilles of him and his brethren to the King. His Maiestie, being not a little moued, that matters should be thus combustiuous in the *Indies*, and the Queene taking it very heauily: suddenly sent *Francisco de Bonadello*, a knight of good repute, to be gouernour in those parts, and giuing him authoritie, eyther to punish or imprison the faultie.

This man came to the Island of *Hispaniola*, and foure Caruells with him, in the year, one thousand foure hundred ninctie and nine; and after hee had made inquisition in the Citie of *Dominico*, he sent *Christopher Columbus*, with *Bartholomew* and *Diego* his brethren, all prisoners to *Spain*, with viron letters on their feete. Being landed at *Cadex*, they were deliuered, by Commission sent from the King, and commanded to appeare at the court. *Columbus* readily obeyed thereto, and could so well shape his excuses (mingled with teares and sighes very passionately) that the King hauing heard him, and knowing his fidelitie, sent him againe (three yeares after) with foure Caruells, to discover more new Countries, and this was in the year of our Lord God, 1502. or thereabouts.

*Columbus* being come to the Island of *Hispaniola*, and arriving neare to the river *Ozama*, *Nicholas de Ouanda* Gouernour of the Ile, would not suffer his entrance into the Citie of Saint *Dominico*, whereat *Columbus* being much distasted, sent in to tell him: That if he might not come into the citie, which he himselfe had caused to be builded; he would goe finde out another Port, where he might be in better assistance. So parting thence, and couering to search the Straits, for passing beyond the *Aequinoctiall*, which he had promised the King to doe: hee drew directly towards the West, withall, turning to the Cape of *Niguerra*, following till the Meridionall coast, returning then to *Cuba*, and after to *Lianues*, where hee lost two Gallies, and with two other hee went to discover new lands. But not without great haimes and perils endured before, for some of his followers grew sicke, and certaine other Spaniards made warre vpon him.

*Columbus* and  
his two bre-  
thren *Bartholomew*  
and  
*Diego* sent pri-  
soners into  
*Spain* fettered  
in yrons.

*Columbus* a-  
gaine sent  
into the *Indies*  
with foure  
Caruells.

*Columbus* de-  
manded en-  
trance into Saint  
*Dominico*, goeth  
on to seek his  
iustice for-  
tune.

Francis-

*Francisco de Porras*, Captaine of one Galley, and *Diego*, brother to *Columbus*, hauing taken certayne small Barkes, went towards the Ile of *Hispaniola*: where the Natiues and Inhabitants seeing them; would admit them to haue no Victuals, but laide trappes and raines to kill them. Whereuppon, *Christopher Columbus* calling some of them to him, reproued their lacke of kindnesse and charity, entreating them to sell him some victuals; aduising them further, that except they did succor them, all they in the Island should dye of the plague. And to giue them a signe as witness of his words, he tolde them, that such a day it would come to passe; as they should see the Moone whollie as red as bloode, and quite contrarie to her former condition.

Afterwardes, when they behelde the Moone Ecclipsed, at the same houre of the day, as *Columbus* had foretold (not knowing any rules of Astrologie) they verily beleued his words. And, craving pardon of him, desired him not to be offended with them; & brought him what victuals he could desire. By this meanes, *Columbus* hauing gotten the victorie against those Spaniards, gaue a name vnto the Port, calling it *Porta S. Gloria*.

Returning home afterward into *Spain*, to yeelde an account of all that hee had done, being arrived at *Valadolid*; a sickness seized on him, whereof hee dyed in May in the year, 1506. and was entred at *Seuill*, in the Monastery of the Charter-house Monkes. During his life time, he was a man very patient in all his Trauails, and in foure voyages which hee made into the *Indies*, both founde and conquered many Countries, vnto vnknowne before: beside, hee builded a great part of the Towns and Castles in the Ile of *Hispaniola*, purchasing great renouwe, by bringing to end many actions, so well deferring glory and fame; that his name can neuer be forgotten, or *Spain* cease to speake, in giuing him such true honour as hee worthily merited.

He had two Sonnes, *Don Diego*, who was married to *Madam Maria of Toledo*, daughter to *Don Ferdinando*, great Commandadore of *Leon*, and *Don Ferdinando*, who was neuer married, but hee had a Library, consisting of more then twelue thousand Volumes, and which (at this

present) is in the Conuent of Saint *Dominico* at *Seuill*, a worthy deede of the son to so famous a Father. As for King *Ferdinand*, he dyed in the year of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and fixteene, hauing reigned fortie and two yeares, in the two kingdomes of *Castile* and *Aragon*: Queene *Elizabeth* his wife dyed before him, in the year of our Lord God, 1604.

Before wee close vp this Discourse of the *New-found World*, it shall not varie much from the matter, to speake of a strange opinion, among the people there naturally liuing; concerning the first men that euer were in the world, and likewise of the generall Flood or Deluge, as I doe finde it set downe by the worthy Gentleman of *France* *Anthony du Perdier*, lord of *Vauprinaz*, in this manner.

Among the Inhabitants of the *VVest Indies*, or *New world*, a common and generall receiued opinion was embraced with them, that (at the beginning of the world) from the Septentrionall or Northern partes, there came a man called *Con*, or *Conon*, who had no bones in his whole body, and therefore went verie quicke and lightly, much shortening the wayes, abasing the hills and mountaines, and raising the lowe-layd vallies, onlie with his word and will, and named himselfe to be the sonne of the Sunne.

This man filled the earth with men and women, which hee produced, giuing vnto them diuers fruites, and other things necessary for humane life. But by a displeasure hee receiued from them, hee conquered the earth (which hee before had freely giuen them) into a drie and barren sand, and tooke away the raine also, that it should neuer more shewe downe, nor moisture any place. Yet, as pitying their misery, he left them riuers onely, to the end, that they might conferre themselves, in watering the grounds by theyr owne paine and labour.

At length came one *Pachama*, who was like-wile sonne both to the Sunne and Moone, and (hauing expelled or banished *Conon*) converted those men into Carres, and afterward created other men. The people tooke this man to be a God, and so he was generally reputed: vntill the Christians came into those countries, hauing erected a very good Temple vnto him,

The peoples  
opinion of the  
first men in  
the world, &c  
of the deluge

Con, or Co-  
non, a man  
without bones  
in his flesh.

A heauie dis-  
pleasure con-  
ueiued by Co-  
non against  
men.

*Pachama*  
came and ex-  
pelled *Conon*.

The ingrati-  
tude of the  
people to Co-  
lumbus in de-  
nying him vi-  
tuals and con-  
spiring against  
his life.

The death of  
*Christopher*  
*Columbus* at  
*Valadolid* in  
*Spain*.

The two wo-  
thy sonnes to  
*Christopher*  
*Columbus*.

The Library  
of *Don Fer-*  
*dinando*, son  
to *Christofer*  
*Columbus*.



Oracles and  
Answers ordi-  
nells in their  
Temple by  
Lima.

Their opin-  
concerning a  
general De-  
luge or drow-  
ning of the  
world.

By what  
meanes they  
gathered the  
delusion of  
the waters.

Their ach-  
nowledgment  
of the worlds  
ending.

him, neare to Lima, it being the most re-  
nowned in all those lands: because of ex-  
traordinary deuotion there vied, in regard  
of Oracles and Answers, which euells  
gaue to Priests and Sacrificers there dwel-  
ling in diuers places. The Spaniards car-  
ried away all the golde and siluer (in won-  
derfull heapes) out of this Temple, and  
all the Oracles and Visions ceased, diuine  
prayers hauing bene sayd there, the Sa-  
craments administred, and the Crosse  
placed where the Idollies stoode, which  
cauld no mean maruell and feare among  
the Indians.

Moreouer they sayd, that at a certaine  
time it rained so extremely, that all the  
lowe grounds and lands were drowned,  
and all the world likewise: except such as  
could hide themselves within some caues,  
which were among the high mountaines,  
hauing little doores or mouthes of en-  
trance, and closed so fast to them, as no  
water could gaine the least pisse in,  
and therein also they had store of fooode  
and beasts. Afterwards, when they felt  
the raine and water to be somewhat pas-  
sed ouer, they sent fourth two dogges,  
which returned all wet and befeined:  
whereby they iudged that the waters were  
not (as yet) wholly thrinke and gone a-  
way.

Within some while after, they put  
fourth many dogges together, which re-  
turned in againe, drie and sleeke as when  
they went abroad. And by this meanes  
they conceived, that the waters were  
quite spent; and so came fourth againe  
to dwell vpon the earth: where they  
greatest paine and trauell was to kill in-  
finite Serpents, which the mightie extre-  
mitie of mudde and thine had engendred  
euery where.

They beleene an end of the world; but  
that a great droug't shall goe before it,  
and that the Sunne and Moone (which  
they all adore and reuerence) shall loose  
themselves. And, vpon this occasion,  
they make cries and lamentations when-  
soeuer the Ecclypses happen: but especi-  
ally them of the Sunne, as fearing then,  
that the Sunne, they, and all the whole  
World, shall be quite consumed and de-  
stroyed together.

## CHAP. III.

Of the Excellencie and Dignitie of Mar-  
riage: with many singular and worthy ex-  
amples, tending to that purpose.



Concerning our present ar-  
gument, wee haue had a  
chapter already in our for-  
mer Volume, declaring ve-  
rie much good matter to  
that effect, but yet still, desirous this  
addition or supplement; in regard, that  
nothing can be sayd too much in the ho-  
nour of Marriage. This holy institution  
of Marriage, was made in the earthly Pa-  
radise before sinne, in the time of Inno-  
cencie, when as God said to our first Pa-  
rents, *Bring forth fruit, and multiply, and  
fill the earth.* But it was not brought to  
effect, untill the offence by them com-  
mitted, and for which, they were expelled  
out of the terrestriall Paradise: as Saint  
*Ierome* hath obserued in his Booke against  
*Iovinian.*

After the vniuersall Deluge, God gaue  
command to the good Patriarch *Noah* a-  
gain; *To encrease and multiply*, which is  
the principall occasion, wherefore Mar-  
riage was ordayned, and hath euer since  
bene so generally recommended: that it  
hath bene, and is permitted to aged and  
decrepitate people (free from all power of  
encreasing, and out of hope of any linage)  
to marry: which yet is expedient for them  
(if I might say so) to the end, that they  
may passe their age the more ioyously,  
as in the kinde company of husband and  
wife, receiving pleasure, solace, consolati-  
on, and comfortable seruices each to o-  
ther. Euen as hereof we haue an exam-  
ple by *Dauid*, who (in his very olde age)  
tooke a yong maidento wife, as namely,  
*Abisag* the Shunamite, with whom he  
ordinarily lay, and shee slept in the bo-  
some of the King, warming and comfort-  
ing him, and yet the King knew her not  
carnally.

What more holy, chaste, assured, and  
acceptable societie can be amongst men,  
then that of the husband and wife? Oh,  
how heavenly an harmony, when the one

The Lord  
Vnderstand  
dition to the  
former Chap-  
ter of Pedro  
Mexico.

Gen. 1.28.

*Philemon* in  
colora Iovin.

Gen. 8.17

The oldest a  
ged people  
not prohibi-  
ted to marry.

King *Dauid*  
marriage in  
his olde age.  
3 Kings 1.4.

The iust and  
worthy com-  
mendations  
of Marriage,  
according to  
the diuine &  
original in-  
stitution.

is as the other, two bodies, one soule, one  
spirit, one will, and one mutuall consent  
sympathizing in two bodies: The sole  
married man and his wife, enuy not one  
another, but loue infinitely together, each  
depending vpon the other, thee reposing  
in him, and he in her: euen as one selfe-  
same flesh, one and the same concord, a-  
like equally in all things, and all but one:  
One ioy, one sorrow, one wealth, one po-  
uerty, one gaine, one losse, and one selfe  
same dignitie. They are alwayes compa-  
nions of one selfe same bed, one and the  
same table. Therefore they shall be two in  
one flesh (said God) and not three, or many.

God would by no meanes haue in the  
Ark of *Noah*, to be any more women then  
men, to the end that they should all be as  
one sole woman. In briebe, the loue of  
the husband to the wife, and of the wife  
to her husband, surpasseth that of father  
and mother to their children, of children  
vnto the father; and that which brothers  
and sisters ought to haue together. And  
like as the Ring which the husband (euen  
as God) puts on the finger of his Spouse  
or wife (as the soule to the Church) ought  
to be of golde, and round, as gold, being  
the most excellent of all metals: euen  
so this coniugal loue excelleth all other,  
and ought to continue perpetually. And  
as *Propertius* saith: *Omnis amor magnus, sed  
apertus in coniuge maior. Every loue is great,  
but in wedlocke it appeareth to be much greater.*  
For, Father, Mother, Children,  
Brethren, Sisters, Cousins and Friends,  
all these are the workes of Fortune: but  
the Husband and the Wife are Mysteries  
of Almighty GOD: And man had  
his Wife, and Wife had her Husband,  
before there was eyther Father, Mother,  
or Children.

The fruits of Marriage are of Almightie  
GOD, and not of Nature, from  
whence it ensueth, that children borne  
out of Marriage, that is to say, Bastards,  
are called Naturall onely, but they which  
proceede of lloyall Marriage, are sayd to  
be Legitimate. And therefore, the opi-  
nion of Lawyers, is, *That a child borne  
out of marriage, hath no certaine father, but  
we may well say, a bad or lewd mother. He  
(say they) is the Sonne of the people, or else  
the Sonne of no body, that is the Sonne of an  
unmarried woman.* Onely marriage then  
(which *Baldus* calleth, *The principle, origi-*

*nall and foundation of Mankind*) maketh  
Children and Heires certayne, augmen-  
teth kindred, engendereth amitie among  
Allies, reuerenceeth and pleaseth God.

Holy Marriage was so pleasing to the  
Author thereof, that he would haue his  
only Sonne, to be borne of a married  
woman, and although it was his will,  
to be borne of a Virgine, without the seede  
of a man; yet was it not without the ho-  
nour of Marriage. For it pleased him, to  
proceed from a Mother married, yet pure  
neuertheless, exempt from any carnall  
fouling: elected to be the Arke of the Tes-  
tament, the Bush not burning, and the  
Violl of golde to containe the celestiall  
Manna; as well to declare the wonders of  
his infinite power, as to make that sacred  
estate so much the more honorable. Writ-  
tes the preface of the same son of God  
himselfe, at the marriage of *Cana in Galile*,  
where expressing his gracious loue & fur-  
therance; he conuerted water into wine;  
by an especial and extraordinary miracle.

Moreouer, there is not the name of any  
house or stocke, but (without a woman) it  
would be quite extinct; neither kindred per-  
petuated, family increased, or a Common  
wealth continue in intire condition, or a  
ny Empire hold, without such help which  
the first founders of the *Romaine* Empire  
approued; for, they hauing no wives, de-  
sired the Daughters of the *Sabines*, their  
neighbors, but they would not gratifie  
them. Wherevpon, they followed a waie of  
stealth of 83, of them; which procured a  
mighty & mortall warre, betwixt the *Romans*  
and the said *Sabines*: albeit *Romulus*  
well foresawe, that his Empire could not  
last, without women. For, the City be-  
ing composed of houses, and the Com-  
mon-wealth of chosen Princes, both do-  
mestickes and families, how shall he go-  
uerne a City, that hath not learned what  
it is to gouerne a priuate house? The  
Philosopher *Socrates* testified, to haue  
learned more morall Philosophie of wo-  
men, then euer he could naturall, of *As-  
taxarochus* and *Archelaus*.

Assuredly, Marriage giues exercitation  
to morall Philosophie; there is a domesti-  
call Common-wealth conioyned there-  
with, and in it selfe. For the gouernement  
whereof, a man may easily experiment  
the power of wisdom, temperance, pie-  
tie, & al other vertues; whereby louing his

The great glo-  
rie done by  
God to the ho-  
norable estate  
of Marriage,  
as also at the  
wedding in  
*Cana in Ga-  
lilee*.

The manifold  
great benefi-  
ts that en-  
sue to the  
world by wo-  
men in mar-  
riage.

*Diogenes Laertius*,  
in lib. 1.

*Socrates* lear-  
ned Morall  
Philosophy of  
women.

Marriage oc-  
casions great  
exercite to  
morall Philo-  
sophie.

K k k k  
wife,

Gods owne  
appointment  
in the Arke of  
*Noah*.

The incom-  
parable loue of  
man and wife.

Comparison  
of the Ring gi-  
uen by the  
husband to  
his wife.

Propertius of  
coniugal loue:

Husband and  
wife before fa-  
ther, mother,  
or children.

Bastards haue  
no certain fa-  
ther, but are  
naturall chil-  
dren onely.

*Baldus C.*  
*Novadus* col-  
le de reg.

wife, enſtruding his children, ruling his family, protecting his goodes, ordering his houſe, and encreaſing his race; the yeares of his life, will pace on the more happily. Whereas on the contrary, hee that ſeeketh to ſpend his life time without being married; is miſerable, and worthe to be abandoned of ſall men.

For this cauſe, *Lycurgus* made a Lawe to the *Lacedemonians*, that all ſuch as had attained vnto the age of eight and thirty yeares, without enioying women in marriage, ſhould be baniſhed in ſomer time, from all publique playes, ſpectacles and paſſimes, iudging them as vnworthie, to be ſeene there amongſt other in an open aſſembly. And in winter, they were led out naked, in the common view of the people, becauſe they ſhould be outraged and abuſed by words and exclamations of euery one, deteſted as vnworthie the name of men. And themſelues enioyned to confeſſe, that they ſuffered theſe afflictions iuſtly, as hauing ſcorned and deſpised that religion: whereof they were preuicators, and diſobedient to the ordinance of Nature.

As concerning the Romans, they were not altogether ſo ſtrict and ſeuere, & yet ordained, that ſuch as had liued without marriage till their olde age: ſhould be condemned in payment of a great ſumme of money to the publique Treafury, according to their quality and facultie. *Plato* appointed in his lawes, that ſuch men as were not married, ſhould enioy no honor eſtate, or publique dignitie: but to be more charged with fines and mulcts, then any of the other Citizens.

A young man of *Lacedemon*, would not ariſe out of his place in the publique Theater, to gve way and honour to a valiant ancient Capitaine (newer married) named *Callidus*, who was come thither to ſee the paſſimes. And the Capitaine growing offended at the arrogancy of the young man becauſe he diſdained him in that manner, gaue him ſome words of heat and choler, whereto the young man returned him this anſwer. *O Callidus, ſhou haſt not (as yet) begotten, neither occaſioned the birth of any one that being now at mine age, and unmarried as thou art, may ariſe hereafter to giue me place, and therefore no other eſt ſeeme to be made of thee.* The Romanes in the time of *Q. Metellus* Conſull, eſtabliſhed many fa-

mous and worthy priuileges for newe married perſons, and for ſuch as had three ſons, as may be ſeen in the *Digeſt*, of ſuch as had ten. And our greateſt Diuines, let downe twelue cauſes, the which hinder a man from marriage, and doe yet diſannull marriage, although it be conſummated & children procreated. As namely error, con ition, yow, parentage, ſin, to wit, of adultery or murder, diuerſity & diſſence in religion, violence, prophanes in Prieſthood, or profeſſion of a falſe religio, bond and promiſe of contrary marriage, as being otherwiſe contracted, honeſty, affinity, and inhability. Al theſe twelue, are bars and hinderances to marriage, according as Cardinal *Claudian* hath comprehended them in theſe verſes.

*Error, conditio, votum, cognatio, crimen,  
Cultus diſparitas, via, or do, ligamen, boniſſas  
Si ſis affinis, ſi forte corre nequibus:  
Hac ſocianda vetant connubia, ſaſta retrahunt.*

I haue a great deſire to diſcours particularly on euery one of theſe cauſes, if I had not ſuch a multitude of other matters to ſpeake of: let therefore (for this time) ſuffice that which hath bin ſaid. And for ſuch as are louers of Poetrie, I referre them to the renowned Poet *Scaula* de *S. Marthia*, partly turned and imitated out of the ſiſte booke of *Marcellus Palingenius*, a Latine Poet, in his Zodiack of Life, where he ſingeth elegantly in the praife of Marriage.

### CHAP. III.

*Of Partharites, King of the Lombards, who being purſued by Grimoald, fledde firſt to Cacanus, King of the Auarians or Huns, afterwards into France. And in the end ofter many beaui and troubleſom Trauails; was (with great honor and renowne, ſeated in his owne kingdome.*



*Partharites* was ſonneto *Albert* King of the Lombards, who (after the death of his father) reigned at *Myllaine*; and *Gondebert* his brother, at *Pavia*. A triſte and quarrell, growing betwene the two Brethren, *Gondebert*

Twelue eſpeciall occasions that impeach and hinder marriage.

*Cerv. Clauden* in *Som. Diſt.* 19

*Paulus* Dracō ſet downe theſe ſubſtance more at large.

*Grimoald* gaue ouer his Dukedome to his ſonne, in hope of a Kingdome.

*Partharites* fled and left his kingdome.

*Grimoald* ſuffered not *Partharites* to abide with *Cacanus*.

A hard caſe, when a King is conſtrained to truſt to his enemy for mercie.

ſent *Garibald*, Duke of *Thurine*, towards *Grimoald*, Duke of *Beneuentum*, a verie generous Capitaine and Commander, requiring his aſſiſtance againſt *Partharites*, with tolemme promiſe, of giuing him his ſiſter in marriage. But *Garibald* intending treaſon to his Lord and Maſter; perſwaded *Grimoald*, to come and poſſeſſe the kingdome to his owne uſe, which (thorow diſcord betwene the two brethren) was growne to weake eſtate, and verie neare vpon vpon vtter ruine.

When *Grimoald* vnderſtood this, hee gaue ouer his Dukedome of *Beneuentum* to his ſonne, creating him there as abſolute Duke, and, with the greateſt forces he could get together, prepared his iourney for *Pavia*: and in all cities and towns as he paſſed along, begot himſelfe ſtore of friends, for his better helpe in obtaing the kingdome. Being come to *Pavia*, and entring into priuate conference with *Gondebert*: by cloſe praſticke and intelligence with *Garibald*, *Gondebert* was ſlaine at a Banquet, and he made poſſeſſour of the kingdome. No ſooner did *Partharites* heare theſe ſad tydings, but, leauing faire *Rhodolinda* his wife and Queene, and a young ſonne of his (both confined by *Grimoald* to *Beneuentum* for cloſe cuſtody) fled ſecretly away, making his recourſe to *Cacanus*, King of the *Auarians* or *Hunnes*.

*Grimoald* hauing made ſure his Kingdome at *Pavia*, and vnderſtanding, that *Partharites* ſeured his ſafetie with *Cacanus*: ſent Ambaſſadours to him, to let him know, that if hee kept *Partharites* in his kingdome, no long peace ſhould continue betwene him and the *Lombardes*, but he muſt expect a King as his enemy. According to this Ambaſſage, the King of the *Auarians* called *Partharites* to him in ſecrecy, deſiring him, that he would wander whither himſelfe pleaſed: becauſe (thorow his meanes) the *Auarians* might not fall into the hatred of the *Lombardes*. And ſo, vpon a royall, ſad and mutuall interchange of woſull lamentations on eyther ſide; the two kings parted, as might haue moued pity in Marble to behold it.

*Partharites*, fruſtrated now of all helpe and comfort, returning into *Italie* againe: purpoſed his repaire to his enemy *Grimoald*, conſiding on his kingly clemencie, becauſe he was leſt deſtitute of any other ſuccour. And being come neare to the

City of *Lody*, he called to a Gentleman of his, named *Vaulphus*, in whom his intimate truſt wholly conſiſted, ſending him before, to acquaint *Grimoald* with his coming, and to deale iuſtly for his ſafetie. *Vaulphus* preſented himſelfe before the new-made King, viſing ſuch wife and honourable language to him, concerning *Partharites* his King and Maſter, making recourſe to his royall mercie, and truſting onely in his goodneſſe; that he would freely ſubmit himſelfe to him, if he (with the like benignitie) would vouchſafe to embrace him.

So effectually did *Vaulphus* deliuer his meſſage, and *Grimoald* (eyther in pride or pleaſure) accept it: that hee promiſed and ſware vpon his faith, no diſpleaſure ſhould any way be dohe to the King his maſter, he might come when he would, & builde ſecurely vpon his faith. *Vaulphus*, hauing brought backe this anſwere to *Partharites*, hee went and preſented himſelfe before *Grimoald*, mecrely proſtrate at his feete, who took him vp graciously, & in moſt friendly manner kiſſed him: where vpon, *Partharites* beganne thus: *Sith I am your humble vallaile and ſeruant, and knowing you to be moſt Chriſtian, and a faithfull louer of pietie: though I might liue ſafe among Pagans, yet, building vpon your mildneſſe and mercy, I am come, and heere yeeld my ſelfe at your feete.*

*Grimoald* viſing his accuſtomed oathes, promiſed him, ſaying *By him that made me to be borne, ſeeing you haue put your ſelfe into my power, you ſhall ſuffer no harme anie way whatſoeuer; but I will take ſuch order, that you ſhall liue well and honorably.* So he commanded him a conuenient lodging, with entertainment anſwerable to his qualitie, and all things afforded to him in plentifull maner. *Partharites* being departed from the King, to ſuch place as was appoynted for him; it came to paſſe, that the people flocked and reſorted daily thither (hauing formerly knowne & honoured him) earneſtly deſiring to ſee and ſalute him.

But ſee how ready euill tongues are to commit miſchiefe, diuers flatterers and audacious Informers, obſeruing the peoples kind greetings to *Partharites*: reported it in ſuch maner to *Grimoald*, that they incenſed him very ſtrangely, perſwading him, that if he did not the ſooner procure

*Vaulphus* a loyall ſeruant to *Partharites*

*Partharites* prienteth himſelfe before *Grimoald*.

Conference between *Grimoald* and *Partharites*.

*Grimoald* his proceſſations to *Partharites* and the honorable intertainment he gaue him.

*Sycophantes* and flatterers are alwayes about kings and princes.

the death of *Partharites*, hee would bee shaken out of his kingdom, yea, and lose his life likewise; for *Partharites* lodging seemed now, rather to be a Court then his. *Grimold* being a man over-casie in beleefe, and led away with the least persuasions; became so confounded with jealousie and distrust, that (never remembering his solemn oaths and promises) he fell into an extraordinary rage, and in extremity of heate and choller, swore the death of innocent *Partharites*, wanting nothing but aduice and means, how it might both safely and sodainly bee effected.

Now, because it grew somewhat late, and on the morrow the deed must needs be done; he caused (that Evening) great store of delicate meates and wines to bee sent to *Partharites*, purposely to make him drunke: that being overcome with eating and drinking, and all his senses possessed with drowlinesse, hee might haue the lesse care of his health, and so his life be the sooner betrayed. But a Gentleman who before had serued the father of *Partharites*, and brought him these lunkens from the King: stooping his head lowe beneath the table, as doing him reuerence and embracing his knee, secretly revealed to him, how *Grimold* had concluded his death, and that this nightes iouial drinking supper, must be a solemn induction thereto.

Heereupon, *Partharites* immediately, (but very courtely) gaue order vnto his Cup bearter and Taster, to fill and bring him no other drinke all supper while, but some small quantities of water onely, and in his priuate silver Bowle. So that the Courtiers (who were sent to keepe him company) quaffing and carowing many healths of the King to *Partharites*, desiring him still to pledge them in like manner, as thereby expressing his loue to the King: *Partharites* accepted all their farewell charges, protesting all honor and reuerence to *Grimold*, rowling vp cup after cup as readily as they, seeming as merrie as any of them all, and yet drank nothing else but water. Supper being ended, and the Courtiers returning back to the King, reported the iocund behavior of *Partharites*, and how forward (still he was in) turning off his owne Bolle as readily as they did theirs, and neuer refused to pledge his

Highnesse health, thinking him to be very farre spent with wine. V hereat *Grimold* heartily reioicing, merrily saide; *Alas poore silly Drunkard, little thinkest hee, that the Wine and his blood will yemingle on the earth to morrow together, in despite of all the friends he hath.*

The same night, he sent strong guards to watch about the house where *Partharites* was lodged, because he should haue no means to escape, nor any friends come to giue him assistance. But the poor harmlesse Prince, when supper was past, and all the Courtiers departed thence (reynaying him alone in his Chamber, & none with him but *Vnulpus*, and a Page that vsed to waite nextest about, to helpe his Garmets both off and on, they being both his faithfull seruants, and in whom he reposed most confidence :) he discovered plainly to them, how peremptorily his death was concluded on by *Grimold*, and what a strong watch was set round about his lodging, so that now their poor Lord and Masters life must needs perish by his treachery.

*Vnulpus* hauing a prompt and readie witte, louing his Lord deereley, & caring for no danger to himselfe, lo hee might set him free from perill: by means of certaine Blankets belonging to a bedde, and a Beares skinne which he found there in his chamber by chance, so substantially he disguised *Partharites*, that it was impossible to distinguish him from a meere Country Boore or Pezant, and his counterefeiting drunkenesse, made the matter to seeme the more likely. *Vnulpus* had gotten a good Faggot-stick, and pretending sweating, with beating that drunken Rascall (for so, and sometimes worse he commonly called him) tumbled him first downe the staires, and lastly out of doores, labouring still as if he had giuen many fore blowes. Which when the Guardes there attending perceyued, they demanded of *Vnulpus*, what was the matter? He answered, saying: Here is a drunken slaue, who while the Lordes were heere at Supper with *Partharites*, hath secretly gotten in, and stolne himselfe stark drunke; keeping such a terrible noise, that my Lord (who is as drunk as mee) I feare can take no rest, and by no means would I haue him to bee disturbed.

The best and quickest witte drunket, may sometime be deceyued.

*Partharites* discovered his danger to *Vnulpus* and his Page.

The cleynly stuit of *Vnulpus* to saue the life of his kingly master

*Vnulpus* cunningly beguiled the Guard and gaineth the escape of *Partharites*.

No

No doubt at all made the Guardes of *Vnulpus* his words, but laughing, to see the slaue belabored so lustily, suffered him to driue him on before him, bidding him beate still, and spare him not. While the Guardes stood laughing at this merry iest, no man needed to bid them make hast, & *Partharites* being quickly got out of sight, *Vnulpus* returned to the lodging, which made the Guardes the more confidently perswaded, and secured the King from all pursuite. Morcouer, after the Kings departure in that manner, the faithfull Page kept the doores lockt vp fast, till *Vnulpus* was returned againe: where they two onely remained in the chamber, praying for their Kings prosperous successe; who arrived that night at the Towne of *Aste*, and from thence (passing the mountaines) went into *France*.

On the morrow morning, messengers came from the King, to bring *Partharites* to the Pallace, and beating at the doore, the Page spake out at the windowe, saying: Good Gentlemen forbear, his Maestie hath drunke somewhat hard, is very sleepey, and therefore I pray ye trouble not his rest. Whereunto they in modest yielding, went and reported the same to *Grimold*, who well liked that he should sleepe so long: yet sent them againe in all haste, and howsoeuer (awake or asleep) to bring him away with them. The Souldiers, earing to displease the king, came and knockt earnestly at the doore; but being intreated by the Page, as aforesaid, they boldly broke the doore open, & seeking for *Partharites* in his bed, found him not, which made them to demand, what was become of him; & the Page said, he was fled.

Presently were *Vnulpus* and the Page seized on, and haled furiously to the Pallace, where being brought before the king, with vnappalled countenance, they tolde, that the King had escaped with life, discovering the manner truly how, and dreading no infiction for the fact. When *Grimold* had aduicely considered on their faith and loyalty, he called them severally againe before him, wishing he had such an other faithfull Page, exhorting him earnestly, to keepe his loyalty to his Lord *Partharites*, promising to recompence him worthily for it. *Vnulpus* afterwards was brought againe before him, and the king greatly commending both his wisdom

& honesty, demanded, whether he would chuse to liue with him in good grace and acceptance, or follow *Partharites* in the extremity of his fortunes? whereto *Vnulpus* said, with an oath, that he would rather chuse to die with *Partharites*, yea for meents whatsoever; then liue any where else, with all the pleasures and delights that the world could giue him.

The same demand was also made to the Page, & his answer was the like in effect: whereon the King highly extolling their vnparelled loyalty, prayed them both, to commaund whatsoever his Court afforded, & go in all safety to seek their master. Provided of all things they could desire or carry with them, and securitie granted for their safe passage; they set onward to *France*, in a longing desire to meete with *Partharites*; as soone after they did, to great ioy and comfort on euery side. But first, newes being abroad, that *Grimold* had vnited peace with *Dagobert* King of *France*: it made *Partharites* fearful of some cloie ambushes to be layed for him, & so he might be sent back to *Grimold* againe; which made him forlake *France*, & to thip himselfe for *England*: all which calamities happened to him, before his two faithfull seruants could any where finde him.

Being on the Sea all together, and (in hope of good successe) boid for *England*, they had not past a full league from land: But *Partharites* heard a voyce, seeming to come directly from the shoare where hee took shipping, demanding in this manner: *Speake there, is Partharites in the ship or not?* *Partharites* replied without pausing: *Is he is it that calleth Partharites? I am that most unhappy man, and (blessed be heauen) heere I am.* Tell him then (answered the voyce) his native Country calles him home, and further he may not goe; for, within three dayes, *Grimold* is dead. *Partharites* amazed at this strange accident, required fauor to be landed with his seruants againe; but could neuer know him that tolde those tidings of *Grimolds* death, which made him verily perswaded, that it was no mortal man, but his owne good Angell, that thus entrusted him, after his passing thorow so many miseries.

*Partharites* returning home againe, to wardes his owne native Country, hee was no sooner arrived at the limites of *Italy*, but he met there with a goodly com-

Kkkk 3 pany

The death of *Partharites* is vowed by *Grimold*.

One of *Grimolds* owne Gentlemen betrayed the treason.

The wisdom of *Partharites* in preventing the Treason prepared for him.

Every thing faded well for the Kings safe deliuering from his enemy.

*Grimold* sends for *Partharites* to the Pallace, in hope to execute his will vpon him.

*Vnulpus* and the Page vniuently haled to court, & the whole matter concluded.

The worthy a shew of a loyal and con-stant seruant.

The honorable dealing of *Grimold* with *Vnulpus* and the Page, sending them after their royal master.

A strange and miraculous accident happening to *Partharites*, laying towards *England*.

pany of *Lombards*, with Laurell wreathes on their heads, and Palme branches in their hands, who purposely attended there for his coming, and so conducted him joyfully to *Pavia*; from whence, the Sonne of *Grimald* being expelled, he was there (by generall consent) created absolute King of the *Lombards*, within three moneths after the death of *Grimald*. He dispatched Poasts to *Beneuentum*, in quest of *Isolfin* his Queene and Wife, as also his sonne *Cambert*. And being a man pious, Catholique, a great observer of Iustice, and charitable to the poore; so soon as he was quietly seated in his kingdome, he builded a goodly Monastery, neere vnto the River *Thesina*, in which sometime he had concealed himselfe, when he was enforced from place to place; dedicating the Temple to Gods service, and in honour of *S. Agatha* the Virgin & Martyr, planting therein many religious virgins, and endowing it with great liberality of rents and reuenues. His Queene also, after her many troubles, and long separation from her husband, erected the Church of our Lady without the walles, bestowing infinite rich and precious ornaments thereon. And at length, *Partharicus* (having reigned eighteen yeares) changed this mortal life for a better, to the great griefe of his loving Subjects the *Lombards*.

Not may we heere omit to say somewhat of *Garibald*, Duke of *Thurine*, the beginner of this poore Princes calamities. He having intiguated (as hath bin related) *Grimald*, Duke of *Beneuentum*, to murder *Gondebert*, King of the *Lombards*, treacherously: within no long while after, a certaine meane man, of little or no respect at all, coming to the City of *Thurine*, and vnderstanding, that *Garibald* would be in the cheefe Church on Easter day neere ensuing; stood on the steps of the Font for baptisme, leaning carelessly on his left arme, by a collope of the Tabernacle, being at the very entrance into the Church, hauing a weapon ready drawne vnder his Cloake. So soone as *Garibald* came to bee neere him; he (not fearing all the traine about him) suddenly ran the Rapier quite through his body, that instantly he fell downe dead. Such as attended *Garibald*, being somewhat amazed at so vnexpected an accident, pursu-

ing the murderer, could fasten no hold on him, vntill they had slaine him, with many weapons being in his body at once. So, although he lost his life; yet courageously he reuenged the inurious act, committed on *Gondebert* his Lord & Master.

## CHAP. V.

What manner of men those were and are, that be called Doctors of Sorbonne, or Sorbonnists.



Am sure there are many, that neuer saw the goodly, rich, populous, commonious, and well governed City and Vniuersity of *Paris*; and yet diuers that haue seene it, or read the Antiquities thereof, may perhaps be ignorant, what kinde of men they are, that beare the title or name of Doctors of *Sorbonne*. For all other Doctors are honoured by those Citties names, wherein they received their degrees: As *Doctors of Louuaine*, of *Poitiers*, of *Doway*, of *Tholosa*, of *Montpelier*, of *Pavia*, of *Bologna*, of *Tubinge*, of *Fribourge*, and so of diuers other. But the Doctors in diuinity of *Sorbonne*, beare their name, not of the City where they received their licences and degrees Doctorall; but of the place peculiarly. A matter which hath much amazed many; & raised doubt in diuers other, that neuer had the happinesse to visit *Paris*; in which respect, I purpose to set down the true originall thereof, how, and vpon what occasion it came so to passe.

It is to be vnderstood, as I haue elsewhere said, that the course of nature will sooner faile; then people be any other but as their Princes are, as *Cassiodorus* saith. King *Lewis*, ninth of that name, reigning King in *France*, whereas other Princes deuided (euen as to this day many do) how to build Palaces & vnpromisable houses, for pride, luxury and prodigality: this holy & religious King, called Churches to be erected, Hospitals, Abbeyes, Colledges, & other places of piety in imitation of whom, many of his Subjects, &

other

other strangers did the like.

Amongst other, there was a Diuine of the Kings house, his Almoner, and one of his Preachers, who was thought to be provided of some good Benefice; yet neyther enriched his kindred, or spent his reuenues in vanities, as too many churchmen now aduise vs to doe. This good man was called Master *Robert de Sorbonne*: but to relate further, of what Nation hee was, or of what Family, hath scarcely (as yet) bene discovered by any. In briefe, hee moued in great pietie, and by the example of his King; hee bought a place, which usually was called in Latine, *Lacum Termarum Cæsaris*, that is to say, *The place of Cæsars Bathes*. And it is sayd, that *Julian*, Nephew to the Emperour *Constantine*, Governour of the *Gauls*, caused those Bathes to be builded, and the Lodgings of *Cluny*, which then were without the City of *Paris*, and as places of pleasure: according as we reade in some Epistles, which *Julian* wrote to them of *Antioche*. The said *Julian* was afterwards Emperour, surnamed the Apostata by the Christians. And then, such as pretended to the Imperial Crowne, termed themselves *Cæsars*: as now at this day, such as are designed Emperours after him liuing, are called Kings of the *Romaines*.

In this place there is apparance, that there the *Cæsars* Bathes were, as euidently may be discerned, by the channells of hewne stone, which were found in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred forty and foure, at the gate of *Saint James*, when Bastions and Rampires were then made, to resist the forces of *Charles* the first, Emperour, who was entred into *France* with a mighty army. Which gutters or conduits of water, were continued from the village of *Arceuell* (so named, in regarde of Arches builded of Bricke, as yet to this present are to be seene; or of the Latine compounded word *Aqua ductio*) and reaching into *Paris*. Those conduits of water serued well for those Bathes, and were needfull now to be renewed, to water the higher parts of the Vniuersitie of *Paris* (which haue great need thereof) if my maisters the *Eschenins*, would therein employ their paines.

As already hath bene sayd, this place was builded to bathe or wash the *Romain*

Emperours, Consulls, Proconsulls, and such like, and was bought by the said Master *Robert Sorbonne*, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand two hundred thre-score and foure. If you desire to know, to whom (as then) that place appertyned; I must therein confesse mine ignorance, although I haue made good search in the euidences, belonging to that place of *Sorbonne*, & elsewhere (specifying large rents & reuenues thereto belonging, yet much enlarged by the bounty of *K. Lewis* 9. king of *France*, and others, calling it only *Sorbonne*) and finding it appoynted, to maintain a certayne number of Doctors, who should reade publicly in Diuinitie; and also of Batchellers to study, there to be lodged and maintained. Whereupon, from that time to this present, the Professors, Batchellers, and other Students in this Colledge, did endeavour themselves to indolitrantly, and became so capable; as there is hardly any other Colledge throughout all Christendome, wherein may be found men so ready and exact in Diuinitie, as they are that belong to this *Sorbonne* Colledge.

The Students in this House, are not (as commonly else where) young men, but wel tested in yeares; because they haue read publicly, enstructing the course of Philosophie, which is performed in three yeares, in regard there are as many parts, which are *Logicke*, *Physicke* and *Metaphysicke*. And many times some such are there, that haue made three courses, which are nine yeares, and employed by them in publique Lectures; before they will adventure to study or reade publickly in Diuinitie; and therefore it is no matter of maruell, that there should continually be such singularly learned men in that Colledge.

The Doctors and Batchellers, our & beside their being great Philosophers, are likewise very skilfull in humane learning, and vnderstand the tongues, *Greeke*, *Latine* and *Hebren*, speaking them (for the most part) eloquently. They are held in such reputation, that (commonly) they deale in the great st difficulties, and in all Ecclesiasticall occasions, their aduice is wholly vsed; the Colledge being reputed as one of the best Bulwarks to the *Romain* Catholique Church, and so accounted through Christendome.

Very

The place that at this day is called Sorbonne, how, and by whom it was bought.

Aqueducts or Gutters, for conveying of water from Arceuell to Paris.

The holy life of Lewis die in his commonly called Saint Lewis.

Letters for the emperors and consuls of Rome.

Vpon what occasion, and to what end the Colledge of Sorbonne was erected.

The Batchellers of Sorbonne, how they become so learned.

A goodly Monastery builded by *Isolfin*, neere to the River *Thesina* in Italy.

A further prosecution on the History, concerning *Garibald*, Duke of *Thurine*.

*Garibald* slain in the cheefe Church vpon Easter day by a poore silly fellow.

Admirable  
disputations  
of the Doc-  
tors of Sor-  
bonne, & how  
their order  
began at the  
first.

Very laborious are they in their disputes of the sacred Scriptures, resolute, and of great vnderstanding, and the general disputes vsed in this Colledge, are on euery Friday after the Feasts of *S. Peter & S. Paul*, in the Moneth of Iune, vntill the solemnity of the Feast of *All Saints*, the answerer standing there from morning till euening, and bound to answer all the Batchellors Questions, which commonly are about two hundred in number, euery one keeping his ranke and place: nor is there any President, to support him that answereth, whereas all other faculties do not obserue any such order. It is reported, that this custome was introduced by a religious man, of the order of *S. Francis*, who (to make prooffe of his knowledge) kept open the Schoole all the whole day: and his fellows, courting after as much honour as hee had; continued the same course, so that whatsoever consisted in the will of the arguers and answerers, became conuerted into an inuolable loue.

Learned Doctors are as Assistants there, to the end they may iudge on the merit of men, and vnderstand withall, to whom the prime places for Licences are to be giuen. And thus you see, why all Doctors in the facultie of diuinity, which receiue their degrees in that place of *Sorbonne*, are styled by an Emphasis, Doctors of *Sorbonne*, or *Sorbonniis*, because that there are principall acts obserued, to approve the learning of any, that would aspire to haue the degree of a Doctor. And this place is particularly noted, as well for antiquity (hauing bene one of the apurtenances to the Pallace Imperiall, at such time as the *Romanes* were Lords of *Gaulle*, as I declared in the beginning of this Chapter.) As also in regard of the famous men, renowned for their learning and knowledge that liue (ordinarily) in a sacred society in that Colledge. In which respect, the most part of the best Cities in *France*, Bishoppicks and Collegiate Churches, resort thither, to make choise of their Diuines, to provide them of Prebends, and other reuennues meete for such men.

Doctors of  
Paris are vi-  
ually reuenned  
Doctors of  
worth and e-  
recome.

## CHAP. VI.

*That the Law of the Emperour Seuerus, and that of Solon, for promoting any one to Office and Authority in the Common-wealth (being first informed, of a mans life & good manners) was much better then those of the Venetians, Florentines, Geneweyes and Lucanes; examining after the time of their Jurisdiction is past.*



He Emperour *Seuerus*, the eighteenth, reigning in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 196. albeit that he was no Christian; yet (after the example of *Chri-*

stianity) wold ordinarily say: *That it was great shame, to bee lesse carefull of the life of a Gouernor, or one that exerciseth the place of iudgement; then the Christians were, in the quality of their Shepheards and Watchmen ouer their Flocks. For they obserued a kinde of Siquis, or a Bill fixed vpon Posts, wherein were set downe the names of such as aspired to any Ecclesiasticall dignity, and examined their liues and behaviour with strictest severity.* In the very same manner, this good Emperour, when hee intended to provide any man for the government of a Prouince, or place where iudgment was to be vsed, or whatsoever else appeared requisite: would first set vp publicke Placards, or Bills of inscription, in diuers places about the City, to the ende, that if any notorious vice were knowne, or criminall cause deseruing open detection, in such as were named in those publicke Placards: it was lawfull for all men, to accuse or set downe their blemishes & incapacities, that no wicked or vnworthy person, might be advanced to such degree of eminency. Thus euery one, and all in generall were permitted to accuse; but yet on penalty of life, if it should be proued to be scandall or calumnation, and thereupon, an especiall Law was ordained and entrouled expressely.

In my poore opinion, this Law seemeth much more honest and equall, then those

Laupridius  
in the life of  
the said Alex-  
ander becom-  
rus.

Placards Bills  
of Siquis, or  
publicke in-  
scription fixed  
vpon Posts,  
and to what  
end they were  
ordained.

The Authors  
comparison of  
precedency  
with present  
ordinations.

A good ad-  
vice against  
vnlawfull eua-  
sions.

It is better to  
chastise flin-  
tine late, then ne-  
lect.

What kinde  
of men are in  
equity to be  
advanced to  
places of au-  
thority.

Respect is the  
best rule to be  
ordered by.

Alexander  
Seuerus was  
no Christian;  
yet imitated  
the Christians  
in making this  
Edict.

those now adayes in vlc, with the *Venetians, Florentines, Geneweyes, and Lucanes*, who after the time of a mans Office is expired, or, that the limitation of his gouernment ceaseth: do then make enquiry, to cause him render an account of his administration, and then proceed against him according to his demerits. A wicked Magistrate, and publicke Concessionary or extortioner, by giuing a piece of bread to dogs barking at him, so to stop their mouths: may thus salue his thefts, and other depredations of his vile life.

It is much more expedient, to prevent a disface, then to tarry till it come, & then to expulse it: notwithstanding, it is better late, then neuer, to the ende (at the least) that feare of search and syndication, may retaine Officers within compasse of their duty.

And yet the ordination of *Solon* (methinks) was farre better, whereby the liues of Officers was to be examined, both before and after their authority, as we read in the lawes set downe by *Demoisthenes*. For by examining the life and manners of such, as couet or seeke after degrees of Offices, Benefices, Knighthood, exemptions, immunities, gifts and rewards, if they appeare to bee foule or deformed: not onely they may be reiected, but also directly (in iustice) punished, & rewards distributed to honest persons, according to the merit of euery man. And by an harmonious proportion, the purse shold be giuen to the most faithfull; Armes to the most valiant; Iustice degree to the vprightest; censure to the entrest; painfull trauaile to the strongest and best able; Prelacy to the most learned and deuoutest. And yet neuertheless, carrying respect to Nobility, wealth, age, and the power of euery one, as also the quality of their charges and offices: for it were very ridiculous, to make a Iudge a Warriour, a Prelate a common Lawyer, or a Soldiour to manage cales of conscience.

Now for the better comprehension of our purpose in this Chapter, it is to be obserued, that *Alexander Seuerus* neuer was a Christian: but a worthy man otherwise, and when he made that Edict. As being desirous to place good Magistrates, to gouerne in the *Romaine Common-wealth* vnder his Empire (finiding it full of exacting Officers) in imitation of the

Christians, euen (as it is saide) in the second time of the Primitive Church. And when (for any particular Church) any need appeared of a Bishoppe, a Priest, a Deacon, or some other Officer; the Christians (in those times) fixed vp their Placards, setting downe the name of him or them, that sought to haue such office and dignity: they did it to such ende, that if any vice were knowne in him or them; objection might bee made against the pretendant, so to debout him of his requiition and lute.

And questionlesse, great need there was, that this pollicy should bee obserued among the Christians; for the Pagans & Idolaters then (being their capitall enemies) sought nothing more, then some subiect of argument, whereby to iniure and calumniate the Pastors and Prelates among the Christians, onely to make the odious to the people. And they that were promoted vnto Ecclesiasticall Offices in those dayes, had no other stipend or reward, but only some collection of Corne and other matters, among the Christians of the Churches then, to make them garments, and maintaine them poorely enough, being provided of those places, & oftentimes their best assurance was most cruell martyrdom. And that which made men then desirous of Ecclesiasticall aduancements, was not (as now adayes) to deriue thence large benefits & reuennues: for then, there were not any foundations ordained, neyther were any tents leuied for or from them. But the Pastours then, in a most sacred kinde of charity, coueted to instruct the ignorant, and confirme in faith, intimidate, affrighted and disperfed Christians, persecuted by the Romanes and other Princes, onely for the Christian faith, and to encourage them for suffering martyrdom, according as *Ensebius* (who liued in those times) hath written at large.

As for the estates of the *Venetians, Geneweyes, Lucanes*, and others now exercised in *Italy*, they are not during life, as it is in *France*: wherein yet it is not much amisse, to haue information of them, vpon the expiration of their charges, to cause terror in their offices successors, for best carriage and behavior in their dutie, least a further inquisition come vpon them. In *France*, estates and offices are exercised, during

The Pastours  
and Preach-  
ers among  
the Christians  
were very  
poore in the  
beginning of  
vnder taking  
their charges

The desire of  
Pastors in the  
Primitive  
Church.

The estates &  
offices in *Italy*  
differing frō  
the in *France*.

Prouidion  
made by the  
Statutes of  
of France.

The obser-  
uation of Spain  
in the admini-  
stration of their  
Officers.

How the  
Kings of Spain  
carry them-  
selves to their  
Substitutes.

during life of the party in possession: but yet with caution, that if he commit any vnbecoming acte, to bee instantly dismissed, and (oftentimes) death ensueeth therevpon. But before any man may bee so advanced, the Statutes of France haue eniyned, that good information must be made, concerning the life and manners of the party to enioy it; before such persons as his Maieesty, or other foweraigne Iudges shall appoint.

The Kings of *Spain*, cause information of life and behaviour, of any that aime at degrees and offices, before they are admitted to them. And moreouer, at every five yeares end, sometime in more, and in lesse compasse of yeares very often; secret enquiries & informations are made, of all Officers in every Seigneury: as in all the *Spaines*, the Kingdomes of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milaine*, the lower Countreies of *Germany*, the County of *Bourgogne*, the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, and other, & namely of the places where they exercise their Offices. And if the King do finde, that they misbehaved themselves; his Countcell deposeh them, appointing o-ther in their places, of whom (likewise) the life and conseruation is well questioned. Sometimes they are put to death, but very rarely, and many times depofed, yet without note of infamy: only giuing them to vnderstand, that the King is not well contented with their seruice. Heere is also to be vnderstood, that information cometh not onely against Officers of Iustice, as *Advocates*, *Procurators*, *Prenotaries*, Iudges foweraigne and subalter-nate: but likewise against Ecclesiasticks, and men of warre. By which means, every one is compelled to containe himselfe within compasse of duty; and beside, the estates & offices are not vendible.

#### CHAP. VII.

*Of the reason and cause, why both some Princes, and also some Common-wealths, haue alwayes prosperously flourished in the times of warre; and in peacefull dayes haue runne to decay and ruine.*

Although I discourse in this Chapter, that some Princes and Common-

wealths haue bin very happy and succesfull, in times of wars and molestation; and contrariwise, in times of peace haue become vicious, running on to ruine and delolation: yet I neither will, or do thereby inferre, that warre is to bee esteemed more necessary then peace. But I will shew the causes whereby (not all Common-wealths, nor all Princes in generall) yet many liued more vertuously & happily in the times of war, then in their ealier dayes of peace. And that so soone as they came to enioy peace; they fell into ruine, vtterly losing all their greatnesse & splendour. Euen like vnto Iron, which not being vied or handled, or whereof no frequent employment is made; rusteth and consumeth of it selfe. And this ensued by no other occasion, but only through negligence and want of respect, that when they enioyed the Sunny daies of peace; no discrete order was taken, for institution of good life and pollicie, and how to make vie (as men ought to doe) of such sweet tranquility.

Before I come to approue my sayings by examples, I would first make a briefe relation, concerning the actions of men of warre; to demonstrate, that it is (almost) vtterly incredible, that any goodnesse can deriue it selfe from war. For, who is a greater enemy to the peacefull man, then the furious Soldior? To the milde, meeke countriman, then the bloody Warriour? To the Philosopher, then the fierce Capitaine? To the wife, then fooler? Because the greatest delight and felicity of warriors, is, to forradge Countreies, rob the husbandmen, burne Towns and Villages, to massacre good men, to giue all licence to the wicked, to besiege, batter, force and ransacke houses, to kill olde and young, to spare no age or sexe, to rauish Wiues and Virgins, to bathe their hands brutishly in innocent blood, to make a spoile of sacred things, to ruinate Temples, to blasphem the Name of God, to trample (vnder their foule feet) all right both diuine and humane. These are the fruites of warre, highly acceptable and pleasing to fiery-eye Soldiors, abominable to good men, & detestable before God. Needlesse is it to amplifie with words, that which hath bin too well seene and felt in ouer-many places, whose very memory hath startled the

Peace is al-  
ways to be  
preferred be-  
fore war in a-  
ny Kingdom.

In Sunshine  
dayes men  
haue great-  
need to lea-  
rnes.

The fruites  
are but bad  
that proceed  
from warre  
is neuer to  
iustly fol-  
lowed.

Where warre  
keepe his  
rebell, hee  
goes to  
ruine, without  
any pity or  
remedie.

Vertue is mar-  
ny times vic-  
tious with-  
out any  
blowes giuen.

The Romanes  
had more ver-  
tuous men in  
warre then in  
peace.

Furius Ca-  
millus.

Fabritius.

Scipio.

Vertue can  
neuer con-  
quer by cow-  
ardice.

soules of them in best safety, and made their haire stand on ende, that thought themselves of boldest resolution.

If then the case stand thus, and that war hath so many discommodities and mischiefs waiting vpon it: how can any good ensue from it?

Further wee are to vnderstand, that when Soldiours are guided by Captaines voide of iudgement, vnderstanding and vertue: all the forenamed euils and mischiefs are ordinarily committed. But if they haue a vertuous Commander, hee will carry himselfe so much the more modestly. And like as greatnesse of courage & magnanimity, is a bright flaming Beacon, leading the way to all other vertues, and exalteth Princes vnto the very highest point of honor: euen so it is vertue (only) likewise, that most discourageth the hearts of enemies, be they neuer so potent or powerfull warriors, and (oftentimes) gaineth the victory, without a blow deliuered on either side.

Heereof I intend to set downe some examples, that in the Roman Common-wealth, and in the times of their warre, there was greater store of vertuous minded men, then when they liued in peace and quietnesse. First let vs remember *Furius Camillus*, who hauing sent backe the children, which the Schoole-Master had brought into his Campe, to make them bondslaues to the Romanes; conquered the City without one blow smitten, which neuertheless was very strong, and well furnished with all warlike munition.

And *Fabritius*, hauing sent the Physition to king *Pyrrhus*, that had promised to poison him, and refused the moiety of his Kingdomes: although he was one of the very pooreste Roman Gentleman, and caused the prisoners ransom to be paid, which *Pyrrhus* had freely deliuered, not suffering the meaneest of them to stand beholding to so great a King. And *Scipio*, who (without any paine) conquered a great part of both the *Spaines*: by sending a lady of rare beauty to her husband, the Prince of *Celiberia*, according to the example of *Cyrus*. These so generous and vertuous actions, tooke away all courage from enemies, to make war any longer against such magnanimous people; who neither could conquer, nor yet be conquered, by bafe or vnbecoming

behaviour.

And yet this was much better made knowne, after the great day at *Cannas*, when *Hanniball* had put eight thousand prisoners to their ranfome, at an hundred Crownes each man, and one bearing credit for another: hoping vndoubtedly, that the Romanes hauing lost so many men, would not be slacke in paying their ranfome. But it was flatly forbidden (by the Senates especiall decree) that not one prisoner of them al should be redeemed. Whereat *Hanniball* (saith *Polybius*) was so amazed, as all his courage quite forooke him. Whereas on the contrary, the Romanes secured their state the better, which was (sleightly shaken, and vtterly abandoned (as it were) of all friends and confederates. For the iudgement of the Senate was wise and honourable, because *Hanniball*, hauing so much Roman blood spilt at his pleasure, thought to empty their Treasury of money, and draw eight hundred thousand Crownes from them, which they rather chose to spare, then to redeeme the very scum and cowards of all the Roman Army. Wherevpon, and thence forward, euery one took a resolution to conquer or dye, & so became dreadfull and inuincible. And like as their hearts neuer failed them in their greatest losses; so were they neuer conquered by arrogancy in their victories. And therefore, in the time of war, the Romanes more exprest their greatnesse in courage, then in peace they could do.

*Charles* the eight of that name, King of France, in the voyage which hee made into *Italy*, to conquer the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicily*, they belonging to him, as he pretended: at the surprizall of a City, a very goodly Lady was brought vnto him, whom he would not touch; but sent her away (and great gifts with her) to her husband. By this acte of chastity he sped so well, that most part of the Townes and Cities as he passed along, brought their keyes vnto him, and conquered (the more easily) the Kingdomes hee laide clayme to. And yet neuertheless, this King had Ladies (sometimes) at command in his owne Court, albeit very secretly.

So long as *Caius Marius* followed war, he performed many braue and vertuous exploits therein, largely encreasing (with

*Hanniball* &  
his 8000 Ro-  
mane pri-  
soners.

The generous  
and vncou-  
querable cou-  
rage of the  
Romanes, and  
grounded on  
good reason.

The honoura-  
ble action of  
*Charles* the  
8. King of  
France.

The fame &  
reputation of  
*Marius*, so  
long as he  
continued a  
Warriour.

great



great Prouinces) his Country and Common-wealth of Rome. As hauing conquered *Iugurthe*, King of the *Numidians*, and made an absolute surrender of his Kingdome to Rome: hee likewise vanquished the *Cymbrians* in *Gaul*, and the *Germans* that were entred into *Italy*, and seauen times was he made Confull, euen in iust regard of his great deseruings. But when he ceased from being a VVarriour, adding himselfe to idleness, and desisting to liue in peace: aspiring by his ambition to tyranny, he caused about tenne thousand Citizens to dye wretchedly, & ended his owne life in miserable exile. And the very same did *Sylla*, who was esteemed one of the most fortunate men in his time; who in a ranged battaile, ouerthrew *Mithridates* neere to *Charones*; and his Lieutenant at another time after, not farre from *Athens*. He vanquished also the *Medes*, and the *Dardaniens* or *Troyans*; he put *Carbo* to flight, & droue him quite out of *Italy*; winning the battaile likewise against *Marius*; and so long as he followed the warres, liued most nobly and vertuously. But being returned home to his house, and liuing there in peace; hee became a tyrant and butcher of the Citizens; so that (in one day) he commanded nine thousand of them to be slaine, promising a certaine stipend or wages, to any one that brought him a *Romane* Citizens head.

The misfortune that alle ntile & negligence brought to Marius and Sylla.

Else hath bin repared the Nurffe of tyrany.

The renowne of Pompey so long as he followed Armes.

By peace the Romane Empire vnto vnspcakable greatness: so by peace it impayed too much, onely through ciuill warre, engen-

dred among themselves. In which respect, many people and Kings shooke off the yoke, wherein they flood tributaries to the *Romans*, and so their Empire (by little and little came to decadence.

Great *Alexander*, so long as hee continued warre in the East, hee was accounted most valiant and temperate. And hauing vanquished *Darius*, finding none other to resist against him, he grew to such insolence; that he would be often drunk, & made himselfe so contemptible, as he became despised of his owne people, his friends and kindred, who caused him to dye by poison, hauing scarcely attained to the age of thirty yeares.

So long as the *Lacedemonians* had braue warlike Kings and Capitaines, and found them employment in warres, eyther whether it were for defence of their owne Country, or for conquering others, such men as were *Agesslaw*, *Agis*, *Archidamus*, *Brasidas*, *Damodias*, *Euricratides*, *Temistocles*, *Callicratides*, and more such like beside; they daily prospered in all attempts they vnderooke. But so soone as they had conquered the *Athenians*, & pillaged and polled their City vnder *Lysander*, and had filled their purses with money, making no more account or care of war: the sweet ease and goodnesse of the time then seized on them, & condemning both exercise and military discipline, they became quickly ruined. For, from all former times of antiquity, they commonly employed painful diligence, rather by stratagems and pollicies of warre to conquer their enemies, then by power: which was more commended in *Archidamus*, then any other vertue else. They alwayes shunned peace, not as disallowing it to be good; but because it continually enticed them to too many vices. For the *Lacedemonian* Lawes ordained, that men might walke through the City in the night time without light; because a Soldiour, most often being in war, might (by all meanes) march against his enemy, and at all houres as occasion presented it selfe, eyther by day or night. Patient also they were in all externall iniuries, as raines, windes, heats, frosts, mysts, and in greatesse hunger; being euermore constantly resolu'd, eyther to conquer, or dye in the field. Which extremities, could not bee exercised by slothfull people, or liuing in peace.

The

Idleness and negligence was the ruine of Great Alexander.

Through sloth and idleness, the Lacedemonians vnto ouerthrew themselves.

\* A Noblesse of Sparta, son to Telis that would aduence any dan ger without respect for his Countreys safety.

The Grecian Philosophers banished out of Rome, and the reason why.

A poet banished out of Lacedemon for writing against warre.

The gods of the Lacedemonians were painted armed, and those of the Grecians effeminately.

The French nation entred into long continued seditions, onely by peace.

The *Romans*, in those times, when they were not corrupted with forces of foren nations, banished all the *Grecian* Philosophers, and would not admit any knowledge of letters among them, but for their vife: and no lesse hated they the professors of questionary sciences, then their books. They would not practise or learne anie thing, but to know how they might best bee obedient to Magistrates, and endure the hardest trauels in battels, to liue or die. A *Theslian* being demanded, who were the worst conditioned people in his country, answered; Such as had withdrawn themselves from Military labour and discipline.

A poet, named *Archilochus*, being come to dwell in *Lacedemon*, was banished presently thence, being knowne to haue written: That it was much better to forsake the Target and Armes, then to die in warre. Among the *Lacedemonians*, it was an especial obseruation, to figure all the Images of their gods and goddesses armed, holding lances in their hands, as signifying themselves to be warriors: Because they reputed nothing to be more vile & infamous, then idleness and vnarmed peace, being no way to goodly in apparence, as Military vertue: and therefore they paynted their gods in such forme, as themselves alwayes wished to be. Contrariwise, the *Grecians* Theology instructed them; to figure their gods, idle, peaceable, and lying all along. And it seemed, that the *Lacedemonians* had good reason so to do, because they imagined, that all our actions should be comfortable to those of the gods: for, in painting the shapes of the gods effeminately, and so to follow them in like qualities, is to be pernicious, and vnprofitable to the Common-wealth.

So soone as *Henry*, second of that name king of *France*, had contracted peace with the Emperor, the Kings of *Spain* and *England*, with all the princes of *Italy*, and with the countries of high and lower *Germany*, they all being enemies to him: he was very shortly after slaine in a iousting, with a spie of a lance, entring in at the sight of his Beauer. All the great Capitaines of *France* esteemed vertuous among all other Nations, in times of peace, fell to killing one another, keeping neither faith, nor promise, but proditoriously massacring their very best friends: feining assemblies

about the State affaires: some vnder colour of marriages; others, by pretended feasts and banquets, proceeding on so far in this wicked course, till they killed a cyr king, yea & sought to murder his successor. In briefe, they leagued themselves daily one against another, and some against the State, growing into such factious and treacherous coniuurations, that the *French* were thought to be a most barbarous kind of people. All which had hapned, but thorough discontinuing exercise of Armes against ancient enemies, and calling them in, to depoyse them of their goods. Like as the ancient *Gauls* formerly did, who in meere enuy one to another, and hauing giuen out the exercise of Armes, one part called in the *Romans*, and another the *Almans* or *Germans*, who were their vter ruine in the end. And so they became tributaries, who were wont to bee the onely terror of the *Romans*, *Grecians*, *Spaniards*, yea, and likewise of the *Germans*.

Seeing then it cometh so to passe, that some Princes, and likewise some Common-wealths (as appeareth by our passed Discourse) attained to much honor, and order their affaires better in their storms of warre, than in the calmer seasons of peace; and because it is not possible that warres should continually endure, but Peace must, and will haue some time of sway and dominion: Let vs now see, if there be not as good meanes of vertuous containment, as well in the dayes of peace as of warre; double if it may be done more commodiously, and the waies of compassing it I will briefly declare.

First of all, when there is no more occasion, for employing men of warre in a Kingdome or Common-wealth: aduice is to be had, what Princes, friends or confederats of strangers, haue any need of men of such martiall qualitie, and thither to send them in their assistance, with charge of returning from thence agayne, when they shall bee summoned thereto. Not onely shall the State or Common-wealth be thus disburthened of paying such wages: but also of such celebrates, as ordinarily doe follow men of warre, the more safely to commit their thefts and villanies, without checke, law, or punishment.

In like manner did *Charles* the fifth, of that name, and King of *France*, who

Discipline breeds no mean store of enuy in any peaceable nation.

The Ambour failed to repchend his first proposition, and refused to signe the peace.

How Souldiers are to be dealt withall, when they are without employment for them.

hauing taken truce with the *English, Narrians, and Britains*, being entreated by *Henry of Castile*, the Bastard, who made warre vpon his legitimate brother for the kingdome. For Pope *Vrbane* had conferred the Crowne vpon him, in regard that *Don Peter*, king of *Castile*, had intelligence and confederacy with the King of *Granado*, who was of the Mahometane Religion. Moreover, he was a tyrant, doing many things vnbecoming the name or credit of a Christian. King *Charles* sent him f. cour of souldiers, vnder conduct of the Constable *Bertrand du Guesclin*, who (by that voyage) purged *France* of an infinite number of Theues, the greater part whereof were laine in that warre. The like did *Lewes* the eleuenth, who, hauing peace with all his enemies, sent all his souldiers (that rauaged strangely in his kingdome) to the Earle of *Richmond*, who passed them ouer with him into England, because he laid claime to the kingdome. By this meanes, hee ridde his realme of rascality, and had some reuenge also vpon his ancient enemies.

*Augustus Caesar*, hauing ouercome his Competitor *Mark Anthony*, and hauing no further employment for war, was not so improuident or indiscreete, as to suffer his souldiers lue idle and negligently; but sent forty Legions into remote Prouinces, and to the frontiers of barbarous nations, still to support their militarie discipline, and to keepe all occasions of ciuill war, so farre off as might bee. But Great *Constantine* the Emperor, following the counsell of diuers Bythops and Priestes, who were slenderly experienced in State affaires: threw off his Legionaries and men of warre; which was the cause, that ancient Military Discipline became quite lost, and opened a gate to such enemies, as (afterward) invaded the Romane Empire on all sides. For they vnderstood not, that Lawe, Iustice, and the whole State (next vnder God) are in the protection of Armes, as vnder a soweraignt and safe buckler of defence.

Yet there is one point more, very considerable, to shew, that Militarie Discipline ought to be maintained, and warre made, vpon good and iust occasions; for there haue alwayes bene (and neuer shall we bee without) some theues, murderers, idle loyterers, vagabonds, murmu-

rrers, and sturdy vagrants, which (in any Common-wealth) do hurt and spoyle the honest simplicitie of good subiects, & notwithstanding the verie best Iustice that may be vied, yet can no country bee intirely cleared of such Cankers. The best helpe (in this case) is warre, to send such vnecessary members farre off from home-abiding, where soeuer any fitting employment happeneth. Because it serueth as a purge medicine, very cordiall and conuenient, for expelling such corrupted humours, out of the Common-wealths vniuersall body. Furthermore, in times of peace, and for better enjoying the benefit thereof; no tolleration is any way to bee suffered, of such as haue not trade or vocation; for idleness and negligence, cause too many euils in any kingdome. By this discourse then may bee ascribed those reasons, why many Princes & Commonweales flourish in times of war, & fell to ruine in the daies of peace; the best meanes also in both of them hath briefly bin deliuered.

## CHAP. VIII

That Princes ought not to erect sumptuous and stately buildings; as hoping thereby to make their names immortal.



OME Flatterers cannot be sufficiently blamed, that perfwade Kings and great Monarks, to build sumptuous houses and Palaces, thereby to make their names immortal, contrary to the iudgment of Count *Balthazar* the *Castilian*, in his booke of the Courtier, who (in mine opinion) hath highly erred, to write and approoue such a vanitie. For the end of all *ceremonious actions* (according to the saying of *Cicero*, in the 3. booke of his *Tuſculanes*) is honour, glory, and good renown; not a *dumb building*, which is composed of the sweat, blood, and means of poor people. Palaces cannot moue out of the places where they are builded, nor can they make knowne the generous deeds of such as erected them: And men that dwell

How Magistrates are & ought to carry their authority in times of peace.

That no man should build, vainly to immortalize his name.

*Cicero* in *Tuſcul* lib. 3. cap. 7.

A good a luffe vndil charge any kingdom or theues. & vnked ptefens, who are longer out of opine in the hum. of pte.

Henry Earle of Richmond, afterward K. of England.

Augustus Caesar care of his countries honor.

War serueth sometime as good Pluck. for a Commonwealt to rid it of corrupted bu-mors.

Men enen name remaine not by their buildings.

Princes are apply compa red to Swallows in theyr lue to theyr buildings.

Example of Catharine de Medicis, not long since Q. Mother of Fr.

The Q. Mother of France liked not the building of sumptuous houses, which were indeed to small vie.

by those places, and strangers that see or passe by them, when some fifty yeares (or so) are ouer-passed, can scarcely bee informed, who were the founders, albeit their names may be engrauen vpon some stone or other matter; whereby the erecters of Pallaces and proude Buildings, are often frustrated of theyr hope and intention.

Moreover, if it be well pondered and considered, the sayrest building is but a matter of frailtie, and subiect to no long continuance: for, when men cease from dwelling there, they runne in poasting speede to ruine and decay. And Princes are the occasion hercof: Resembling Swallows, who will neuer neastle twice in one neast: Euen so, the most parte of Princes dwellings become desert, like to King *Frances*, who buylded a great Tower in the Castell of the *Louure* in *Paris*, made after the ancient manner, and ruined the body of the Lodging, by causing another to be erected. Afterward he builded *Madric*, and then agayne the house of *Fontaine bleau*, yet neuer dwelt in any of the sayd buildings.

*Catharine de Medicis*, widow to King *Henry* the second deceased, when she was Regent (although shee was well furnished with vnderstanding, and a Lady of great honour) yet notwithstanding, shee suffered her selfe, to be ouermuch perfwaded by some flatterers in the Court about her: that, to render her memory to posteritie euerlastingly, shee should erect some goodly Pallace; whereto she yielded, after a long time of sollicitation. Shee had not seene the fourth part of the building out of the ground, but shee began to repent her selfe, saying: Shee knew well enough, that it was meere vanity, to hope for immortalizing by buildings, frayle, & subiect to ruine in a short time, and so left off, from proceeding any further in so frivolous a businesse.

The sayd Lady had houses of pleasure abroad, passably fayre and commodious: but in *Paris* shee had not a dwelling, her children being come to age. The *Louure*, a royall habitation, was not sufficient to receiue her and her traine: wherefore, seeing that the Court (in those times) kept ordinarily at *Paris*: shee built an other of indifferent cost, in the place where was founded the order and religion of *Adarie*

*Magdalen*, for sinfull women and maides, converted to repentance, and transported the religious women thence, vnto the Abbey of *Saint Mary Magdalen*, being much more commodious for them. Reproouing the counsell formerly giuen to her, she would vsually say: That money might be better employed, in redeeming the Crowne lands, paying of debts, easing the people oppressed with grievous taxations; then to bee wasted in such vaine manner, which wordes right well became so great a Princeesse as shee was.

Ofentimes she commended the good Emperour *Vespasian*, who neuer builded any Pallace, but contented himselfe with such as were erected by his predecessors: yet did hee re-edifie diuers and sundry ruined Temples and Theaters, and gaue very bounteously to Hospitalls. As shee like did the Emperour *Domitian*, who was well satisfied with a small dwelling: and yet builded hee the Capitole, which was greatly decayed by age, and a Temple of his owne, dedicated vnto *Iupiter*.

The sacred Scriptures tell vs, that the magnificence and ouer great sumptuousnesse of *Salomon*, in building his pallaces and houses, were the cause, that tenne Tribes of *Israel* did seperate themselves from obedience to his heyre *Rehoboam*, and reigned onely but ouer two. I will not speake here of the Temples building, for his father left him all the stufte and the meanes, as needed for the erection of so holy a Temple. But the immeasurable expences layde out on his Pallace, for furnishment whereof, the people themselves so pressed after his decease: that they were contrayned to seeke another King, then his Sonne *Rehoboam*, who would continue the prodigall expences of his father in building, and so (of twelue partes) hee lost ten in his kingdome.

It is right well knowne, by the Text of the Iewish Chronicles, that King *Salomon* abused the Graces and Blessings both of Almighty God and men: for, it was not sufficient for him, to make walls in his pallace of the very goodliest stones, the best polished, and most splendant in all the world; but he would needs illuminate them also with exquisite colors, ceuering them besides with massie golde, as

This Q. Mother was reputed a very wise Lady.

Proude building left Salomons tenne of the Tribes of Israel.

The exceeding great cost of Salomons pallace.

Costly wood  
of Cedar and  
Cethin, wher-  
of the planks  
and flowers  
were made.

making lesse account of silver, then hee did of leade or yron. The like is to be understood of the planchers and floores, all made of curious and strange woods, the very worst being of Cedar and Cethin, without corruption, and smelling most sweetly, resembling in color, the beames of the Sun, being so ingeniously handled in the working, that they appeared like most curious shaps and figures, as no men in the world were able to invent, or counterfeit the like. And yet neuerthelesse, hee covered those costly woods with plates of gold, enshafed with infinite precious stones: so that the very floores seemed to bee second starry Heavens; whereby may easily be presupposed, what the other parts of his Pallace were.

Salomon build  
did many  
more Pallaces  
beside that in  
Ierusalem, &  
all as rich as  
that.

Moreover, *Salomon* did not onely build one Pallace in *Ierusalem*, but many more beside in diuers places, euen as rich, or rather more costly then the other. As that which hee erected for his Summers recreation, in the Wood of *Lybanus*, abounding in all variety of vanities. In two Halls he placed five hundred Shields or Targets, of immeasurable greatnesse, and all of massiue gold, each Target valuing (at the least) two thousand and foure hundred Crowns, as *Empolemus* hath recorded. The said Bucklers or Targets were beaten with the hammer, and engrauen with rare and costly branched workes. He builded another Pallace in *Gazer*, more sumptuous then the two former were: which was quickly ruined after his death, and at this day the places are not knowne where those Pallaces stood. For the building of these, hee trauailed and molested his people, who revolted from him, losing thereby his heyre and successe, and (well nere) all his Kingdome; his Reigne (beside) being full of many warres and other miseries. Behold what goodly benefit redounded to him, by erecting such ouer-sumptuous buildings: for, the *Egyptian* people destroyed and pilld his Pallace before his eyes.

Salomons  
people reuol-  
ted from him  
for oppressing  
them with his  
buildings.

The vanity of  
Nero *Claudi-  
us* Caesar.

*Tranquillus* declareth, that *Nero Claudius Caesar*, the sixt Romane Emperour, was so ambitious; that he desired to make his name immortal, by the meanes of buildings, which he intended to erect, and valued the price of his life, whereof I pur-

pose to sette downe a briefe description.

First, he would haue had all *Rome* to bee pulde downe, and then to be built againe at the Cittizens charges: saying, that the streets were not straiter nor large enough. Heereupon, diuers leud persons (by him suborned) fired the City in sundry places: hee intending afterward to haue it beare his name, and to be called *Neropolis*: which partly was put in execution, albeit the eight part could hardly bee burned, and because many houses were built all of stone, with engines he caused them to be destroyed. And as he persecuted thus in ruinating the houses, certaine conspiracies (intended against him) chanced to be discouered to him; which made him leaue off, and proceed therein no further. *Cornelius Tacitus* writeth, that hee caused a false fame to be noysed in *Rome*, throwing scandalous aspersions vpon the Christians, as if that they had fired the city. And great likelihood there was, that this impossibility should proceed from him, and to be imposed on the Christians: because he was a vowed enemy to all vertuous, holy and well affected people. In which respect, so many Christians as hee could apprehend, were bathed and anointed on their naked bodies, with greafe and pitch, and then tyed to pillars, and fire put vnto them so they seemed as flaming Linkes or Torches, for passengers and night-walkers through the City.

Thereupon  
why Nero com-  
manded that  
Rome should  
be burned.

*Cornelius Tacitus*  
saith that  
Nero, by  
slandrous  
imputations  
laide on the  
Christians.

One Pallace  
built by Nero,  
compared  
with all them  
erected by  
Salomon.

The descrip-  
tion of Neros  
costly build-  
ing, called,  
The House of  
Gold.

For continuance of his names immortalizing, and onely by such buildings he intended; I meane to describe one, another manner of thing, then those which *Salomon* caused to be erected, what store of gold hee bestowed vpon them: whereof let the Reader be Iudge, for what is heere inserted, I haue traduced out of the said *Tranquillus*, who both saw that *Nero*, and his Pallace, and auoucheth, that *Nero* neuer did more harmes in all his actions, then in his buildings. He erected a house, extending from his Pallace so farre as Mount *Esquiline*, which hee named, *The House of Gold*: and being almost finished, it was wholly destroyed with thunder and lightning falling from Heauen, and yet neuerthelesse, hee builded it againe. It was so spacious, that it had a place for him to walke in, which was a

Gallery

Gallery at the very entrance, containing a thousand paces in length, hauing three ranks of Marble pillars, all made with Arches, most proudly glittering with goodly colors, hauing infinite fabulous Histories, and Poeticall figures. In that place also was a Colossus, of an hundred and twenty foote in height, formed after his owne effigie and resemblance. There was likewise a Poole or Pond, seeming as if it had bene an huge spacious Sea: on the Bankes wherof (all round about) were stately houses builded, so that it appeared to be a faire great City.

The building  
must needs  
contain a  
wonderfull  
compassse, so  
haue so many  
measures  
within it.

Within the compassse of this building, were careable grounds, Vineyards, Pasturages, Medowes and Forrests, with multitudes of diuers kinds of Beaste, as well wilde as tame, enclosed within high walles, in the manner of a Parke, and formed with very artificall cunning. All other parts of this Pallace, were richly gilded, thickly powdered with precious stones, and mother of Pearle, the floores of the Halls for Dinners and Suppers, were all in-layed with Iuory, and curious wrought plates of fine gold, so subtilly turning each against other, that flowers and sweete waters descending from the Roofe, by conuoyes of artificall conuenance, fell on them sitting at the Table, & after were receiued into the floores. Among all the Halls for banquetting, there was one entirely round, which (by imitable arte) was so composed, that it turned round night and day, like vnto the world.

Planchers &  
Tables of  
marble cut-  
ting.

An admirable  
Fith pond, &  
a strange Ditch  
for Barages.

Ouer and beside all these, hee caused a Fith-Pond to be made, from *Misena*, so farre as the Lake *Auernas*, all engirt with Galleries: where the warme waters of the gulfie *Baie* fell into it. Beside, he had a trench or ditch made, reaching from *Auernas* to *Osilia*, for boates to float on, containing foure score French miles in length, and of such widenesse, that two great Gallies, with five ranks of Oares might passe on front. Because if one should mount one way, and the other come againe to meet it: they might freely passe without danger of touching one another.

A counterfeite  
Sea made at  
the charge of  
infinite ex-  
pences.

Nor could these Fith-Ponds, Lakes, Ditches, and other deuices serue the turn; but hee must also haue an artificall Sea made, which he caused to, come from ve-

ry farre off, cutting through Mountaines, Rocks, pulling downe Forrests, and such like: so that it seemed a worke of no mortal power, but as if it were done by God himselfe. To perfect this mighty labour, he gaue command, that so many prisoners as could be found, were it for criminal causes, debts, or any case else whatsoever throughout the whole Romane Empire (which contained then almost all our Hemisphere) should bee brought to *Rome*, and there to bee employed in this seruice.

And because these mighty workes could not bee effected without inestimable expences; he imposed on the City of *Rome* (without exempting people of any quality) great and extraordinary subsidies, and vpon the whole Lands of the Empire, wherein the *Gaulles* (among other Prouinces) felt no meane affliction, although they were (well nere) quite ruined by the precedent warres, so that they were constrained to revolt from his obedience. The like did *Spain*, and great store of the Prouinces in *Asia* and *Affrica*, and (in the end) all *Italy*. Heereupon, he sent out strickt prohibitions, that no Officer of the Empire should be paid his wages, no, nor the Bishops & Priests, who were paid by the hands of the publicke Receiueurs; neither could the Legions haue their pay, which caused great hauck in the Prouinces whether they were sent. For he employed all his moneys, about those admirable Workes and Buildings, and yet could not prouide sufficient for that purpose.

The horrible  
taxations im-  
posed on the  
people, for ef-  
fecting the  
idle vanities.

The next way  
to ouerthrow  
all together.

In regard whereof, the Senate and whole body of the people, being no longer able to support those prodigall expences; conspired against him. Which coming to his knowledge, & he perceiving approaching danger (being forsaken of all his owne followers) fled out of the City, to a Country Farme belonging to one of his Libertines; where, by the help of one of his friends, he had his throat cut; for he was such a cowardly slaue, that he durst not do it himselfe.

The end of  
Nero like to  
that of Sardan-  
apalus.

Such was the deferred and miserable end of this Emperour, which happened to him, by employing his reuenues, and the goodes of his Subjects so prodigally, in erecting proude buildings, and to no profit.

Nereus Palace was more sumptuous than all them of Salomon.

This one worke of his, was three or foure times more costly, and of greater admiration, then either the Temple, or all the Pallaces of *Salomon*, King of *Israel*. Of which (as also of *Nereus*) not anie kinde of noate or memory remaineth to be seene, and the places are not knowne where they stood. And although men commune and speake of *Nereus* these our dayes, it is not in regarde of his sumptuous buildings, whereby hee thought to immortalize his name: but for his abominable whooredomes, parricides, and infamous life, which hee leedde so long as hee liued. Whereof, at this time, I desire not to make anie more mention: for so many Historians haue written thereof, and especially *Tranquillus* (Authour of all that hitherto hath bene spoken) as I must lend them to his Volumes, which are desirous to reade any more of his life and actions.

## CHAP. IX.

Who was the first, among all other Monarches and Princes, that commaunded, to present by writing, what power was to be negotiated with him.



Very man of iudgement wel may thinke, that a Prince, who hath manie Prouinces vnder his charge, and giueth command to diuers people; must needs be much hindered, from answering all such as are to negotiate with him. And it would be a matter vterly impossible for him to satisfie all suites and demands made vnto him: if hee were not eased by some especiall persons, of good vnderstanding in the State affaires, as a Chancellor, Secretary, and some such other beside. In like maner, that which giueth him greatest contentment, is, when men make their suites to him by writing, as in these dayes is discretely vsed: which was well inuented (and to good purpose) by the Emperor *Tiberius*, who commaunded it to be so done, for any matter whatsoever, and likewise deliuered his an-

swers by writing. The reason was, to the end that nothing might escape, till it had bene considered on so well as possibly might be: For, by our much talking, and communicating himselfe too often, a Prince may commit diuers errors, which will cause him to be misprised, or meanely esteemed. And it neuer ought to bee (as an ancient Greeke said) *That a Prince should speake any otherwise before the people, then as if he were in a fauely Tragedy.*

But some may object vnto mee, That this is not the true state of a Prince; for, in doing iustice to his people, hee should heare their complaints and greenances, vnderstanding from each mans mouth, the vrgent occasions constraining them thereunto, which are ordinarily suppressed, or else disguised by others manning.

I am not of the minde, to haue him so conceale himselfe, that hee should not be seene but very seldome, or neuer. As now-a-dayes the Kings in the East *Indies* vse to doe, and especially the King of *Borneo*, who neuer speaketh, but only to his wife and children. When hee is to speake to other, hee doth it by a Gentleman, through a place made of purpose, where he can not be seene, but hath the wordes conueyed from the Gentlemans mouth to his eare, thorow the hollow passage of a Truncke: as hee did vnto the Ambassadour of the King Catholique, and as wee reade in the Histories of the *Indies*.

But although he shew himselfe very little, as standing vpon his greatnesse and maiestie; regarde is yet to be had to his quality and power. For, it is not seemely, that a petty Prince should counterfeit the great Kings of *Aethiopia*, of *Tartaria*, *Perfia* and *Turkie*, who (indeed) will not haue their subiects to looke directly vpon them: because, they are not so much reasured for power, as they are for maiestie, as they expresse sufficiently, when they will be seene of their Subiects. And if some say, that the Princes of the East and South should gouerne in that maner, and not they of the West and North: I holde it to be all one in the maine regard. For, it is knowne well enough, that the Kings of *England*, *Sweden*, *Denmarke* and *Poland*, do containe farre more greatnesse towards their Subiects, then the King of

France,

An objection in this case alledged, and to good purpose.

The Kings in the East Indies are daintie of their sight and audience.

Kings more daintie for maiestie then power.

Difference in the maiestie of princes to their Subiects.

Good and sub-  
stantiall rea-  
sons, why prin-  
ces should  
negotiat with  
writing, gra-  
ther then con-  
fer in person  
with their  
subiects.

France, and the King of *Moscouia*, much more then all the rest: and yet perhaps they are not lesse, but (it may bee) better obeyed.

Now let vs returne againe to our purpose, of conferring with a Prince by petition or writing, whereby many commodities ensue vnto him. For first (as hath already bene said) he vseth no communication by that meanes, nor shewes himselfe too familiar with his people, which contayneth him still in the farre greater esteeme.

Another reason is, that either if he will not, or cannot grant the demands moued vnto him: if he make refusal, he can receiue no shame or disgrace thereby: considering, that the written paper will not blush.

Moreouer, answer is returned with the more assured iudgment, by the time allowed to set downe the Princes Will; which cannot be so well done, speaking with him face to face. For oftentimes he may be incited to anger, by mouing the matter disorderly, or else vpon some other occasion, whereby he may answer farre from his owne minde. Or els it may happen in some intemperate time; for all Princes are not alike in diet; & then, gifts so immense; and of such importance may be granted, as the whole State shall fare the worse for it.

All which approoueth not, that hee should despise to answer requests, being made to him by his people: least it happen to him, as it did to *Demetrius*, who quarrelled the kingdome of *Epyre* against *Pyrrius*. Hee hauing receiued a great number of petitions, kept them all in the lap of his cloake; and, passing ouer the bridge of a Riuer; he let them all fall downe into the water, according as wee reade in *Plutarch*. Whereupon, his subiects seeing themselves so contemned, conceived capital hatred against him: & (soone after) he was forsaken of his Army, who yielded themselves & the kingdome to *Pyrrius*, and so hee won it without fighting.

It hath bene obserued also, that princes, listning verbally to the suites and requests of their subiects, haue mette with bold and insolent confronters. As the woman, who was put off day by day by *Philipp*, King of *Macedon*, in some matter

of expedition which the required of him, whereupon she sayd: *If thou neither wilt, nor canst do iustice: depose thy selfe, and another will succie me*: fauilly seeming (by this meanes) to take the King with neglect and carelesnesse. The very like words vsed *Jane de Pierre bustiere*, a Ladie of *Chambares*, to King *Charles* the ninth, he being in the City of *Bordeaux*, where the demanded iustice of him against the murderer of her husband.

A certaine Rouer of the Sea was taken, who was reported, to bee the most cruell and detestable Pyrat, that euer was heard of. *Alexander* the Great, would needes see him and speake with him, to the end hee might the sooner condemne him. Wherefore he demanded of him: whence it proceeded, that he would be a Pyrate, and leade such an infamous kind of life; hauing meanes to provide for himselfe otherwise: As to be in pay with some Warlike Navy, where hee might receiue good respect; considering, that hee was strong, stout, and a good Soldier, as it had appeared by his passed course of life? With a bold and vndanted countenance, the Rouer returned him this answer. *I am sayd to be a Pirate and Rouer on the Sea, because I syle with a small Vessel, without any other Followers: and when I meete with another, being weaker then my selfe; then I make some appropriation of him. But thou, that maketh thy Navigations, with great multitudes of Gallies, and other Shippes of Warre, robbing and ransacking all Maritime Townes and places, yea, and vpon the firme land likewise: Thou must be called an Emperour and a Monarch.* Full well knew *Alexander* by the Pyrates answer, that his behaviour differed verie little from the others, and that hee deferred as well to bee punished as hee: and therefore, being ashamed of so fowle a detection, hee freely pardoned him.

*Frances*, Duke of *Aniow*, and a sonne of France, not long since deceased, being desirous to settle himselfe, and to match with some Queene or Princesse that was an heyre: made meanes of marriage vnto *Elizabeth* Queene of England, letters passing betwene them to that purpose, and their pictures. In the end, the Queen sent him word, that she would neuer contract with any that sought her, except three

A Pirat of the sea, that was taken and brought before Great Alexander.

The bold answer of the Pirate to Alexander.

Monsieur of France his suite for marriage with Elizabeth Q. of England.

A great trouble to any Prince, to answer many suites made vnto him by word or mouth.

The Emperor Tyberius, the giuing of petitions was first disused by him.

Demetrius made a scorn of his subiects suites.

Plutarch of Demetrius.

Bold affrontings receiued by Princes, only through speaking with their people.

might see his perfon, otherwife there needed no further ſpeech. The Prince, being perſwaded by yong heads (as little aduiled in ſuch a buſineſſe, as himſelfe) and leauing the counſell of more graue experience; went into England to bee ſcene, and with a very ſlender train. But being well obſerued by that Lady, he was found ſo deformed by the ſmall pockes, which had left ſuch a deep druing into his face, his noſe alſo much miſhapen, and ſome kernels riſing in his necke beſide; as might bee the cauſes of looſing the fauour of ſo fayre a Queene. Some were of opinion, that hee ſhould not haue gone, but to haue continued the treatie of Marriage ſtill by Letters; which peraduenture (at length) would haue wonne him grace and fauour.

The Arch-  
duke of Au-  
ſtria, & Henry  
Prince of  
Sweden much  
better aduiled

More wiſely dealt the Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, and Prince *Henry*, afterwards King of *Sweden*, who made ſuite alſo to the ſayde Queene to eſpouſe her, but at ſundry times, and were ſent for likewiſe to be ſcene. But they ſatisfied themſelues to treat with the Queene by their Letters, and not verbally: for, by this means, they were aſſured that ſhe could not cauſe them to bluſh.

The Authors  
advice vpon  
this Chapter.

I conclude then, that this inuention of *Tyberius*, was, and is very conuenient for great Monarches and Soueraigne Princes, nor to negotiate by words with their Subjects; but to expedite by Writings, becauſe thereby they ſhall ſo much the ſooner diſpatch, and a great deale more equally.

Moreover, if Princes or Princeſſes, haue any matters betweene them to diſentangle; to performe the ſame by Letters and Deputies ſent from either ſide: for by enter-view and ſpeaking together, little good can be done, at leaſt verie ſeldom.

# CHAP. X.

Of ſuch qualities and carriage, as (neceſſarily) is required to be in a Prince.



Such as couet to command ouer any one whole Nation, ſhould firſt propounde two things to himſelfe: one is, to be liberal; the other is, to be clement and gentle. For the Prince, which exerciſeth liberality, ſhall make his enemies to become his friends; thoſe of all other places to be his owne; and of diſloyall, faithfull ſeruant. Hee muſt bee affable to ſtrangers, chiefly ſuch as dwell in the furtheſt parts of his Land: And as a Prince endued with clemencie, is admired of all men, and honoured as a God: So by theſe two Vertues, Liberality and Clemencie, hee is made like vnto God; becauſe his Office is, to doe good vnto all, and to pardon ſuch as are delinquents.

I confeſſe it to be true, that a Prince ought not (alwayes) to be facile and benigne to his ſubiectes: but that (with his facility and mildeneſſe) he may commix a grauity and ſeuerity, ſuch as may be termed a kinde of rigour, at ſuch times as neede requireth; to cauſe feare and terror in bad liuers, and to puniſh them rigorouſly, if neceſſity enforce it, for the preuention of a greater euill. Otherwiſe, the Prince may bee the cauſe of his peoples loſſe, if hee permit too much liſenſe and libertie, in the performance of diſhoneſt actions; like to *Alciades*, who thorough too much eaſie carriage in himſelfe, corrupted and ſpoyled his people. And yet ſeuerity ought to be moderated; for when it is exceſſiue, and ouer-ſharpe ſeueritie: it afflicteth Townes and Citties with great miſeries: euen as when liſenſe is facetiouſly accommodated to the onely grace and fauour of the people, it prooueth to be the cauſe of their ruine, by the lacke of a leuell temperature both in the one and other.

Howbeit that in time & place, according to cir-

Pontanus in  
his booke of a  
Prince.

Of Liberality  
and clemency  
in a Prince.

Seuerity  
ought to be  
mingled with  
mildeneſſe.

Seuerity ouer  
ſharpe in the  
occaſion of  
much annoy-  
ance.

Reſpect of  
time, place &  
difference of  
perſons.

*Sophocles* in  
*Antig.* *Pomp.* *Trag.*

The office of  
Discipline in  
a prince.

The ſpirits &  
maies of the  
people are by  
the prince to  
be vnderſtood

The diuerſitie  
and vniuerſities  
of mens com-  
plexions.

The difference  
betweene *Ly-  
curgus* & *Nu-  
ma Pompilius*

circumſtances and difference of perſons, the Prince ought to vſe, eyther more ſeueritie, or ſometimes more facilitie (according to reaſon) and as Wiſedome iudgeth it fitteſt to be done, or ſpared for generall good.

Aſſuredly, in regard that the people is as a Monſter with many heads; there is great neede (as *Sophocles* ſayth) of a maine and ſtrong bridle. And as it is a principall poynt of Arte in a good Querrie, to make a horſe pace milde and obediently; euen ſuch is the office of diſcipline in a Prince, to render his ſubiectes obedient and moſt deſt. And yet notwithstanding, to doe it in gentle manner, and by benigne means, not rudely conſtraying them alwayes: but perſwading, admoniſhing, and reprehending ſometimes, not purſuing euerie ſuſpition; but conuiuing in light matters, deferring a buſineſſe in time of danger and doubt, to redreſſe it at ſome other ſeaſon, more apte and proper. For, by reſpreſſing and puniſhing all arrogance and wickedneſſe; he may the more benignely enterraine the good, when humbly they preſent their afflictions and requests vnto him. All which is the eaſier done, by vnderſtanding the manners and ſpirites of the people, becauſe, ſuch as are of rude and harſh brain (like vnto thoſe of barbarous nations) muſt bee gouerned with more ſeueritie; then they that be of more docible nature, who ought to be mannaed with mildeneſſe and benignitie, without ſtearne looks, or vnkinde manner of dealing.

The complexions of men are diuers and diſſembleable, eyther by the nature of the place and ayre; or elſe by cuſtome and manner of life. The *Athenians*, were eaſie to anger and mercy, the *Carthaginians* ſad, opinionatiue and obſtinate; the *Romans* great, benigne, louers of their Country, ambitious and couetous of glory and honor. And therefore, ignorance in the manners of ſuch as wee conuerſe withall, doth oft deceiue and diſappoint vs in our opinions and enterpriſes; wherefore, by the diuers nature and cuſtome of the people, *Lycurgus* was rather a ſeſtator of power, then iuſtice; and *Numa Pompilius* of iuſtice, rather then of power.

For, as a Prince (in ciuile actions) imitateth the ſkilfull behauiour of a Lute-

niſt, who tendeth and diſtendeth their cordes of the inſtrument, to bring an accord of tune as he would haue it; ſo doth hee likewiſe follow the Chirurgical, in order and means for tempering with liſe; becauſe light infirmities hee can cure eaſily, whereas to them of more perill, hee applyeth both yron and fire. In the ſame manner, a Prince maketh vſe of the Rod and the Sword, according to the ſeueral occurrences, and as they appeare.

It foloweth, that a Prince ought to entertaine good Lawes, and to obſerue the chiefſt of ſuch as hee hath made: but aboue all other) to haue the honour and feare of God before his eyes. It is neceſſary alſo for a Prince to haue the command of himſelfe, and beare a ſtrict hand on the bridle of his owne affections: directing firſt a good courſe of liſe to himſelfe, to the ende, that it may ſerue as a Square or Rule, to meaſure the liues of other after his manners. For, very hardly ſhall hee commaund others (ſayth *Pindarus*) that hath not learned himſelfe to obey reaſon, which is the Queene of all things, and a Law, not engrauen in Marble, but in our ſpirites, commanding to perſeueme lawfull actions, and prohibiting ſuch as are contrary, and bad. Her woorthie enſtructions, wicked Kings (being ſlaues to their owne affections) will not imitate: For, if hee were their Queene & Gouverneſſe, they ſhould bee conſtrained to contemne their vilenneſſe, and honeſtly to enter faire Vertues ſeruiſe.

The *Pythian Oracle*, by the anſwere it gaue to King *Craſus*, That he ſhould know himſelfe, was not to be vnderſtoode; that he ſhould know the glory and greatneſſe of his Empire: but Reaſon, Queene and miſtris of humane liſe, which appeareth the perturbations of the minde, and reſtrayneth the mightineſſe of power: For, the Poet *Horace* ſayth (by way of enſtruction) that it is a matter no leſſe royall, to repreſſe appetites and affections, then to rule ouer people.

*Latins regnes audiam domum do  
Spiritus, quam ſi Lybiam remotis  
Gallibus iungas, & iterq; Poenorum  
Seruat vni.*

And *Aggeſilanus* gloried, that hee had learned better to commaund himſelfe, then

Arte compari-  
ſon of a  
princes imi-  
tation.

For the feare  
of God, and  
maintaining of  
good Lawes.

A good direc-  
tion giuen  
by *Pindarus*  
the poet.

The anſwer  
of the *Pythian*  
Oracle to  
King *Craſus*.

The enſtruc-  
tion giuen by  
*Horace*.

Flattery ought  
to be rewarded  
by a Prince.

Ambition the  
Mother of  
many mis-  
chiefs; & the  
bane of King-  
domes.

Of care and  
respect in a  
Princes pro-  
mises.

An ancient  
and excellent  
ordination  
for faithful-  
nesse.

Of assiduity  
in his looks  
& language.

then other. *Alexander* the Great, ac-  
counted it much more honest and glori-  
ous, to conquer himselfe, rather then to  
conquer enemies. A Prince should  
flunne flattery, for if he lend his eares to  
flatterers, he will not alwayes bee him-  
selfe. Credulity is accompanied with  
rashnesse and folly, and there is no greater  
argument of folly, then credulity:  
therefore a Prince should not be too cre-  
dulous, that is, over-light in beleefe.

Ambition also, which is the Mother  
and Nurfe of many great euils, and the  
plague of Kingdomes and Common-  
wealths, should bee excluded from the  
heart of a Prince. A Prince that remem-  
bers himselfe to be but a man, and con-  
sequently mortall, will neuer mount vp  
his thoughts in pride; but pursue equality.  
If he perceiue all things prosper, and  
succeed according as hee can wish: hee  
will then beleue, that God commandeth  
ouer humane occasions, whereof him-  
selfe only hath care, and pride is highly  
displeasing to him.

I would aduise a Prince, to be carefull  
of what he promisseth, and to whom hee  
maketh any promise: to be resolute of  
mens merits and their faculties, as also  
the times of his giuing promise, for the  
better preferuation of his faith: because  
there is nothing more vnworthy, and vil-  
lainlike, then to breake fidelity, and the  
force of faith is so great, that it ought to  
be kept, euē with an enemy, if it be promi-  
sed. And in regard that faith (according  
as our graue Auncients haue defined it)  
is constancy and truth in words and con-  
ventions: a Prince ought to be true, and  
to loue truth, in regard whereof, our bet-  
ters and elders ordained, and by them it  
was most wisely instituted; that the Booke  
of the holy Euangelists (wherein the di-  
uine verity is contained) should daily (in  
the time of diuine seruice) be giuen to the  
Prince to kisse, to the end, that being ad-  
monished thereby, to pursue and honour  
truth; he should likewise remember, how  
studious he must be in louing her vpright-  
ly.

I could wish also, that a Prince should  
suffer no man to depart sad and discon-  
tented from his presence: but with cheer-  
full looks and gracious language, and  
so expresse himselfe both vnto small and  
great. Whosoever knoweth his Prince

to be endued with temperance, dare ne-  
uer vrge any vile or vnbeseeming motion  
to him. *Oh happy Marcus Cato* (said *Cice-  
ro*) to whom no man durst make any vncom-  
mendable demand! He shall bee thought worthy of  
authority and soueraigne power, and bee  
reputed a hopefull Prince by his people;  
that sharply pursueth wicked men, hateth  
the intemperate, reiecteth liars, & flyeth  
(as from the plague) such as aduise him  
to follow voluptuousnesse: for whoso-  
euer takes pleasure in crediting such coti-  
cellers; his childhood in rule shall be im-  
modestly, his youth effeminacy, and his  
age infamy.

Whosoever holdeth gouernment o-  
uer the people, ought to be free from af-  
fections; for anger hindereth knowledge  
of whatsoeuer is good; hatred puffeth him  
on to imperfect actions; loue blindeth  
his iudgement; pleasure and inordinate  
will induceth him to violence; passion  
pricketh him on to reuenge; and enuy en-  
flameth him, with a more hasty and fiery  
temper, then is expedient in him. One  
and the same constancy in courage (at all  
times) is most required and commended  
in a King, as well in cases of aduersity, as  
prosperity. And if God please to visite  
him, with any scourge of his diuine lu-  
stice; he ought to reioyce, and remem-  
ber, that God chastiseth such as hee lo-  
ueth; learning thereby, to support all with  
the vertue of patience in contrary for-  
tunes, and not to mount vp in pride, whē  
affaires are fitting to his owne desires.

Sloth, accompanied with negligence,  
is greatly hurtfull to a Prince, which in  
times of safety, begetteth (oftentimes)  
feare and distrust, whereof the Poet saith,

*Optim Reges prius, et beatas  
Perdidit turbes.*

Wherefore, to flunne such inconue-  
niences, some honest exercise is very fit  
for him; to play at Tennis (euē till hee  
sweates) is wholesome for him, and Musi-  
cke is very commendable; sometimes  
to hunt, and to ride great Horses is ne-  
cessary, for which *Virgil* gaue commenda-  
tions to *Picus*, King of the Latines.

*Picus equum domitor, debellatorque ferarū.*

Which exercises of hunting & mana-  
ging

Cherish in Office  
10.1.1.1.1.1.

Particular re-  
spects being  
to be in a King  
or Gouernor.

Of constancy  
in courage in  
all occasions  
whatsoeuer,  
but becom-  
ming any  
Prince.

For the pre-  
vention of  
sloth & neg-  
ligence by  
some honest  
exercises.

Enfranchises  
to Militarie  
Discipline.

Historie and  
Morall philo-  
sophie fit for  
princes; and  
Poetrie a day-  
ly companion.

What honest  
exercise to  
certain by ex-  
ercises.

Comparati-  
ues of an ig-  
norant man.

Councell is  
held to be fa-  
cred.

An especiall  
lookyng place  
for all Kings  
and princes.

ging horses, were (aboue all other) fre-  
quent with King *Cyrus*, for encreasing  
the strength of his body, and greatly ser-  
uing for the instruction of Militarie dis-  
cipline. And patience, to endure both  
heate and colde, is laudable in a Prince,  
and is many times more expedient for  
him, then strict abstinence from meate  
and drinke.

It is very necessary also, that he should  
haue good knowledge in Histories, and  
(if it were possible) not to be ignorant in  
Morall Philosophie, which may well be  
learned the Hunt-vic: also, to under-  
stand Naturall Philosophy, the Science of  
Ciuile right, and Mathematicall Disci-  
plines. He should be assiduate in reading  
Poets, as *Homer*, whome *Alexander* had  
alwayes in his hand: and *Virgill*, singularly  
affected by the Emperor *Octavian Augu-  
stinus*. A Prince being endued with all  
these Sciences, shall receiue inestimable  
benefite thereby.

First, he shall become wise; for learning  
begetteth wisdom, next, they will yeeld  
him such vnspokeable pleasure, as no de-  
lection can be thought or vttered, com-  
parable to those that come from erudi-  
tion: for, inquisition after truth, is the  
proper worke and perfection of the Spirit.  
What is more woorthy in a Prince, then  
to understand true & honest things?  
To discern fals-hood from truth, and  
villany from honestie? In mine owne  
iudgement, I account an ignorant man,  
I will not say onely, like vnto a Statue or  
Image, or the trunk of a tree: but (al-  
most) differing in nothing from a brute  
beast.

If the Prince himselfe be not seene in  
all these Sciences and Disciplines, it shall  
be a good quality in him, to cherish and  
affect the Professors of them, alwayes ha-  
uing wise and learned men about him,  
and to execute nothing, vntill he haue first  
heard the counsell of them; For, *Coun-  
cell is a sacred thing* said *Epicharmus*. And  
he should strue to be like vnto them, in  
as much as possibly he may: according to  
the example of many great Kings, Prin-  
ces and Captains, who highly loued and  
maintained Philosophers, Poets and skil-  
full men.

A Prince may perceiue, what account  
Great *Alexander* made of *Aristotle*, and  
how much he admired learned men; what

dignitie and praise *Pericles* wonne by the  
institutions of *Anaxagoras*; and *Epimi-  
nondas* by the study of philosophy; who  
(almost of himselfe) subdued the *Lacedæ-  
monians*, that commanded all *Greece*. He  
may further obserue, how *Scipio* kept  
company with *Panctius* and *Polybius*, lear-  
ned men; how *Augustus* would walke be-  
tweene *Virgil* and *Horace*; and what ho-  
nours he gaue to *Arrius*. Finally, what  
deportments were vsed by many other  
Emperours and Kings, on the behalfe of  
learned men; and, by the example of such  
persons, himselfe ought to performe the  
like. The Prince that attaineth to the is-  
sue of the qualities before remembered,  
and are required necessarily in him: shall  
reigne happily, and the people that liue  
vnder the lawes of such a Gouernor, will  
finde themselves more happy then he.

## CHAP. XI.

That the eldest Sonne ought alwayes to be  
preferred before younger, especially in the  
succession of Kingdomes and Principa-  
lities, according to the Lawe of Nature.  
And what business haue followed, by doing  
the contrary.



*N* *Allemagne* or  
*Germany*, this bad  
custom they haue  
(I meane among  
the Noblemen)  
that if they per-  
ceiue their young-  
gest Sonnes able  
of spirit, and ad-  
dressed themselves to Armes, and not to en-  
dure any iniuries; they make them their  
heires. And the elder, perhaps more  
discrete, following naturall goodnesse,  
& being nothing so turbulent; they make  
them beleue, that they are idiots and  
fooles, confining them in prison, or else  
appointing them to Church-seruice. This  
manner of dealing, hath caused much war  
in the Realmes where it is put in practise:

and the reason is, because it becometh al-  
wayes, to keepe the order and comman-  
dement of God. For, although that the  
eldest

\* A philoso-  
pher of Alex-  
andria.

A custome ob-  
serued in Ger-  
many, not ve-  
ry commen-  
dable.

The Lawe of  
God and Na-  
ture is for the  
eldest.  
Deut. 21.16.



Concerning  
right in the  
succession of  
kingdomes.

eldest Sonne be ill-fighted, lame, crooked, and wholly mis-shapen, provided, that hee haue a reasonable soule remaining in him; he is not to be excluded from his naturall right. This is not onely to holde, and take place, when question is made about the right of eldership: but also, when the very nearest male by the fathers side, ought to succeed in the crown, how much deformed soeuer he be. Because, for one inconuenience, a good law should not be infringed, and so daungerous an ouerture made in Monarchies. Nor ought that to be followed, or held as a good lawe, which was made by *Lycurgus*, commanding, that deformed or mis-shapen children, should be slaine.

Hereupon, Iudgement passed for the Realme of *Hungarie*, by the States of the Countrey, against the disposition of *Launcelot*, King of *Hungarie*: who adopted *Alanus*, the youngest sonne of his brother, to make him King, and sent *Colomanus*, his eldest brother to study at *Paris*, causing him afterward, to vndergoe the Orders of Priesthood, and bestowed a Bishoppricke vpon him, to deprive him of all hope of succeeding in the Crowne, because he was quinte-eyed, crook-backed, lame and flammered. Neuerthelesse, the State and people expelled the younger brother: and would haue none other to be King then the eldest, who was brought backe againe, dispensation being graunted for his Orders, and he married.

*Pompey*, being gone into the East parts, to make Conquests, and coming into *Indea*, found it full of warre, because two brethren warred each with other, onely for the kingly dignity. For *Aristobolus* the younger brother, had inhabited the best places of the Kingdome, and quite expelled his brother *Hyracanus*: because hee sayd, that hee was not borne for apte for Armes. Notwithstanding, *Pompey* adiudged the Kingdome to *Hyracanus*, and the high-Priesthoode to *Aristobolus*, which was the chiefe degree next to the King; and thus the stowr warriour was stayd from prosecution of his purpose.

*Ptolomie*, the first of that name, King of *Egypt*, preferred the youngest before the eldest, Against the Lawe of Nations, saith *Iustinus*, and so caused the one to kill the other. In the same kingdome, an other *Ptolomie*, named *Physconius*, at the entrea-

tie of his wife *Cleopatra*, preferred the youngest sonne before the eldest: but after the fathers death, the people repealed the eldest, and excluded the youngest, as *Pausanias* affirmeth.

In like manner, *Anaxandrides*, King of *Lacedemon*, preferred *Coricus* before *Cleomenes* his elder brother, because hee was more gentle; and yet notwithstanding, *Herodotus* in his fourth Booke sayth, That the people would not permit or suffer it, because it was against the rights of Nations.

King *Pyrrhus* making election of an heyre amongst his Sonnes, chose him that had the best and keenest Sword: neuerthelesse, after his death, the eldest (who was lesse valiant) carried the inheritance away. For, whatsoeuer hardines, gentleness, fayre feature and wisdomed, that may be in the younger, more then in the elder: yet it is not anie occasion, whereby the father should forget himselfe, as to preferre the youngest before the eldest, as did the father of *Attreus* and *Thyestes*, who would needs preferre the youngest Sonne, because hee had better, and more vnderstanding in the affaires of State, but thereon ensued bloudie tragedies.

Hereunto likewise I may adde, *Lewes* the Pittifull, King of *France*, who (at the request of his second wife) preferred *Charles* the Baulde, before his elder Brother *Lotharius*, whereby the Realme became embraced with warres.

The like consequence came by *Robert*, King of *France*, in preferring *Henry*, the first of that name, before his eldest brother, who contented himselfe with *Bourgoigne*, because he was a coward and false to his owne heart.

*Charles* the seventh, could neuer obtaine of Pope *Pius* the second, to aduance *Charles* the youngest Sonne, before *Lewes* the eleauenth, although the King had then good occasion: because the sayde *Lewes* made two attempts to take the Crowne, and to teare away the Scepter from his father, without anie occasion whatsoever. And in very truth (as *Herodotus* saith) Throughout the whole world, the eldest are aduanced to the dominion, euen amongst the most illiterate and barbarous on the earth, they obserue the consue of Nature.

When *Frances Bizarro*, a Spanish Captayne, conquered the kingdome of *Peru*,

*Pausanias* in lib. 1.

The greater  
route of King  
*Pyrrhus*.

They were the  
sonnes of *Pe-*  
*lops* and *Hyp-*  
*Podamia*.

*Lewes* the  
mercifull.

*Robert* King  
of *France*.

Examp<sup>l</sup> of  
King *Charles*  
the seventh.

*Herodotus* lib. 4.  
Barbarous, ill-  
literate and  
sauages initi-  
ated nature.

he

Concerning  
two Twins.

he put to death king *Attabaliba*: whereof all the people were very ioyfull, to see him dye, that had slaine his elder brother, to make himselfe King, contrary to the custome of the Countrey, & conforme to the testament of the Father, who hauing two sonnes, willed, that *Gisela* the eldest, should succede him in the Kingdome, without any diuision.

There might also arise a doubt, to wit, if two infants be twins, which of them both should be reputed the eldest; that must needs bee the eldest, which came forth first to the worlds light. Another doubt also may be moued in this case, that if any man (not being a king) hauing a sonne, shall afterward conquer a Kingdome, or some other such like dignity, be it eith by Armes, or by donation. It falleth out in following dayes or yeares, that he hath another sonne; to which of these shall belong the kingdome or other honor? It is held for certain, that he who was or shal be borne, after that the Father became a king in right ought to succede: for the eldest son was not of royal blood, but holds of his fathers first condition, who was not then royall by nature. But the other younger-borne sonne, though coming long after the first, is truly & really a Prince by blood. Like as he is not to be accounted for infamous, and out of hope for being legitimate, who was begot by a man neuer made Priest: but afterward, when he cometh to vndergoe the order of Priesthood, he begetteth then another Sonne; that Son is to remaine impeached, as can neuer come to such legitimacy, as the first borne.

Another difficulty there remaineth yet vndecided, to wit, whether the sonne of the eldest ought to succede his grandfather, or else the Crown appertaine to the younger brother (as it should seeme) because he is the nearest to the King, & the younger standeth withdrawne in degree. It was the opinion of some, and this difficulty hapned for the Kingdome of *Nubidia*, where the younger son would succeed next after his elder brother, without any respect to the children of the eldest. Hereupon, *Scipio* the *Africane* being arbitrator, not knowing what to answere in this case, betwene the Vnkle and the Nephew: gaue order, that the Kingdome should be enjoyed, by a combate fought

betwene them, as it hath often hapned in *Germany*.

Now at this instant, the Kingdome of *Moscovia* is deferred vnto the younger sonne, after the death of the grandfather, without any regard of the sonne to him that was eldest. Nay, which is more, the elder brother succedeth to the younger in the Kingdome, although hee haue sonnes: As great *Basilus*, King of *Moscovia*, succeeded in the Kingdome after his elder Brother, who had sonnes. And this was vsuall, not onely among the *Vindales*; but also in all the Northerne countreys, according to the affirmation of *Procopius*, as also in England. And for this cause, *Richard*, sonne to the heire & eldest, was defeated of the Crowne, which was adiudged by the States to *Henry of Lancaster*, younger brother to the Father of *Richard*, in the year 1399. And in the like case, *Robert of Naples*, the younger sonne, enjoyed the kingdome of *Naples*, by sentence of the Pope, and the sonne to the elder brother, King of *Hungary*, was dispossessed. But now aduays, this rule holdeth not in the countries hitherward, neyther doth it carrie any praefiche in the Crowne of *France*, since then when it so happened: the sonnes of the eldest are alwaies preferred before the younger brother, and the *English* obserue the same course.

Some kings haue bin so superstitiously affected, and beside ierrell aduiled, that they would needs make search for the natiuities of their childre, to giue to him the Crowne, whose Stars appeared most to fauor him. In the number of whom, was *Alphonus*, king of *Castile*, who by this means would needs preferre the younger son before the eldest; but he slew the younger, and caused his father to die in prison: by which I find, that he was but a poore Prognosticator. Wherefore, to auoyde ciuile war, which is the ruine of kingdoms and common-weales, the law of nature, (or rather the Lawe of God) ought to be followed, which commandeth, to conserue kingdomes vpon the eldest, as alwaies it was praeficed among the Hebrewes: and as we further finde, that the kingdome of *Inda* was conferred vpon *Ichoram*, because he was the eldest, as the Scripture affirmeth. VVhich also the wife *Lycurgus* imitated; for, although the *Lacedemonians* had created him King, after the death of *Charilaus*:

M m m m yet

Concerning  
the Kingdome  
of *Moscovia*.

An vesting  
law decreed  
to be abol-  
ished.

Kings becom-  
ing superstiti-  
ous Astrolo-  
gers.

*Alphonus*,  
K. of *Castile*.

*Paraphrasis*,  
cap. 21. 3.

The Hungari-  
ans held him  
by further right  
of the eldest  
brother.

The journey  
of *Pompey*  
into *Iudea*.

The equall  
iudgement of  
*Pompey*.

Injustice in  
Ptolmy the  
first King of  
*Egypt*.

The honest  
confidence of  
Licurgus.

yet notwithstanding, hee would not accept the crowne, but kept it, and rendred it to the sonne of the others brother, whie he was come to competent age.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Monarchy of the Cæsars, or Romanes.*



*Vltius Cesar*, a verye gracious Prince, and one of the Worldes cheefest Capitaines; reigned 5. yeares. He vanquished *Pompey*

& his confederats: *Ptolomy* he slew, & restored *Cleopatra* his friend (sister to *Ptolomy*) to the Kingdome of *Egypt*. Returning home to *Rome*, hee was slaine in the Senate house, by *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and other Conspirators. *Dioscorides* then liued: but if you would have more of *Cæsars* life, reade *Suetonius* and *Florus*, in the life of *Cesar*.

*Octauins Augustus* the last Nephew of *Iulius*, by the sisters side, and h's adopted Sonne, reigned 56. yeares: he was happy in warre, moderate in peace, and liberal to euery one. Then liued *Virgill*, *Horace*, *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *Vitruuius*, *Mecenas*: And then died *Cleopatra*, and her husband *Marke Anthony*, *Egypt* being then reduced into a Prouince. *Herod* a stranger (fauoured by *Augustus*) was then King of *Iudea*. So the Scepter being wholly taken from *Iuda*, *Iesus Christ*, God and man, the Sauour of the world, was then borne of a Virgin in *Bethlehem*, according to the Propheties of *Iacob*, *Genes. 49. E. say 7. Michas 5.*

*Iesus Christ* came in the yeare of *Augustus*, 42. and of the world, 3963. *Ouid* was then in exile: the City of *Lyons* founded: and then liued *Titus Livius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Serabo*: and *Francus*, King of the *Sicambrians*, in the lower *Allemaigne*: *Aquila*, *Tiberius*, *Galka*, *Labau* and *Caius*,

were then Law-giuers, or Law-makers. *Herod* the great murderer of Innocents; and there were numbered then at *Rome*, foure hundred, sixty foure thousand men.

*Claudius Tiberius*, the sonne of *Liuis*, afterward Wife to *Augustus*, reigned 23. yeares, beginning very well, but prouing afterward to bee most wicked. *Iesus Christ* (for our saluation) was then crucified in *Hierusalem*, vnder *Pilate* the Promost of *Iudea*: he saide, that *A good Shepherd should clip his Sheepe, and not deuoure them*.

*C. Caligula*, Sonne of *Germanus*, a most wicked mā, reigned 13. yeares. This beauly, the ruine of men, made himselfe to be adored as God: hee poisoned his Vnckle *Tiberius*, and deflowed all his Sisters, leauing them then vnto others like abusing.

*T. Claudius*, Vnckle of *Caligula*, and monster of men, reigned foureteen yeares. He preferred *Nero* before his owne Son, by the trealon of whom, he was poisoned with a Mithrome. *Messalina*, his first Wife, peerelesse in all lubricity and wickednesse, then flourished: And Saint *Peter* the Apostle liued (reported to bee first Bishop of *Rome*): Then liued likewise *Philo* the Jew, *Perseus*, *Mela*, *Pliny* the elder, and *Columella*. Saint *Paul* the Apostle went then through the World, proclaiming *Iesus Christ*, accompanied with Saint *Luke*. Then liued *Dionysius Areopagita*: And then was the first council of *Hierusalem*.

*Nero*, the sonne of *Agripina*, afterward the Wife of *Claudius*, reigned thirteene yeares. He was the first Persecutor of the Church, and did put Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* to death: he flew likewise his Master *Seneca*, allo his owne Mother, and *Lucan* the Poet. Then liued *Simon Magus*, and *Appolanius*, *Nero* being expelled from *Rome*, flew himselfe; after he had set *Rome* on fire, to make himselfe pastime of a Bon-fire.

*Sergius Galba*, in the seventh Month of his Empire, was slaine by *Otho*. *Suetonius*, *Egeffius*, lib. 4. cap. 21.

*M. Siluius Otho*, hee also most wickedly flew himselfe, in the third Moneth of his Empire: confessing, that hee had cruelly tormented the spirit of *Galba*. According to *Suetonius*, and *Tacitus*, lib. 7.

*Anulus*

The yeares of  
Christ.

17.

39.

43.

57.

70.

71.

*Aulus Vitellius*, brought vp at *Bordeaus* de *Caprea*, being a vicious man and a glutton, was hewed in peeces, and cast into *Tyber*, hauing reigned eight Moneths. He caused himselfe to be serued at his table, with two thousand seuerall kinds of Fishes, and seauen thousand of Fowles, all at one supper. *Suetonius*, lib. 9. *Iosephus*, lib. 5. de *Bel. Iuda*.

71.

*Vespasian*, a modest & gracious Prince, a louer of skilfull men, and good Artizans, reigned tenne yeares, accompanied with his sonne *Titus*, who ruinated *Hierusalem*: *Iosephus*, *Proclus*, *Epietetus*. This ruine was the most lamentable that euer happened, for therein dyed eleuen hundred thousand men: Reade *Iosephus*, in his sixe and seauen Bookes of the Iewish wars, and *Egeffippus*.

81.

*Titus*, the delight and solace of mankind, reigned two yeares. He vied to say, *That no man ought to depart from a Prince, with a due countenance*: *Cassius*, *Neracius*, *Proculus* & *Pezasus* were then Lawyers, and Saint *Bartholomew* was then martyred in *India*: Saint *Matthias* in *Iudea*: Saint *Andrew* in *scythia*: Saint *Matthew* in *Ethiopia*: Saint *Thomas* in *Bragmania*. *Hierusalem* was then taken; the famine being so extreame, as Mothers were compelled to eate their owne children.

83.

*Domitian*, brother to *Titus*, was a most wicked man, and persecutor of the Christians: he reigned fiftene yeares: then liued *Martiall*, *Iuuenall*, *Statius*, *Trogus*: and Saint *John* wrote the Gospell, as also *Iosephus* did the warres of the *Iewes*. *Domitian* would needs afterward bee called God and Lord of his people, wherefore (being greatly hated of all men) hee was slaine.

97.

*Nerva*, a good Prince, and the adopted Father of *Traian*, reigned one yeare: he gaue more then an hundred thousand Crownes, to releue poore Cittizens. He tooke away extreame taxations, & (wanting money) he sold his garments, plate and Pallace, esteeming his owne Parents and Kindred much lesse, then hee did the publike benefit. The Christians were in great quiet vnder him, and the banished repealed, among whom was Saint *John*.

99.

*Traian*, a good Emperour, but that hee persecuted the Church; reigned nineteene yeares. Being admonished,

that he was ouer-gracious to all men, hee answered; *That he was such to his Subiects, as hee could wish others should bee to him, if he were a Subiect*. Then liued *S. Ignatius*, *S. Eustachius*, *Pliny* the younger, *Plutarch*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*; *Solinus*.

*Aelius Adrianus*, a man studious and skilfull in all Sciences, and the first Emperour that suffered a Beard on his Face, reigned 21. yeares: *Iulius Celsus*, *Iulian*, and *Neracius Priscus*, were Lawyers and Councillors to the Emperour. Then were liuing *Ptolomy* the great Astrologer, *Phuonorius*, *Dionysius* the Milesian, and *Hicetolus*. *Hierusalem* was repaired by *Adrian*, who therefore had his name changed, and was called *Helias*.

*Antoninus Pius*, reigned twenty three yeares. He was a Prince of such esteeme, as strange Nations would resort vnto him, and make him Iudge of their differences; for he had alway this saying ready: *I had rather save one Cittizen, then kill a thousand Enemies*. In this time were *Polycarpus*, *Ireneus*, *Iustine Martire*, *Egeffippus*, *Appian*, *Florus*, *Macrobis*, *Iustine*, *Galen*, and *Palladius*: *Lucian* the Atheist, also was then torne with Dogs. This Emperour tooke away the wages or hyre of Strumpets, punished idle Magistrates, and was called, Father of his Country. Reade *Entropius*, lib. 8. *Thelephorus* the ninth Pope (as some report) did then institute, or rather restore the time of Lent.

*M. Antoninus* the Philosopher (called *Aurelius*, borne in *Gaul*, with *L. Commodus Verus*, and called Brethren in the Bookes of the *Pantheistes*) reigned nineteen yeares. This yong Prince being vnwilling to oppress his subiects, made sale of all his fairest and richest Jewels, Plate, and wearing garments belonging vnto him and his Wife. *Entropius*, lib. 8.

*Lucius Aurelius Verus*, governed the Empire with his brother *Marcus Antoninus*, the space of eleuen yeares: By some Authors, he is set downe in order before his brother, and by others after him.

*L. Commodus*, the most wicked sonne of good *Antoninus*, reigned 13. yeares. He was strangled by his Concubine, & other Conspirators. *Entropius*, lib. 8. *Orosius*, lib. 8. cap. 18. *Lampridius* doth most amply describe his life at large.

*Aelius Pertinax* reigned fixe Moneths. M m m m Hc

118.

139.

A divine Gy-  
rge of a Page.

162.

181.

194.

He had refused the Empire, and being desirous to reforme the government, hee was slaine by *Iulian* his Successor; who bought the name of *Cæsar* of the Warriours. The people much bemoaned this Prince, crying out aloud: O Father of goodnesse; Father of the Senate; Father of all bounty: Farewell.

*V. Iulian*, reigned seuen Moneths, and being hated of all men, for slaying his predecessor, himselfe was also slaine by appointment of the Senate. Diffention grew amongst the Christians, for the celebration of Easter; And the second Councell appointed the day of Sunday, and five other after, *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. Metianus, Seemola, Martianus and Celsus*, were now Iurif-consults: *Aphrodiseus* and *Aphronius* Sophisters.

*Pretextatus Niger*, or *Nigerius*, the sonne of *Annius Fuscus*, indifferently learned, fierce, proud, and inclined to all vices; was saluted as Emperor, by the Soldiours of Syria, where he commanded, and was slaine by *Seuerus*.

*L. Septimius Seuerus*, reigned 18. years. He was a persecutor of the Church, but otherwise a valiant Prince, addicted both to good Letters and Armes. He was so wel beloued, and gouerned so nobly, that the Senate said of him: *Either hee should neuer haue bene borne, or else hee deserved neuer to dye*. Reade *Spart.* and *Vit.* Then liued *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Philastrius* the Sophister, and *Aquileus*.

*Cl. Albinus*, issued of the Romane Families, of the *Posthumians* and *Albines*, made himselfe Emperor in France. He was surprized by the Soldiours, & brought halfe alieue to *Seuerus*: where hauing his head smitten off, he was hanged on a gibbet, and being torne with dogs, he was throwne into the Riuer.

*A. B. Caracalla*, the sonne of *Seuerus*, and husband to his stepmother, reigned seauen yeares. He slew *Geta* his brother, and *Papinian* the great and famous Lawyer, with diuers other. At last, himselfe was slaine by a Soldiour of his Guard. *Herod. lib. 4.*

*Antoninus Geta*, the sonne of *Seuerus* and *Iulia*, borne at *Milane*; After the *Parthian* warre, wherein hee wonne great fauour, was called *Cæsar Antoninus*, in the life of his Father.

*Op. Macrinus*, with his sonne *Diadume-*

*nus*, reigned one yeare. Both the one and other had their heads smitten off, by their men of warre. *Macrinus* was learned and seuer, but (withall) cereffable and crafty, causing his Predecessour to bee murdered.

*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Heliogabalus*, the bastard of *Caracalla*, who was a dishonest whore-hunter, and most abominable in life beside; gaue great estates to wicked Bawds, Panders, Iesters, &c. And being generally despised, hee was slaine by his Soldiours, in the fourth yeare of his Reigne: both his ownebody and his Mothers being dragged along the Streetes, and cast into the common lay-stall.

*Alexander Seuerus*, reigned peaceably without effusion of blood, 13. yeares. He was a good Prince, & did vterly forbid the selling of Offices. *Papianus, Paulus, Pomponius, Alphenus, Africanus, Callistratus*, and other excellent Ciuill Lawyers (he Schollers of *Papinian*) then liued, with *Dion* the Historian, and *Philastrius*. The Kingdome of the *Persians* was then founded by *Artaxerxes*, and attter transported to the *Sarrazins*, and now commanded by the *Sophi*.

*Maximinus*, a persecutor of the Christians, reigned three yeares. Being at first but a silly Shepheard; he was made Emperour by the Soldiours (without authority of the Senate) and then by them was slaine.

*Gordianus*, a Prince of a Noble spirit, with his Son named *Gordianus* the younger, a good Prince, reigned fixe yeares, and was slaine by *Phillip* his Successour. In his time was a wonderfull Eclipse of the Sunne. Reade *Capitolinus*, who placeth also *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* (created by the Senate) with *Gordianus* the elder.

*Pupienus Maximus*, a new man, and sonne to a Smith, gaue himselfe alwayes to vertue and Military seruices, prouoing fortunate against the *Polonians* and *Germanes*.

*M. Calpurnius*, and *Pupienus*, after they had bin Consuls, and that the *Gordians* were slaine in *Africa*; were created Emperours, by appointment of the Senate, against *Maximinus*, and both of the were vnderseuedly slaine.

*Gordianus* the second, yongest son of *Gordianus* by his Daughter, borne at *Rome*;

221.

223.

The kingdom of Persia.

238.

241.

was slaine in a sedition of Soldiours, by *Phillip*, Prefect of the pretorians.

*C. Valens Hostilianus*, is not placed in this ranke by some Historians, because immediately hee dyed, smitten with the pestilence, so that scarcely there remaineth any memory of him.

*Phillip*, an *Arabian* by Nation, was the first Christian of the Cæsars, and reigned five yeares. He gaue (by his Testament) all his rights and treasures to Pope *Fabian*; and heere began the riches of the Romane Church. He was likewise slaine by his successor, as he had kild his Predecessour.

*Decius Traian*, a persecutor of the Christians, reigned two yeares. *S. Saturnine* the Bishop was martyred at *Toulouse*. *S. Lawrence, Hippolita, Cecily, Agatha*, and *Appollina*.

*Herennius Etruscus*, is not by any Historian placed among the Emperours. Neuertheless, in this ranke is his picture found in the Booke of *Hubert Goltzius*, and there it is recorded of him, that hee was the sonne of *Decius*, and that he was slaine in *Hungary*, in a battell against the *Goths*.

*Vibius Gallus*, with his soune *Volusianus*, reigned two yeares: Being persecutors of the Church, were both slaine by the Soldiours. At this time there was such a contagious pestilence, and almost so generally dispersed, that in many places ther was left no creature liuing. This pestilence continued fiftene yeares, and seemed to be partly occasioned through the wicked gouernment of this Emperor.

*Aemilianus Lybicus*, borne in *Mauritania*, in his young yeares followed armes, and soone after he was made Emperour. He was slaine at *Spoleta*, being aged forty yeares.

*Licinius Valerianus*, with his Son *Gallen*, persecuting the Church, reigned fiftene yeares. He was Captiue to *Sapor*, King of *Persia*, who vsed him as a footstoolle when he mounted on horse-backe. *S. Cyprian* & *S. Cornelia*, were then martyred. *Porphyrius* wrote against the christians: The thirtie Tyrants vsurped the Empire. Reade *Trebellius Pollio*, &c. *S. Paul* the first Hermite began the solitary life.

*Gallen* the son of *Valerian*, suffered the Christians to liue in quiet, and reigned 9. yeares alone, after that his Father was led

captiue into *Persia* by *Sapor*. He was exceeding wise, but addicted to Lust.

*Saloninus Valerianus*, the sonne of *Gallen*, was slaine with his Father, being retired to *Milane*, and was but tenne yeares olde.

*Cassius Labienus Posthumus*, from being a simple Souldior, attained to great dignities: and being in *France*, was made Emperor in the time of *Gallen*, where he was slaine.

*Flavius Claudius* (of whom issued the family of the *Constantines*) a good Prince, of Noble Linnage, and highly esteemed, reigned two yeares. *Dionysius* being then Pope, diuided the Diocesess and Parishes of the Christians. *Tom. 1. de Concil. Lamblicus, Plotinus*, and *Inuencius Priest*, reduced the foure Gospels into *Hexameter Verses*.

*Aurelius Quintillus*, brother to *Claudius*, after the death of his brother, was saluted as Emperour by the Senate, and slaine 17. dayes after.

*Valerius Aurelianus*, a cruell man, reigned fixe yeares. He tormented the Christians, and repulled the *Francomans*, entring out of *Germany* into *Gaul*. He was the first that wore an Emperiall Crowne: a louer of Military discipline, and one that rigorously punished the vices of his Soldiours. He vanquished *Zenobia*, a very Warlike Lady, holding the Empire of the East.

*Tacitus* was slaine the first Moneth of his Empire. This good Prince caused the Bookes of *Cornelius Tacitus* to bee receiued into all Libraries. The *Atanichians* began (from the time of *Aurelianus*) to infect the Church.

*Amnius Florianus*, brother to *Tacitus*, being desirous to reigne, vsurped the Empire as by inheritance: but in a short time he was slaine at *Tharfus*, by his Soldiours.

*Probus*, a good Prince, the Author of peace in the high and lower *Germany* or *Almaine*, reigned fixe yeares and foure Moneths. He said, *That he had no neede of Warriors, hauing no enemies; and that the Souldior (not doing any thing) ought not to cate up publick prouision*.

*Curus*, a good and wise Prince, reigned two yeares, with his sonnes *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, two Brethren of very different nature. The first, was most wicked, and full of cruelty: The other was full of

273.

279.

279.

286.

good.

288.

goodnesse, valour and knowledge. Then liued *Volcatus*, *Herodian*, *Lampadius*, *Spartianus*, *Pollus*, *Vopiscus* and *Capitolinus* Historians.

*Dioclesian* with *Maximianus Herculeus*, reigned 20. yeares: hee was a most cruell persecutor of the Christians, and would haue himselfe to be worshipped. *Katharine*, *Lucy*, *Agnes*, *Barbus*, *Sebastian*, *Vincent*, *Cosmo* and *Damian*, and innumerable other Martyrs through the world (in his Reign, to the number of 17. thousand) were put to death in thirty dayes.

*Valerius Maximus*, fir-named *Herculeus*, a man of fierce and cruell nature, was very out-ragious in lust, especially with his owne sisters: blockish in giuing counsell, without ciuility and gouernment, & therefore had *Dioclesian* to assist him in the Empire.

308.

*Constantinus Chlorus*, father of *Constantine* and *Galerius*, the one gouerned in the East, the other in the West, 4. yeares together. *Constantine* commaunded in *Gaul*, *Spaine*, *Affrica*, and *Italy*: The other in *Greece*. *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Dorotheus*, Bishop of *Tyre*, *Eusebius* and other learned personages liued at this time.

*Galerius Maximianus* rearm'd *Armentarius*, because he was a Neat-herds son, was made Emperor, of a goodly person, and a fortunate warrior. *Maximianus*, Nephew to *Armentarius* by his sister, was Emperor, and persecuted the Christians in the East. *Seuerus*, Prefect of *Italy* and *Affricke*, was published Emperor by *Galerius*, and fighting with *Maxentius*, was taken at *Rauenna*, and slaine.

*Maxentius*, elected Emperour by his Soldiours, reigned a Tyrant, and was like vnto his Father *Maximianus*. Being vanquished by *Constantine*, heere to *Pont-Miluius*, he was drowned in a Gulfe, and his body neuer after found.

*Licinius Licinianus*, borne of Country Parents, was fortunate in the wars which he had against *Maximianus*. Afterward, he became a mocker of Christ, and persecuted such as beleued in him; and because he was ignorant, he was a great enemy to all that were learned.

*Martinianus*, was created *Cæsar* by *Licinius* against *Constantine*; hee was in his Camp at night, but fled before next morning.

310.

*Constantine* the Great, sonne of *Helena*

an holy woman, with *Maxentius* and *Licinius*, reigned 31. yeares. He was religious and affable, and transported the Bible into diuers Countries. He assembled the Councell of *Nice*, against *Arrius* the Heretike. He builded the City of *Constantinople*, calling it after his owne Name: whither the Imperiall seate was transla- ted, and changed from *Rome* into *Greece*, after he had granted *Siluester* to be Pope. *Eusebius* lib. 10. *Nicephorus* lib. 8.

The Councell of Nice.

*Crispus* was made *Cæsar* by his Father *Constantine*, but beeing afterward falsely accused to his Father, he was put to death, for that hee would not consent to the inordinate appetite of *Faulstine* his stepmother.

*Constantine* the second, with his Brethren reigned 17. yeares, ioyning thereto the three yeares reigne of *Maxentius*. *Themistius*, *Donatus*, and *Libanius* the Sophister then liued: and *Saint Anthony* the Hermite was knowne in *Egipt*; by many miracles.

341.

*Julian* the Apostata, held the true Religion ten yeares, and was named Emperour by the men of warre in *Paris*, against his will. Hee forbade the Christians the study of letters: and beeing wounded to death, he cryed out: *At length thou hast vanquished*, O *Galilean*. *S. Cyrill*, *Optatus*, *Basil*, *Nazianzene*, *Epiphanius*, *Hilary*, *Didimus*, *Exuperius* (all learned Diuines) then flourished.

358.

*Iouianus*, a kind and learned man, reigned eight Moneths, and made confession to his Warriours, of the name of Iesus Christ. Now was the first order of Monks instituted by *S. Basil*, vnder certaine rules of liuing.

368.

*Valentinian*, a good and Catholique Prince, and *Valens* his brother, reigned 15. yeares. This man held the error of the *Arrians*, and constrained the Monkes to vnder- take Armes in warre: he dyed vnhappily.

368.

*Gratian*, the sonne of *Valentinian*, during whose life time, he was an associate in the Empire. He reigned afterward with *Valentinian* the second, his younger Brother, and *Theodosius* sixe yeares.

381.

*Maximus*, rearm'd Emperour by his Soldiours, slew *Gratian*, and held the Empire foure yeares: after which time *Valentinian* returned to the Empire againe sixe yeares.

387.

Theodosius,

395.

*Theodosius*, after that *Gratian* was slaine by *Maximus*, reigned three yeares with his brother *Valentinian*: the death of who was benomed by *S. Ambrose*, for the great zeale hee had to Christian Religion. *S. Hierome*, *S. Augustine*, and *P. Orosius* then liued.

399.

*Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the sonnes of *Theodosius*, reigned twenty nine yeares, as well in the East as in the West. About this time, the great empire of *Rome* began to decline (by the infidelity of *Ruffinus* & *Stilico* their Tutors.) The very greatest part thereof was vied by the *Scythians*, *Burgundians*, *Lombards*, *Hugarians*, *French*, *Goths*, and *Vandales*: And *Rome* was four times taken by the *Goths* and *Vandals*, within one hundred thirty nine yeares. Then liued *S. Chrysostome* and *Claudian*.

Rome foure times surprized.

411.

*Honorius* reigned with *Theodosius*, Son to his Brother, sixteen yeares.

427.

*Theodosius* the second, youngest sonne of *Arcadius*, reigned at *Constantinople* 27. yeares, after the death of *Honorius*; ha- uing assisted *Valentinian* the third, the son of *Constantine*, and *Placida*, daughter to *Theodosius*, who reigned five yeares in the West. At this time, the *Frenchmen* lea- uing *Franconia*, began to enter vpon the *Gauls*; vnder *Clodion* their second King.

453.

*F. Valerius Martinianus*, reigned in the East, teauen yeares, and *Valentinian* the third (at the same time) in the West: du- ring their Reigne, the *Burgundians* and o- ther Westerne Nations, were conuerted to the Faith. The *Vandals* came out of *Spaine* into *Affrica*, and afterward they tooke *Rome*, vnder the conduct of their King *Genferichus*. *Attila*, King of the *Hunnes*, entered into *Gaul* with five hundred thousand men: deliuered battaile to *Merocius* their second King, who had ioynd with *Attilius*, Lieutenant vnto the Emperour. There he lost an hundred and fourecore thousand men, and fled into *Hungaria*, not any man beeing wounded behinde. About this time was great *Arthur* King of *Britaine*.

460.

*Leo* the first, reigned 17. yeares, associ- ated by *Leo* the Sonne of his Daughter; who after he had reigned one yeare alone, gaue vp the Empire to *Zeno* his Grand- sire, who reigned tyrannically 17. yeares. The estate of the Church was then very greatly troubled, as also that of the *Westerne* Empire. *Italy* had then nine Em-

476.

perors in twenty yeares, who all slew one another.

*Anastasius* reigned twenty five yeares: he was an *Eutichian* Heretique, was smit- ten with lightning, and dyed (as a iust pu- nishment) for his heresie. *Eulgentius*.

493.

*Iustine* reigned nine yeares: hee was first a Swine-herd, afterward a Cow- heard, next a Carpenter, a Souldior, a Captaine, and last of all Emperour, go- uerning very well and godly, and expel- ling the *Arrian* Heretiques. Then liued *Boetius*, and *S. Benner* or *Benedict* began this Order.

519.

*Iustinian* reigned thirty eight yeares. All his care and study, was to re- pare the decayed Empire, and re-establish ci- uill right; in the execution whereof, hee was seconded by excellent personages, especially by *Belisarius*, *Narjes*, and *Tribonianus*. They first chased the *Vandals* out of *Affrica*, which they had held 95. yeares: and deliuered *Rome* from the *Goths*, who had conquered it, & yet were once more expelled thence by *Narjes*.

528.

*Iustine* the second, reigned ten yeares, beloued of all men for his liberality. *Sopha* his wife mocked him with *Narjes*, the Gouernour of *Italy*, whereat he being of- fended, called the *Lombards*, by whose helpe he reuenged himselfe. Now was the Kingdom of the *Lombards* founded by *Clelus*, wher reigned thirty two kings, vntill the time of *Charles* the Great.

The kingdom of the Lombards.

*Tiberius* the second, reigned 7. yeares: he was a very charitable man, one that lo- ued God and his Saints, and therefore (no doubt) was beloued of him againe.

577.

*Mauritius* reigned twenty yeares: hee was descended of very meane Parentage, and (in the end) was murdered for his co- uetousnesse: a vice as much discommen- dable in a Prince, as liberality is befeem- ing, and maketh him renowned.

584.

*Phocas* reigned eight yeares: and be- ing the murderer of his Predecessor, him- selfe was likewise murdered, with all his Race. Now was the contention for the Primacy of the Church, betwene *Rome* and *Constantinople*, and now was *S. Gre- gory*.

Contention for Primacy of the church.

*Heraclius* reigned thirty yeares, who was the murderer of *Phocas*. The fifteenth yeare of his reigne, began the rule of *Mahomet*, the false Prophet of *Arabia*, where were the *Agarens* & *Sarrazins*: to whom the

612.

the Egyptian and Arabian princes (called *Soldanes*) next succeeded. After them came the Turkes, about the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand and three hundred, *Misboms* false doctrine (through the negligence of the Emperors & Christian princes) grew to such an head, that it not only poysoned *Asia* and *Africa*, but also a very great part of *Europe*.

*Constantine* the third, reigned foure moneths, being a good prince, and verie young: He was poysoned by his stepmother, that her sonne might reigne.

*Heracion*, who having his nose and tongue cut out, was banished two yeares after.

*Constans*, the sonne of *Constantine*, reigned twenty and seauen yeares: And being very courteous, hee was slayne by his owne followers, in the Bathes of *Syracusa*.

*Constantine* the fourth, reigned seauenteene yeares. Hee ouercame in one battell, thirty thousand *Syracusans*, and afterward fell to great wickednesse. The learned and venerable *Beda* liued in this time.

*Iustinian* the second, a wicked man, reigned fixteene yeares, but not without interruption, being delected by *Leontius*, and *Leontius* by *Tyberius Abismaris*, who reigned other three yeares; therefore these three are sayde to reigne fixteene yeares. Now was the beginning of the Dukes of *Venice*, which had beene gouerned before (for the space of two hundred and thirty yeares) by Tribunes.

*Phillip Bardasanes*, reigned two yerres. Hee was cast out of his Empire by his Lieutenant: and after that, they plucked forth his eyes. Hee had much talke and little wisdom, disposing badly of the Empire, he became after a schismaticall Monke.

*Anthemius*, called also *Athanasius* the second, reigned three yeares: He was delected from his Empire by *Theodosius* chiefe of his Armie, and turned into a Monastery. He had taken away the Empire, and then plucked out the eyes of his predecessour.

*Theodosius* the third, reigned one yeare. He left the Empire, seeing himselfe to be assailed by *Leo* his successor, and became a Monke.

*Leo* the third, a wicked man, reigned

five and twenty yeares. Hee was called *Iconomachus*, a Defacer of Images, and would not suffer the Christians to haue any in their Temples. He was excommunicated by *Gregorie*, and by authority of a Councell held at *Rome*, against his owne of *Constantinople*. *Blond*, in his tenth booke. The *Sarazins* besieged *Constantinople* three yeares together, in which time died three hundred thousand of the pestilence and famine.

*Constantine*, the sixt of that name, the sonne of *Leo* the *Isaurian*, succeeded his father in the Empire of *Constantinople*, in the yeare of our Saluation, seauen hundred fortie and two. Hee was surnamed *Copronymus*, because he would discharge his belly in the Founts, appoynted for Christian Baptisme. Hee was an viter enemy, not only to the Images of Saints, but also to theyr Reliques, causing them to be burned. Hee did put to death many of the best and most respected persons, and (amongst others) two Patriarchs of *Constantinople*. He made warre against the *Bulgarians*, both by Land and Sea, Fortune smiling vpon him, other-whiles lowering. In his absence, one *Artabasdus* was made Emperour at *Constantinople*. But he receiuing news thereof, returned, and either put out, or rent forth the new Emperours eyes, and caused his children to be slaine. In his time, there was sold a Winter, that the Sea of *Constantinople* was frozen. After many cruelties, this Emperour dyed a Leaper.

*Artabasdus*, albeit he was descended of meane birth; yet notwithstanding, for the faithfulness, good vertues, and commendable qualities which were in him, he was liked of the Senate and Souldiers, & afterward was elected Emperour by the zealous Christians, for the hatred that euery one bare to *Constantine* the sixt. Hee became a better louer of the Saints, and fortified the City of *Constantinople* against *Constantine*, who had beene expelled from thence. Neuertheless, both hee and it were besieged; and the City being surprized, his eyes were plucked out, and his children put to death.

*Leo* the fourth, was Emperour after his father *Constantine* the sixt. He was not only heyre to the Empire, but also to his fathers vices: And his mother, who was deuout, and one that loued God, would

giue

giue no consent, that he should be Emperour. Hee made some attempts vpon the *Sarazins* that dwelt in *Syria*. Hee tooke the Crowne, which *Mauritius* had dedicated vnto Almighty God, and set it on his owne head, it being very richly beautified with rich pretious stones: But soon after, hee had an Impostume in his head, with a fiery Ague, whereof he dyed.

*Constantine*, the sixt of that name, and sonne to *Leo* the fourth, was Emperour after his father: Hee reigned nine yeares (very young) with his mother, who with his consent also, was perswaded by *Theodorus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to call a general Councell of three hundred and fifty Bishops. In a short while after, *Constantine* excluded his Mother from the Empires gouernement. Hee caused the eyes and tongue of *Nicphorus* to be pulled and cut out, hearing of a secret intention, to make him Emperour. Also he did shut vp in a Monastery, his wife *Marie*, who was the daughter of King *Charlemaine*, and then tooke a Concubine, by the counsell of his Mother, who pretended that her sonne was hated of the people. Hereupon not long after, shee caused him to be taken, and plucking forth his eyes, shut him vp in prison, where hee dyed in the yeare 798, and then the reigned alone, about the space of five yeares.

*Irene*, issued from *Attica*, was Wife to the Emperour *Leo* the fourth, by whome he had *Constantine* the sixt before mentioned, and reigned with him nine yeares, & afterward (alone by herselfe) five yeares, or little more, as hath already beene sayd. She was thence expelled by *Nicphorus*, and sent into exile to the Isle of *Lesbos*, which at this instant is called *Mitilene*. At the time when this Lady gouerned the Empire of *Constantinople*, *Charlemaine* was sacred and crowned Emperour of *Rome*, (or of the West) for his vertues.

#### CHAP. XIII

The ancient and honourable Historie of the life, fortunes and admired vertues, of faire Landgartha, the royall Queene of Norway.

It is a case most certayne and assured, that a generous spirit, a gentle soule, and

an vnderstanding fild with cheareful delicacie, is much sooner seized with amorous apprehensions; then that which is farre off from this quient temper, and which subtilizeth the same perfection of the soule. Considering that loue, pure and perfectly naturall, being a vertue, and vertue euermore biding in such subjects, where the hearts are best and most functioniously nourished, and gentle spirits hauing (I know not how) a rellish more diuine then vulgare, or apted for grosse popularitie: It followeth, without any question to the contrary, that men, the more remarkable they are for greatnesse, gentles, good spirit, & illustrious blood, doe also best discourse on louely occasions, and effect them with clearer iudgement, then such as fayle in the accomplishments of the soule.

And, to fitt this poynt the more seriously; Is it for a Clowne or peazant, to iudge on the raritie of vertues, on the singular giftes of the Spirit, of that which is beloued, and what offices and duties are in the partie affectionate? Effectes doe plainly approue the contrary; for Poets, who are the very subtillest Painters of humane affections, that I know, and which trace Truth vnder the dissembled colours of wittie Fables, can not better let vs behold the picture of such an impression; then by the iudgement (so often sung) and periourned by the *Trojan*, on the beautie of the three Goddesses. For, the rudenesse of the Shepheard, hauing extincted the bright beams of bloud frō his Parents, among the base and grosse thoughts fit for flock-keepers, not knowing the spirites forces, the beautie of the soule, the gentleness of vnderstanding, and the galliardie of the bodie it selfe, in being gouerned by interior reason; gaue the prize (he knew not how) of beauty, by appearing in the exterior shape of a lasciuious Lady.

Beholde how farre Poeticall Philosophy extendeth it selfe, and iudge, if the forth Shephead degenerat.d not from his Parents, who should more haue cherished vertue, which lieth and continueth for euer; then that which withereth, and loseth it selfe by the steppes of age. And if that indifereet Iudge pronounced the Sentence, in fauour of the most vniworthie, and lent his affections to the onlie

The reason why good spirits are much more amorous then will and leaden creatures.

It is not for the Burzends eyes to gaze on the daunces radiant splendour.

The interpretation of the Fable, concerning the iudgement of Paris.

The extirpation of poeticall Philosophy in the Fable.

640

641

642

670

687

The State of the Venetians.

711

715

718

719

742

743

745

onely tickling of desire, full of wretched folly: so was he as well recompenced according to his merit, and felt in the ende, that a manly *Hector's* desseignes, saouering of that which is proper to the vertue of a man; was much rather to be chosen, then the light promise of a hurtful thing, how pleasant soeuer in wish, and alluring the sensuall part of a man.

Corporeall beauty & feature in a woman, is no matter of any great moment.

Also, to speake truly, so many famous women, as haue honoured all the Ages past and ours, by effect and memory of their commendable vertues; if they had had no other rarities to renowe them, but onely beauty of the body: questionlesse, their names had long since bin buried in a more obscure graue, then euer time ordained for things to be forgotten. No, no, it was vertue, generosity, height of courage, and great enterprizes; which made them immortal, and equalled their glory with the renowne of men, yea, of the most signall and illustrious.

Semyramis the Assyrian Queene. The Amazones women warriors.

Queene Zenobia that made warre vpon the Romanes.

Cinansdough ter to Philip King of Macedon.

Against the venomous tongues of such, as neuer cease to taxe the reputation of so honourable a sexe; no boast need to be made, either of search into the valliances of *Semyramis*, whose memorie is somewhat too farre off; neyther the incredible forces of the *Amazones*, the History being (I know not how) doubtfull in the occurrences. Nor will I induce *Zenobia the Asian Queene*, the dreadfull astonishment (sometime) of the Roman Empire: whose wisdom also was as much to bee commended, as any of the very chiefe Generals, her direction, policy and good carriage, all making her reputed (long time) for one of the Worlds Monarchs. Nor am I willing (feareing to make men bluish, by reading how many women haue managed Armes, and with no meane felicity) to insert *Cinansdough*, Daughter to *Phillip King of Macedon*, who made head against the ingratefull successours of her Brother *Alexander*, pursuing the viter ruine of his blood that had advanced them. After many foughten Battailles, hauing carried herselfe beyond the compasse of man-like valiancy; in the ende, the affected rather to dye, then to see the viter ruine of the famous House of her Ancestors, being vnable any way to helpe it. I will be silent also, in speaking of the braue *Valasia*, a young Lady of *Bohemia*, who arming

the Ladies of her Country against their Husbands; made a happy course of long warre against the men: vntill such time, as (being betrayed) shee crowded into the throngs of her enemies, of whom (before she could be slaine) she slew a great number.

I will not (I say) discourse so many examples, being satisfied with a History most true and memorable, collected from famous Antiquity, and from among the Ladies of a people, heretofore accounted very barbarous: wherein (by my slender opinion) honest Gentlewomen shall receive some taste of vertue, without learning the fierce obstinacy of any; and Gentlemen, may haue meanes to see and consider, how to make choise of vertue in louing; and faire minded Maidens, obserue a rule, how to contain their thoughts in loyall affection, to them whom they haue dedicated their desires.

In the time when *Dagobert*, sonne to *Charles the Great*, reigned in *France*, and ouer the Empire, there was a King in *Swetia*, named *Froll*, or *Frollo*, a cruell man, a tyrant, and insupportable to every one. This King being neuer contented with his owne Royalties, began to insult obstinately on his neighbours: and; but especially to flesh on the King of *Norway*, vpon whose Countries entering without challenge or defiance, he made such great spoyle; that hauing pilld, sacked, and well-neere ruined the whole Country, he vanquished and slew the King, with all his Family. Nor did it suffice this rauenous Wolfe, to haue shed so much innocent blood, for the glutting of his greedy desire: but hee must needs also ioyle his name with all kindes of cruelty and villany, in somuch, that hee left neyther Lady of the House Royall, nor any other that he could lay hold on, but he abused them as villanously, as wickedly hee had robbed other of their inheritable rights. They that were not (as yet) fallen into the gripes of this abominable Goate, and not knowing how to thunne falling into his cunning and treacherous snares, made such a private consultation among themselves by secret intelligence; that at length, they mette together in a corner of the desert belonging vnto the Kingdome, to haue a more free understanding of particular grieuances, and

Valasia a young Lady, entred into Armes in Bohemia, against the men of the Country.

The Author referreth his Readers to this History only.

King Froll the cruelty-tyrant of Swetia

A bloody tyrant makes no fyate or any thing, so he may compass his own vile desires.

how

The noble me of Norway to ioyne Reynst King of Denmark to redress their wauld miserie.

Distressed but not, especially in Iudicia, is exactly distressed.

A Council called among the Ladies of Norway.

In extremities all means conuenient are to be sought and vied.

how they might best defend their honor and innocence.

Newes likewise ran cursorily among them, that the Nobilitie of the Country (who had withdrawne themselves into *Denmarke*) solicited King *Reyner*, to bring thither his forces, in reuenge of a dishonourable injury done to his owne blood (for his mother was illused from *Norway*) and the *Dane* being easily spurred on to warre, in regarde he was very youthfull, his blood chearefully boyling, and desirous to archieue honour by Armes, gaue the easier care to the motion. Beside desire of reuenge, to see his reputation so much interested, by the tyrannies of *Swetia*, with pretending a right and title vnto the kingdome of *Norway*: These were no meane motives to incite him on the sooner. And these considerations, gaue hart also to the distressed Ladies, for hope of good successe thereby: but feareing, that matter and meanes (in this case) were not as yet sufficiently ready; this intimated perswasion vanished into smoke, euen (well-neere) as sodainly as it was conceived, being no way able to resolue on any thing.

At length, one in their goodly troupe, and (almost) one of the youngest, fairest and gentlest Virgines, and such a one as had propounded to herselfe, neuer to submit vnder any Lawe, that gaue a man power ouer his wife: She beholding the sad astonishment of the whole company, and what iust reason they had to be so dreadfully dismayed; making a reuerent obedience vnto them all, deliuered her minde in this manner.

### The Oration of Landgartha, to the whole Company of Ladies.

*Can it be (faire Ladies of Norway) that illustrious blood, appeareth onely in the strength and dexteritie, which fondly wee presume proper and peculiar to men: and we that haue hearts, spirits, bodies and members like vnto theirs, must make them reuengers, and defenders of our continence & chastity? If Fate be so maliciously affected, that our fathers, brothers and husbands, can obayne*

*no succour, to recover their lands, and expulse the Tyrant out of their territories: shall it therefore be said, that we must needs serue the inordinate appetits of a villaine? Frollo must abuse those remaining Ladies, that neuer tasted his abominable embracements. Let Landgartha live no longer, if she be voyde of allover duties and deuotion, then to attend the pleasures of a Tyrant, and (without resistance) suffer violence to be done to her honour and modestie.*

*Why Ladies, the Lyonesse and Tygresse, whet their claws and sharpen their teeth, to defend their young ones, and preserve their lusts from the hands of men. The vixen (smilest Bird will vyle both the beake and Wing, to reuenge the wrong offered by rape of her brood. And we, that surmount the one, in sense and reason, the other in strength, & all in wisdom and counsell for bolde attempts; shall we suffer that a Stranger (not one iote stronger then our owne Countries strength) shall make a mockery and abusive pastime, of the most honourable Matrones & Gentlewomen in our Land? No, no, it is not for Landgartha to endure such indignities, or that (without effusion of her blood) can geeld to the best-like Prince of Swetia.*

*Are we inferior in courage and generosity of spirit, to braue Aluida, who so long time fought on the Seas, and amazed the very boldest warriors of the world? Are wee defective in any thing she had? We are healthfull, young, gallant, strong and rich enough, to winne what soeuer is needfull for vs, by service eithen on Sea or Land. And if Aluida (moued by vnjust means) prosperd in her actions, and had Fortune fauorable to all her attempts: can you imagine, that Heauen hath not farre sayrer successe in store for vs, hauing Reason and vertue on our side, and upright iustitie to support our cause? were our iourney to death onely, and that the ending of this wretched life, could appease the Tyrants cruelty, without proceeding any further: I would be the foremost, freely offering my selfe as a Sacrifice, to satiate the furie of his raging lust. If he coniect and would haue nothing else but our wealth and treasure; I would aduise you to deliuer all, and rather then spare aught, let vs goe seeke future fortune, and beg our bread through all strange countries in the world.*

*Alb, no, no, (sweete Ladies) hee likes our liues too well, and by taking pleasure in them, desireth our euertlasting displeaseure. He will suffer*

Voreconable creatures arme themselves in their owne defence & theirs

Aluida was daughter to Swardking of the Guthes, & tanged on the seas as a Pirat



Shame and  
inimie waite  
continually at  
the heele of  
vntreated lust.

A famous and  
worthy refo-  
lution in a  
chaste, wor-  
ous & spight-  
full minded  
Virgin.

A League  
sworne, among  
the Ladies, &  
Landgartha  
made the La-  
dy General.

It is no com-  
mon matter,  
that mouseth  
women to  
march in arms

suffer vs to enjoy our wealth, for his free-  
er wallowing in wicked dalliances, which  
prey is the maine purchase wherest hee most  
aymeth: for hee more delighteth in our Ho-  
nours violation, then by massacring our bo-  
dies, to become Lord of all our Jewells, lands,  
and inheritances. What remaineth then for  
our deliuerance? Shall we tarry for them that  
are in Denmarke, expecting when they will  
come to succour vs? No, rather let Ladies  
arme themselves, and appearing in open field,  
fight valiantly against the villaine, that seek-  
eth to rob vs of our true repute. Let vs giue  
him plainly to vnderstand, that effeminate  
persons are more soft, and lesse valiant then  
we are; that chaste and vertuous Ladies are  
of other temper, then Souldiers mollified by  
base paylarasie: yea that they are more tru-  
ly constant then the Tyrant, whose confu-  
sion guiltesse in foule offences, is his owne con-  
tinuall torturing banishment. On then valiant  
Princesses, and Ladies of no meane lustre, )  
away with our wanton tires, paintings, per-  
rings, and ydle deckings: Let vs change our  
Spinnalls, Needles and Samplers, into Horfes,  
Lances, Swords and Armour, and trie, if  
Frollo be as furious in warre, as hee is ferie  
wanton in his lasciuious Pallace. Let vs re-  
uenge the wrongs our Parents and Kindred  
haue receiued; or die most gloriously, in the  
pursuite of so holy, iust and commendable a  
reuenge.

This courageous remonstrance of the  
braue spirited Virgins, gaue such bolde a-  
nimation vnto the rest of the Ladies, as  
(with one consent) they made a league,  
vowing louing alliance, and (solemnly  
swearing faith, loyaltie, mutuall succour,  
and assistance among themselves): Land-  
gartha was elected chiefe commandresse,  
or Lady General of the Army, and well  
delecting that, or any other higher digni-  
tie, being the motive to such a maine and  
important businesse.

Now beganne a muster of all the Wo-  
men and Maidens, of the most noble and  
famous houses throughout the whole  
Country: but not without much amaz-  
ment in Frollo, wondering whereto ten-  
ded such an assemblie. Hce, perswading  
himselfe, that they intended fight to their  
friends and kindred in Denmarke, sent com-  
maund vnto them, that (on perill of their  
lives) they should retorne home to their  
houses, for enjoying the benefite of their

libertie; which he was content to graunt  
them, in regard of their beauties and gen-  
tle behaviour.

But Landgartha, the man-like woman  
champion, hearing the peremptory com-  
maund deliuered by the Tyrants Her-  
alds: sent them backe with blows and in-  
iurious speeches, telling them; that they  
would not take their liues, in regarde of  
any respect they had to their Lord: but  
onely, because they should let him vnder-  
stand, in what deuotion and readinesse  
they found them, & seeking some con-  
uenient means and way, whereby to make  
him tender an account for his tyrannic  
and cruelties.

When Frollo heard these tidings, at the  
first he made but a scorne thereof, laugh-  
ing extremely, at this womanish enter-  
prise and Armie of Ladies, saying: They  
did well, to make a present of themselves,  
because he should haue the easier way to  
find them, and if they came into the field,  
the booty would suffice for his Souldiers  
pay, and likewise for their pleasure beside,  
in regarde he should belto wnes vpon  
them all, and saue them a labour from a-  
ny further fighting. But this pleasant hu-  
mour soone forooke him, and conuerted  
into fury, when he was aduertised of their  
being in the field, & making such a strange  
massacre of his men, as the like was sel-  
dome seene or heard of. Nor spared they  
the liues of any, that durst reclaim him-  
selfe from following his seruice, which  
made him curse and sweare, threatening  
them with a thousand kinde of torments  
and afflictions, going now (in good ear-  
nest) to arme himselfe; as being perswa-  
ded, that this feminine iune had extended  
so farre, that it was no light matter that  
could allay it. Hce grew also into such  
suspition of himselfe, that he kept a strong  
Guard about him: as holding but small  
assurance of his life, amongst the armed  
troupes of his owne Souldiers: yet hee  
made many large promises vnto them, of  
the very fairest and richest amongst them,  
with all their lands and treasure, to shew  
themselues valiant and coragious, against  
this giddy headed army of women; which  
encreased daily more and more, both in  
number, victuals and munitions, brought  
continually to them from euery part.

But howsoeuer (one way) the bad af-  
fection of the Norwegians gaue affliction

The Herald  
& Messengers  
of Frollo are  
sent back with  
just payment  
by the Ladies.

The Tyrant  
made a mone-  
rie of the  
Ladies prepa-  
ration in arms  
meaning to  
marry them  
his Souldiers

Frollo prepa-  
reth himselfe  
to Armes a-  
gainst the La-  
dies.

Tyranny is al-  
ways subiect  
to tormenting  
passions.

The arrivall  
of Reyner, K.  
of Denmarke  
in Norway  
with a mighty  
Armie.

to his spirits, and the fauour which his  
owne subiects afforded to this woman-  
ish Army, tormented his soule as violent-  
ly on the other side: yet he seemed to set  
a good countenance on his feares, declar-  
ing no outward doubt of preuailing a-  
gainst them, though (inwardly) his cogita-  
tions tolde him dreadfull tydings. Ne-  
uertheless, being already in the field; and  
preparing his equipage, to get the best ad-  
uantage he could, of the place where the  
Ladies were encamped: a Countier came  
galloping in poast to him, bringing newes  
of the king of Denmarks descent into Nor-  
way, with a very potent Armie. What a  
astonishment forer seized on his soule, to  
see himselfe inclosed (as it were) with two  
puissant enemies, and knowing how high-  
ly he was hated, by them whom hee had  
ouercome and subiected: yet notwithstanding,  
perceiuing that flight was pre-  
iudiciall to his honour; and (moreouer)  
almost impossible, in regard that the ways  
whereby he should passe into Swetia, as al-  
so euery port and passage were in the ene-  
mies power: he resolved, first to runne his  
fortune on the men, who being defeated,  
the fight would be farre easier against the  
women; and thereupon, in the forme of  
an Oration, thus he spake to his Army.

#### ¶ The Oration of Frollo, King of Swetia, to his Soldiers.

When men be  
in bad actions  
(especially in  
Armes vniu-  
ity) they find  
in neede of  
good encoura-  
ging.

If you were not those valiant Gother and  
Swetians, that haue tamed and beaten  
this kennell broode of Norwegians, and  
now conquered their land: If it were not  
your valiancie, that hath often made pil-  
lance and spoile of the Danes; If your in-  
vincible force were not well knowne to  
the world: I should then haue now en-  
treated you, to remember your Ancestors,  
and the glorious conquests of your prede-  
cessors: I should also let before your eies,  
how many Kings, People and Nations  
were vnder-yoked, by the greatnesse and  
deedes of your famous fore-goers. But,  
seeing that your proper vertue sufficiently  
sheweth it selfe, and auoucheth you to be  
the worthy sonnes and successeurs, to so  
many valiant and famous Fathers, and  
that your deedes are no way indebted to  
the glorie of their greatnesse: Let vs goe

then, gentle and worthy warriors: Let  
vs pace on, and giue Reyner to know, that  
this is no Countrey for him to reigne in,  
nor to deale in actions of Armes, with  
the most ferious and brauett Nation of  
Europe. Let vs on (bold spirits) to chase  
them againe, which haue so many times  
fled before vs; and let vs chastice the re-  
bellion of the Norwegians, who falsify-  
ing their faith sworne vnto vs: haue cal-  
led in our enemy to their succor, to quar-  
rell with me for that, which is yours by  
right of Conquest.

In the meane space, while Frollo mar-  
ched on to meete the Danes, obserue the  
wisedome and diligence of Landgartha,  
and her Ladies, who stepped before him  
with such poasting speede, that ere the  
time, as any intelligence could be ob-  
tained of her departure: tydings were su-  
ddenly brought him, that both the Camps  
were ioyned together, and came mainly  
marching onward to bidde him battraile.  
Now, although this did not alittle startle  
his minde, and intimated a suspicious kind  
offeare, lest Fortune should turne her  
backe on him, hauing formerly fauored  
him in all his proceedings: yet being a  
man of high heart, valiant, and borne for  
Armes: he shewed no semblance of dread  
or distrust, but rather still sollicitous  
men, to shew themselues such as alwayes  
they were knowne to be, and to account  
the enemy no stronger by the womens  
combination; but rather to hope, that for-  
tune had conducted them purposely thi-  
ther, for the larger encreasing of their be-  
nefit, and to heighten their corage against  
any, that durst presume to deprive them  
offo faire a booty.

On the other side, King Reyner, being  
come within the view of the enemy, rode  
among the ranks, encouraging his people,  
proposing to them his right, and the in-  
iustice made by the Tyrant. He requered  
them, to reuenge the wrong doone to so  
many honourable houses, vnto the  
throwne by the Tyrant, and to sustain the  
cause of womens modesties, for whom,  
and in whose defence, long agoe they  
Auncelours had attempted rare actions  
of Armes, and spent their blood in ma-  
ny parts of the world. He also let before  
their eies, the courage and animosities  
of the Ladies, who march orderly vnder the

The noble di-  
gence offid-  
g. this, ioy-  
ing her forces  
with King Rei-  
ners Campe.

Necessary and  
enforcement  
makes a cra-  
uently coward  
valiant.

The effect of  
an Oration  
made by King  
Reiner of Den-  
marke to his  
followers, in  
light of the e-  
nemies camp

Nun En

Ensignes of valiant Landgartha, and to imitate by their force, that which weak women had undertaken, to free themselves from the violence of a Tyrant. Also, that they might assuredly be persuaded, beside the gaine and bootie, in getting the bagge and baggage of the Swethians: himselfe would (moreouer) vse such rewarde and courtie to well deservers; that they should for euer haue iust cause to commend his munificence. He declared to the Norwegians, that (for the loue to them) hee would aduenture to fight against Frolo, whom if he conquered, hee would spare him no more, then the rest of his race formerly had doone. And therefore, to shew themselves valiant, and now to bee fully reuenged on the Swethians tyrannies; seeing Fortune had almost (with great advantage) deliuered him into their hands.

Landgartha, beholding how euery one encouraged other to the fight, and observing some rare galliardie, even in the gracefull lookes of her female followers; in steade of further animating, thus she spake vnto them.

### Another Oration of Landgartha, made to the Armie of Ladies.

Her action, gesture and behaviour inflamed the desires of all her faire followers

It is for vs (faire Ladies) that the glorie of this battaile is reserved, and to none else is due the reuenge, for our parents, kindred, friends and familiars. Men may fight (if they will) in their owne quarrell, and deale with whom themselves thinke best: but the valorous Ladies of Norway, will pursue none other then the very Squadron of the Tyrant, and there will eue die in the midst of his endeauour, or make this the last day of his miserable life. Let our horses seeme to steale among the ranks, that we may be obserued to surpass the prowesse of men, and that wee can quickly re-ouite our strength againe, if any disorder should chaunce to diuide vs. Fair Fortune be our guide, and fauour vs to die gloriously, or vanquish (with hearts becoming our Sex) the onely infamous Prince in the world. In a spirit gentle and generous, see (I beseech you) what power Disdayne hath, to behold it selfe offended, and of what worth will it be blood is, (touched with wrong) received by women and maydens,

tender, soft, and delicately borne and bred, not inuolued to the trouble of struts, but driven by desire of reuenge onely. For the rapes made on their violated kindred and friends: must needs bee now acknowledged, by the ornament which sayrest embelisheth our faces, and exposeth vs to all manner of hazards, amongest the gallantest troupes of men.

King Reyner, hauing giuen the assaults signall, aduisedly obserued the behaviour and warelike order of the women, seeing Landgartha performe both the actions and discrete conduct of a good Souldier, making way through the throngs, and entering (even in mere despite of the enemy) with her faire-locked troups of Ladies, into the Tyrant of Swethiaes Squadron. Hee stood as astonished at so braue hardiment, and (in this astonishment) he felt a kind of softning in his manly soule, rauishing both his eyes and thoughts, with admiration & contemplation of this chaste Damofell: he forthwith followed her fighting, yet knew he not the cause of so sodayne an alteration, and beholding her wonderfull carriage in the fight, saw no stroke returned against her, but it seemed to cleaue his heart in sunder. Hee wished himselfe neere her, to free her from all penill and daunger; yet he took great delight to beholde her braue behaviour.

So long his eyes were led by this amorous contemplation, that (very soone after) he saw the Ladies presse on with such impetuous furie, into the maine body of the battaile; and where the king of Swethia was in person: that (in a short while) it became so throwly shaken, as, both the vanquishers, and the vanquish confessed, that the victory was more to be attributed to the wife leading of Landgartha, and valiant following of her Ladies, then to the long breathing and loose courage, either in the Souldiers of Denmarke or Norway: for they neuer cealed to pursue the point, till Frolo was hewne in peeces amongest them; as the corrupter of blooming youth, and violator of their chastities, whom he ought (in honour and duty) to defend. Thus in an instant, Frolo payed the crueltie due vnto his disgracefull life, & was punished by celestiall Iudgement; for inuading the land and inheritance belonging

The valiance and carriage of Landgartha greatly admired by the King of Denmarke.

Keyner becommeth suddenly amorous of faire Landgartha.

The overthrow of the Swethians and death of their King by the braue valour of the women.

King Reyner attributes the victory to the valiant Landgartha, & her Ladies.

The kings passion creates the more, by her commendable reports.

Disheonest desires in a king, are no more (stand) to his best deterring other vice.

longing to another, and abusing the honour of so many chaste Ladies.

The victory won by the Dane, he freely confessed, that he enioyed it by the valiancy of the Ladies, and about all the rest by the wife and hardy conduct of hir, who commanded ouer the female troops. But concealing (as yet) the fire crept into his heart, and which stole on still to the verie depth of his soule; he cunningly enquired (as one rapt with amazement, among the rest, at the dexterity of this woman Warriour) what the was, of what house, and in what country she receiued her Originall? Answer was returned to him, that she was a Maiden to be married, so chaste as possibly might be, as vertuous as any that liued in Norway, in blood Noble, of a famous house, and inferiour to no Ladie in wisdom. The vertue and wife carriage of Landgartha in war, hauing won the heart of this youthfull King, gaue yet a far larger entrance to loue, that left no part of his soule vnbesieged: when he heard say, that she was a Virgin Lady, and of great birth.

But because he could rather haue wisht her to be his lovely friend, then wedded wife; he saw how short hee came of any such hope, being truly informed of her virgin modesty, standing cleere from all possibility of corruption: neither might he dare to attempt it, seeing how respectfully she was esteemed, affected, and reuerenced, & hardly enough to suppress all such sinister enterprises. Moreouer, as elsewhere we haue declared, though rapes had bene too common in that Scandian country; yet it was no easy offer to her; that knew wel how to reuenge such wrong, and had made good prooffe therof so lately, in the iust infliction on a lustfull tyrant. In which respect, hauing a faire and gentle spirit; she resolved, to cloath with grace and good acceptance, what so euer might appear vnequall in her, to sure with the greatest of a King, and to satisfie his owne desires, by contracting honourable Marriage with her. And because common fame had noised of her, that she had concluded to keep her virginity for euer, without admitting any man to triumph ouer her chaste honor: he laboured the more to win her, & to break this vncharitable purpose in her; affecting her as dearly as his owne life; accounting her the most compleate crea-

ture in the world, & such a Jewel, as none could be more precious.

If this opinion, concerning the rare vertues of Landgartha, had alwayes continued charactered in the soule of this prince; and if he had respected her as well after the enioying her, as before hee had the happinesse to be possessed of her: she should haue receyued no occasion to complaine of him, and he neuer had stood accused of such infidelity and ingratitude to her. But (the more the pity) there is not any thing so precious, rare, or of greatest consequence; but if a man bee possessed of it, and hath it freely at his owne command: he groweth distastefull of it; accounting his appetite loathingly glutted therewith, and nothing can seeme more contemptible to him.

Reyner, how great a King soeuer hee thought himselfe to bee, and how powerfull in his cheefest commands: yet, he felt himselfe a slaue to Loue, not daring to discover his thoughts: he was become (contrary to precedent custom) a friend to solitude, full of passions, compassed with fears, troubled in spirit, martired in his senses, scarce sustaining any hope, but very coldly, and breathing forth sighs incessantly; so that all were amazed at this strange behauiour in him. Notwithstanding, no one durst enter into such boldnesse, as to demand of him, whence came the causes of such comfortlesse solitude. At length, hauing considered sufficiently on what he had to do, and finding the power of loue so potent, that it exceeded all possibility of resistance, as hauing a priuiledge about nature, and Landgartha no way to be enioyed, but by the chaste embraces of a marriage bed: he sent for the Lady and her friends, imparting his mind to her in this manner.

I Know well (gentle Damofell) that it may moue some admiration in you, vpon what occasion I haue thus sent for you: albeit, the obligation wherein I stand bound to your high deferings, might haue commanded me to do it much sooner, & yet a matter no more then reasonable. But to hold you in no longer suspence the hope I haue, & you wil continue heere in court; was the mooue to my mission, & the power I might pretend ouer your parents, & friends, shold with their willing

What most court to inuoy they grow careless of afterward.

The perplexity of King Reyner in his loue, & endeauor how to compass it

The speech of King Reyner, delivered to Landgartha, in the presence of her parents and friends.

advice to you, and enioyne you to grace vs with your company. I know what you are, and am informed of your house and breeding; but much more am I assured of your valor and other vertuous merits, by the commendable partes and singular rarities, whereof mine owne eyes haue bin a witness. You also are not ignorant who I am, what my power is, and the meanes to make my selfe sensible, either of fauours or iniures, from whom foever I happen to receiue them. I confesse, that if there be any thing extrauagant in Loue, or surpasse the greatest power in man it hath taken foundation in my soule, enflaming my best desires to with you wel: but I am vncertaine, whether you be so courteous or no, to take a liking or acceptable allowance of this affection, and so much the rather, because you appear aboue the reach of other Ladies. Neuertheless, if you measure the greatnesse of a King, and of him that is your Soueraigne, with the lustre of your choise perfections: you shall see, that both these rarities paired together, do make but one vnion, & the most excellent that any man can imagine. In breefe, all my wilth, intent, and affection consisteth in this, that if you thinke good, or I may seeme worthy in your eye, to be a fit husband for *Landgartha*; I wold take you to Wife, and make you Queene of *Denmarke* and *Norway*. You may thinke heereon, it is in you to conclude all, and to whom I referre my selfe: for, of this my submission, I make your parents and friends witnesses, calling for them purposely hither, to heare my motion, and your answer.

*Landgartha*, who was as apprehensiu, courteous and modest, as high in corage, and strict in opinion: considering who it was that made the motion, and how much he imbold himself in the demand, returned this answer.

**SIR**, although my deliberation from mine infancy, and continuing to this flourishing condition of mine age, hath alwaies beene, neuer to subiect my selfe to the lawes ordained for marriage, because freedom euer seemed more conforme to the disposition of my spirit, then such obedience as a wife owes to her husband, not that I haue vowed or sworn to any estate whatsoever: yet notwithstanding,

hauing regard vnto the duty I owe my Prince, and seeing how iustly I may deserue blame and punishment, in refusing him that hath soueraignie ouer mee and mine; I beseech you to thinke, that your thoughts being so direct as they pretend declaration, and respecting one of so meane merite as my selfe: I am also the onely Maiden of the World, ready to do you most humble seruice. Thanking the great God, that seeing I owe dutie to the fancy of a man (albeit against my former resolute) it falleth so successfull, as in seruice to the most wise and valiant Prince, that of long time hath reigned in these countries. Neuertheless Sir, thinke it not strange, I humbly beseech you, if I speake (perhaps) more boldly then becommeth me, to vse a silly virgins aduice, to take longer and more deliberate consideration, in a case so seriously important as this is: humane affections being so light in cases of these and the like impressions; that (many times) they as sodainly wipe themselves out of the soule, as at the first they came to be characterized there. Not that I will accuse fo great a King of leuitie, nor suspect his faith any way in firme: but to this end, that hauing made a neer view of my complexions, and more exactly enquired the list of my life; you may the better censure my merit, measuring for hereafter, what you may now most vauel in my meannes and insufficiency: so shall you be sure, neuer to vsay your owne words, or be sorry then for that which you make fo great account of now. For know Sir, that the honor which you please to do me at this present, is nothing in respect of the great infamy, redounding then both vpon you and me, & those that gaue you no better counsell in this case, whom it may as neerly concerne. This would be a worthy recompence, for the intire affection you beare me now, and I should dedicate my life to you in deeper deuotion, remaining for euer your most loyal & dutifull seruant.

With such a graue and seuer countenance she vttered these speeches, that the king, amazed at her wisdom, but more at the Maiestical deliury of her wordes, and freedome of fo faire and compleate a spirit: swore instantly such loyalty to hir, as fitted with a king and faithfull husband; wherein he plainly forswore himselfe, as you shall hear in this discourse following.

Verie worthe aduice touching of a direct and well settled judgement.

Consideration before marriage is verie necessary, because repentance afterwards cometh too late.

At

At this time the Maiden was not married to the youthfull king (who longed after nothing so much, as to cropp the sayre flower of her chastity) but she returned home with her parents and friends again; hoping, that the heate of this royall fire, would be quailed in time, and her absence would be the meanes to effect it. But *Reynar*, who could not forget her that had so worthily assisted him, and whose figure was liuely imprinted in his soule: followed her to her Fathers dwelling; and, scorning to be delayd by many daies access, espoused her, to the vnspeakable comfort of her parents and friends, but from dread and great distrust in her self, as fearing the continuance of this feruent affection, and hauing won the heart of a King, doubted to be dispossessed thereof. Neuertheless, such was her wife and commendable carriage, as to conceal her fears with maiestick modesty: submitting her self to the Kings delightful pleasures, and the yoke of marriage, which formerly he had contemned.

But, as no ioyes are durable, being perpetually followed by worldly occurrences: so *Reynar* (being a yong, wanton, and lasciuious king) after hee had bene Father to three children by his Queene, two daughters, and a hopefull yong Prince, filled, or rather ouer-fatisfied with the embraces of this poore Lady (who brought him no other dowry but bright beautie, and vertue vnmarchable in all the country) coueting after matter of greater moments, withdrew thence into *Denmarke*, leaving his truly elected spouse in *Norway*, not with any purpose of sending for her, or returning to her againe, but vterly to abandon & forsake her. Being in *Denmark*, he heard report of the K. of *Swetia*s daughter, whom he desired to inioy, accusing his indiscretion, that he had embased the greatnes of a king, and much blemished his royall title, by marrying with a sillie damofell: and sending a solemne Ambassage into *Swetia*, he obtained (without war or any other great difficulty) her whom he coueted to enioy in marriage.

Heere behold, how constant the Kings affection stoode to vertue, and howe the maske of fained loue discovered itself. He had sworn fidelity vnto his best beloued *Landgartha* (notwithstanding her wife & worthe aduice of inconueniences to fol-

low) with no meane admiration of her vertues and perfections: but Vertue was then bound to the Idea of pleasure, and therefore of as little lasting, as ease hath continuance in occasions of the flesh. Beside, no sooner had he receiued answer to his minde, from the king of *Swetia*; but forthwith, he aduertised *Landgartha* of a second intended marriage, although vnlawfully; yet praying her patiently to endure a diuorce.

The poore Lady hearing this determination (although long time before, she had both diuined and feared such disaster) was ready to dy with conceit of greefe, to see her selfe despised, without the least occasion of offence giuen, or why he should vnkindly refuse her. At length, considering that the king had some reason for this repudiation, by seeking better alliance, which might succour him in his serious affaires, because he had an enemy that contended with him for the Crowne of *Denmark*, & incited the Emperor to lend him ayd, vnder colour of becoming a Christian, if he would help him to compass the kingdom: she began somewhat to assuage her minds perturbations, answering the that brought her these bad tydings, thus.

The King (my friends) should not thus abuse *Landgartha*, because he needs not to seek any further, for strengthing his house by stronger alliance: and well may I accuse him of lightnes, whereof I aduertised him in the beginning; and which (to my greefe) I finde now by ouer-deare experience. But if I were as reuengefull for the shame I suffer, as hee is vnjust on my behalfe: I could (perhaps) finde him as busy and troublesome employment, as these can yeeld him pleasure, succour, or defence, with whom he hath such haft to marry. He knows what means I haue to diseale him seeing he felt part of my power in fauouring him, and should periwade himselfe, that *Landgartha* was neuer so much offended by the tyrant of *Swetia*, as by him, who vnder the flattering name of marriage, hath wronged the modesty of her, that discerneth now, how men the greater they are, so much they think themselves dispensed withall, in breaking those Lawes, where-to they binde other in obedience.

Yet one thing causeth me somewhat to pardon his fault, and also to accuse mine owne indiscretion, that he being blinded

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King Reynar espoused Landgartha, to the joy of her parents, but apparent feare in her of this affections continuance.

The perfidious and vnfaitfull dealing of Reynar with his sayre wife Landgartha.

Landgartha was to be divorced from the King her husband, without any cause of offence giuen.

Kings breaking his Lawes, where-to they stridly binde their subjects.

Words are commonly more solemne in their protestations, then afterwards they proue found in their performance.

The generous and modest answer of Landgartha: to the former speech of king Reynar.

by loue, and I, by sole reuerence vnto the name Royall: we haue both layed in one kinde, but not equally punishable, his shame being not so great as mine, because (being free, & without passions) I would submit my selfe to the will of him, who durst not vse any violence towards mee; whereas he was a slaue to his owne cogitations, and transported with desire, which maketh fooles of the very wisest in the world. Let him enjoy the embracings of his new elected Lady, at his own pleasure and contentment; but I pray, (in regard of the faithfull loue I beare him, and so shall doe for euer, being such as I am) that hereafter, he may neuer be so light & changeable in affection, lest some one (offar lesse cunning then himselfe) make him not doe penance for wrong to all the rest. And assure him, that although hee hath wounded the heart of *Landgartha* to death, by preferring another of much lesse merit, and forgetting the debt, which maketh him mine by bond: yet notwithstanding, the Image of King *Reynar* shall remaine perpetually engrauen in my heart, and no accidents of the greatest disaster, can euer deface the sacred and sincere affection, which his plighted faith so lately imprinted in my soule.

Goe and report vnto him, the offer of my seruice, and the desire I haue to please him, instead of seeking any reuenge. Set before his eyes, not any despayring cogitations in mee, but vnconquerable patience. Tell him, I am not a little ioyful, to see my selfe free from subiection to a husband: but yet so sorie as possibly can be, to loose him whom I loue more then my selfe, and without whom, my dayes for euer are dedicated to mourning. Report vnto him, that *Landgartha* will liue, not to be reuenged vpon the disloyaltie of King *Reynar*; but to the end, that by the effusion of her owne blood, she may yet make him once more to know, that she is more his friend, and more carefull of his States conseruation, then himselfe is. Tell him also, that such Ladies as resemble me, haue their hearts more generously disposed, and farre more fairly furnished with vertue: then base minded men, that alway carry gentlenes in their looks, but villanie truly stamped in their hearts. For a finall conclusion, I pray God giue more ease to my vnfaithfull husband, then (through his

disloyalty) he leaues sorrow and affliction in the soule of his loyall wife: and that she who usurpeth my place (in regard the fault is not hers) may long enjoy peace in that bed, which vertue and merite once made me Mistress of, and the King taketh from me, I know not by what disaster, but in meere malice and hatred to mee and my fortune.

What greater constancy could be wished, in the heart of the very wisest Philosopher, that euer *Greece* or *Asia* yielded, then appeared in the inuincible soule of this *Norwegian* Lady? What deeper despit could be done to a worthy woman; then to reiect and throw her off, as if she had beene wicked and immodest? Or what greater occasion may bee giuen, for betraying a husband; then causelesse suspicion, and diuorce or refusal, where reason and iustice can shew no cause why? Poets haue liuely depicited in their Verses, the desperate transports of *Medea*, forsaken by *Iason*, and the fearefull cruelties vied by her, to bee reuenged on such an injury. *Marke Anthony*, by refusing and forsaking the faire sister to *Augustus*, attracted by foolish affection to blacke *Cleopatra*; both *Europe*, *Affricke*, & *Asia*, were inhumanly bathed with the blood of men, the brother endeavouring to reuenge the injury, which was offered vnto his sister and the whole Family. And tell me (I pray yee) what a wound in *France* was sometime made, by the diuorce of *Elienor*, Countesse of *Poitiers*, and Duchesse of *Guianne*; the meanes whereof gaue way to the *English*, & that they made themselves so strong in *France*?

Notwithstanding all these, and many more that I could speake of, we see *Landgartha* so humble, wife, discrete, and such a louer of quietnesse, that, hauing meanes to be reuenged on so high a wrong done her; so farre was the iron pursuite, heate, rage or tempest, that making Patience proud of her example: shee offered seruice to him, by whome she was contemned and despised, presenting all duty to an ingratefull husband, and promising fresh supply, after receit of a former disloyall recompence. You which are iea-lous of Ladies honour, and complaine of a giddie madnesse in their braines, and of imortal enmity and hatred engrauen in their Soules; behold this rare woman, declaring

*Medea* distracted to see her selfe forsaken by *Iason*.  
Cruel warre at Rome about an vnjust diuorce.  
The repudiation of *Elienor*, caused the long war betweene the English and French.

Let all such as depraue the sexe of womē observe the incomparable vertues of *Landgartha*.

Men may run on in vncoustant courses till at length they chance to be ouer-matched.

Messages sent by *Landgartha* to him that had forsaken her.

Her veruious and charitable conclusions at parting with the Ambassadors.

declaring truly a Christian minde, although the neuer receiued baptisme: Of her you may learn, that Ladies haue something in them rightly heroically, which men can neuer comprehend nor taste of, but by long, studious and wise experience.

And yet *Landgartha* stands not alone in this example, for *France* can make boast of many more great Ladies, that imitated her mildnesse and constancy, & of whom I could enter into a large Discourse: if *French* Histories were not so frequent among you, wherein you can lesse no time to bee continually reading. But yet we haue not said all, that *Landgartha* (not hurried with iea-lousie, or tempest with fury for this refusal) sought any meanes whereby she might be reuenged: but in doing much more, surmounting all opinion and iudgement, giuing aide to him that had so shamefully left her, and doing good for euill, contrary to some flearne and combustious natures of her sexe, and as the sequell will more amply deliuer.

*Reynar*, being a Prince greatly addicted to Armes, seeing himselfe at home in peace, and that none of his neighbours solicited him by warre; because his Subjects (being naturally giuen to warre, and inured to courses both by Land and Sea) might not liue ydle and slothfull: he permitted them to pursue their fortune, passing them into the Isles of *Ireland*, *Britain* and *Scotland*. Whereupon, the *Tutes*, and some other of the *Scandian* Territories, that bare him but bad affection, taking occasion by the Kings absence with his Forces; elected and created for their king, a Prince of royall blood, named *Harolde*, who shaping his course to the Emperour *Lewes* the debonnaire, that made his abiding then at *Magunce*, hauing receiued baptisme with his followers: was sacred and crowned King of *Denmarke*, by authority Imperiall, doing homage to the Emperour for his Kingdom.

*Harolde*, being fauoured of his owne people, and affected by the most of them that embraced Christianity (to whom *Reynar* was no way pleasing) and re-enforced by a goodly band of *Germanes*, wherewith the Emperour furnished him, to put him in possession of his lands: went into *Denmarke*, to expell *Reynar* thence, and all

such as followed his Faction. *Reynar*, waxing weary againe of his wanton desires, returning home secretly into *Denmarke*: found strange alteration since his departure thence. His owne people he encouraged to stand fast with him, called the *Sweicians* also to his succour, and dispatching letters into *Norway*: requested assistance of her, from whom hee might more iustly expect warre then defence, and severity of reuenge for his vile dealing.

What would an angry heart haue done in this case? A minde neuer satisfied but in doing ill; what an opportunity had it heere to worke vpon? How would a man haue carried himselfe, hauing bene notoriously injured, and so faire a way set wide open for him, as neuer was the like to bee expected againe: what haste would he make now to be fully reuenged? Without all contradiction, the breach of faith is very abhominable, and wrongs receiued by Noble natures, are not easily qualified, when times and seasons shape out reuengeful meanes, such as was this waaypon the faithlesse *Dane*. Neuertheless *Landgartha*, hearing in what anguish her vnkind husband was, and considering with her selfe, that his ruine could not returne her any benefit, seeing also, that shee had two louely Daughters by him, and a Princely Sonne, named *Frideflaue* (who afterward was King of *Norway*) motives sufficient for his longer abiding with her: she leuied an Army of sixe score Ships, euery one being worthily furnished, wherewith she intended to succour her distressed Husband, to whom shee sent tydings of her preparation and coming, in these few Lines.

The Letter sent by *Landgartha*, to her Husband, King *Reynar*.

[F this my second duty may proue as happy, in the recovery of thy Lands & Kingdoms, as my first was against a Tyrant, and yet honouring thee with the victory: I shall account my paines well employed, and neuer expect any other recompence. Make head brauely against the Enemy, for I am coming with all speede, to let him know, that Land-

King *Reynar* returns home into *Denmark* from *Sweicia*, and raising assistance of *Landgartha*.

The noble disposition & nature of *Landgartha*.

*Frideflaue* son to *Landgartha* by *Reynar*, was afterward K. of *Denmarke*.

All Ladies are not like to *Landgartha* in the true vertue of patience.

The Subjects take occasion to reuolt against *Reynar*.

*Harolde* a Christian Prince made King of *Denmarke* by the Emperour *Lewes*.

Landgartha is both a *Queene* and a *warrior*.

*Landgartha.*

The Rebels afraid of Landgartha coming with her forces.

The Rebels, being aduertized of this supply from Norway, labored by all means possible) to prouoke King *Reyner* to the fight, before the coming of *Landgartha*, whom they knew to be wife, and very skillfull in the Art Militarie. And the king knowing their intention, delayed the day of battell, by marching further off from them, towards the place where hee expected *Landgartha*'s landing, that their two forces might the sooner ioyne together, & then to give the enemy battell. VVhich *Harolde* well perceiuing, and knowing, that such delay would redound to his disadvantage; he pursued after *Reyner* with such expedition, laying such traines and ambuscadoes for him, that he compelled him to handy blows, euen at the verie same instant as *Landgartha* landed.

The fight fell out to bee very furious and bloody, and great numbers of men fell as well on the one side, as on the other, the chiefe Commanders being fiercely animated, the one to defend his Crowne, and the other to vnrue an estate, whereto he pretended a iust title, by reason of the quarrell betweene the King and his Subjects. And both of them standing on the aduerture of life, as well vnderstanding, that no fauour was to be expected, which side sooner prouoed to bee Conquerour.

The Danes put to the worst by *Harolde*, & *Landgartha* worthily affiaunce in very great extremitie.

Now, though the *Danes* that followed *Reyner*, performed so much duty as warriours could do, sustaining many impetuous efforts of the assailants; yet were they constrained to turne their backs, beginning to fall into rout and disorder. By this time was *Landgartha* come neare to the Campe, where she made a pause a while, to see which side behaued it selfe brauest; and perceiuing *Reyners* men in no meane extremitie, valiantly she entred amongst the thickest of them, incouraging her husbands soldiers on thus: *On them braue spirits, set on them manfully, they are our foile, as villaines not deserving to lue, seeing traitterously they lift up their weapons against their king. On then (I say) vndaunted spirits, beere it *Landgartha*, who hath brought you victorie, as well against *Harolde*, as sometime she did against *Frelle* in Norway.*

*Landgartha* encourage the Danes against their enemies.

In deliuering these words, the deale

such bold blows among the Rebels, as they hardly knew which way to bestire themselves. Now the battell grew to be more fierce on either side the before: the *Danes*, to repair their disorderd flight, th'other, to maintaine their hope of victory, wherof they doubted not, but disdained a woman should deprime them of the occasion, of wholly ruining *Reyner* and his Army. Neuertheless, whatsoeuer manhood *Harolde* and his men declared in the fight, yet they were oppressed by multitudes, being wearie, spent, & closely followed by the *Norwegians*, who were fresh, chearefull and adiuue, conducted by a woman of very high resolute, and as furious in warre, as modest and gracious in her Pallace. Thus were they enforced to fight, not without great losse of the very worthiest men in the Army, and the vanquished deliuered to the Conquerours mercie. But, though *Reyner* triumphed of the victorie, yet hee enioyed it by the fortune of her, who, albeit the might boast of her happines in war, and thereby attained to a great marriage; yet her other infelicity was a great corsie to her heart, to be disdained where she ought to be most beloued & esteemed.

*Reyner* now was growne sensible, of the shameful wrong he had offered to his first wife, accusing himselfe of disloyaltie, and detesting his former leuitie, entreated her to take such reuege on him, as she thought fittest in her own iudgement. But she, being a Lady of vnmatchable mind, fearing lest the king (conquered by this obligation of duty to her) should commit an other fault, by leauing the K. daughter of *Sweden*, who had brought him diuers children also: pardon all his passed injuries to her, & vowing her selfe to a widdowed estate of life, neuer more to conuerse with him or any man liuing: after a solemne parting betweene them, she returned home into *Norway*, to gouerne the Countrey by her discrete care, till her son *Fredrik* should attaine to yeres of rule, and whom the K. there had constituted as his lawfull heire.

The remainder of this discourse, being more at large pursued by the Annals of *Denmarke*, *Sweden* and *Norway*; I purpose here to conclude the Historie, which I haue in this place set downe, more to relate the valour, counsell, aduice, good conduct and wisdom, seldom wanting in Ladies deriued from good birth: then I

*Harolde* and his men driue to fight, and the victorie remaining to *Reyner* by the valor of *Landgartha* and his *Norwegians*.

The reconciliation between King *Reyner* and *Landgartha*.

care

The Letter of a Gentleman residing in Peru.

The fifteenth of June, 1568, being at the exercise of hunting, with diuers of my friends, among the Mountains in this Countrey of Peru, continuing at the port for the space of five dayes, and having slain some of the Beasts called Bezaars; we dissected their bodies, to finde the stones. But it being a matter impossible for vs to do, because wee were not used thereto: we demanded of the Indians, which we had brought with vs thither to attend upon vs; in what part of the body we might soonest finde them; whereto they made vs answer, that they knew it not. But a young Indian Lad, aged about tenne yeares, and being then in our company, shewed vs where it was, and we found it in the first stomacke, where the food of the Beast fallett down, to be ruminated or chewed afterward. Which when the Indians saw, they would haue killed the Boy, as being offended at his instruction given vs; but we would not suffer them to doe him such violence, and although they are subject to vs Spaniards, yet they are our deadly enemies. Notwithstanding, while we followed our pastime of hunting, they got the Boy aside and slew him, and afterward sacrificed him, as we were giuen to vnderstand.

Hunting of the Bezaar in Peru.

In what part of the Bezaar the stone is found.

He that feareth Bezaar.

The Indians adorning their temples in such manner.

Informations of the Indians concerning the Bezaars stones vertues.

Wounds cured of impoisoned Arrows.

care for the idle loues of *Reyner*, or any of his Conquests. To the end, that such Ladies, as excell in the like vertues in these our times; may hold on in the pursuit of their perfections, by the honorable examples of them, that (in those precedent daies) declared themselves admirable in their actions, & imitable for their vertues and commendable carriage.

### CHAP. XIII.

Of the Bezaars Stone, which is reputed to be very vertuous and soveraigne, against all venomes and poysons.



The Bezaar stone good against all venomes and contagions.

Whence the stone is brought, and how it is engendred.

The Stone of the Bezaar or Pazer, is a true and assured Antidote against all poysons, venomes, bytings of venomous Beasts, infections of the Ayre; As pestilence, carbuncles or plague-sores, Purples, the small Pox, the Meazels, and in briefe, against all diseases popular and contagious. And because experience hath made this stone to be in daily request, and causeth it to be sought for by people of good meanes; therefore sale hath bene made thereof at extraordinary rates, and auarice being so great among men, hath therefore practised and compassed the meanes whereby to adulterate it, as heerebefore they did the like by Bauline or Balsamum. But before I write any further thereof, I will tell you from whence they bring it, and how it is engendred in the bodies of certaine creatures, which are like vnto Goats heere among vs; but they haue no horns, being of a reddish colour, and feed not but on good and wholesome Hearbes, wherof are plenty on the Mountaines, and where they startle at the least noise of a Piece. But for our better vnderstanding this History, I will insert a small parcel of a Letter, written from Peru by a Spanish Gentleman, to *Monardus* a Physician of *Lisbols*, dwelling then in *Seuill*, whereby we shall perceiue how they are found.

The Indians hold those stones in great esteeme, placing them for Ornaments in their Temples, which they call *Guacas*, adorning also their Images with them, and many other things beside, as Gold, Silver, precious stones and rich leuels. And I repute it a matter of some admiration, that this Beast is not found in any of the higher Indies, but in the Mountaines of Peru, neither could I see them any where else: albeit I haue trauielled through all the Kingdomes of Mexico and Peru. In the Provinces and Isles of *Maracanon*, *Florida*, and the *Western* Islands, I haue bene diligently informed, and by the Indians heere among vs, vpon vrging them to what use these stones are proper: And they haue assured mee, that they are singular against all venomes, eyther applied outwardly, or receiued inwardly; but especially against all harmes of the heart, and it expellith wormes out of the body. Be agut into wounds, made by impoisoned Arrows (as heere it is too much in use) it is an assured healing, and no other remedy could be found for it, but that onely.

In the first Beaf that we diflected, wee found in a Bagge like a little Purffe, 9. ftones, which Nature had there engendered, only by the benefit of feeding on good and wholefome hearbs: and in all thofe which we diflected afterward, we found in fome more, in others leffe, according as they were aged in yeares. It is to be noted, that although they are found alfo in Beasts of the fame kinde, which browse and feede on the Plaines: yet they are not fo vertuous, as in thofe bred upon the Mountaines.

Thus you fee in briefe, what was written by this Captaine (and indeed a very worthy Gentleman, living then in the *Indias*) to *Nicholas Monsardus*, a learned Phyfition, and dwelling in *Scull*; whereby may be vnderstood, how and fro whence these ftones proceede. Now wee will heare what the *Portugall* say, who haue made their conquests farre off fro thence, to know, whether they agree with the *Spaniards* in this report, or no.

*Garcias d'Orta* a *Portugize*, Phyfition to the Viceroy in the *Indias* discovered by the *Portugall*, saith, that in *Corasine*, and in the Countreies of *Persia*, there is another kinde of Goates, of meaneer greatnesse, which they call *Pazans*, in whose stomack or bulke are found ftones of the *Bezar*, the beginning of them being a small little straw, growing on to a certain greatnesse, by recouering many coates or tunicles: whereof some are found to bee as big as our common Beanes, others as Acornes, and other of more or lesse quantity, smoothe for the most part, and in colour resembling a darke greene. The greatest, because the rarest, are more sought for then the lesser sort, by them of the Countrey where they are found, as reporting them to haue the most vertue. He reporteth, that he saw one which weighed five Ducats, and which was brought into *Portugall*, that would not be bought for three score Ducats, albeit it was more worth whence it came: and in all those ftones which are brought out of the *Persian* Countreies, a little straw or stalke is found in the very middest of them, as hath bene often approved.

This Stone (saith he) is not found in *Persia* onely, but also in *Malaca*, and in the Ile which is named *Paccat*, not farre off from the Promontory of *Comorina*. For,

as they can betray those Beasts, so they kill them, and being well salted or powdered, they serue as good prouision for their Armies. In many of them are found very great ftones, vnkowne to the people there inhabiting, or why the *Portugall* labour so much in search of them: which (indeed) is more for the said ftones, then any loue they haue to the flesh, although it is very fauoury.

The *Bezaars* ftones which come from *Pern*, haue no straws or stalkes in the middest of them; but onely a little cavity or hollownesse, wherein may be found some thicke dust or sand, which is of far greater efficacy then the stone it selfe. I haue seene five graines of this stone (in a little water of Mugwort) giuen to a Gentlewoman, who had bene seuen dayes in child-birth trauaile: and she was instantly deliuered of a child dead and putrified. At the Castle of *Lake*, in the lower *Lymosine*, there was a great pestilence, whereof (in lesse space then foure & twenty houres) dyed three persons: afterward it tooke hold on the rest of the household, which were eigheteen in number. Each one received two graines of this stone: euery morning, with a little water of *Acumula Campans*, continuing so for seuen daies space together, and not any one dyed afterward, or became further touched with the pestilence. Diuers beside, that had carbuncles and fores, by vsing this stone, preferred their liues: It is very good also in application, to botches, byles, and all irkelome paines or swellings.

A young Gentleman, with whom it was my chance to be bathing in a Riuer, was bitten in the leg by a Serpent, so that his leg was become very black, and greatly swollen: hee was aduised, to take foure graines of *Bezaars* stone, with a small quantity of Rose-water, and a graine also was put into the wound; which caused the rankling and paine to cease, and he was fully cured within twelve dayes space.

*Monsieur le Vicome de Conborn*, and Lord of *Chasteauneuf*, Lieutenant for the King in *Lymosine*, reported to me, that he was touched with a pestilential Feauer at *Paris*, and whereof many dyed, of euery quality, age and sexe, and abandoned of all Phyfitions. By the aduice of his Father in law, the Marshall de *Biron*, he took *Bezaars* stone for some few dayes, & with-

Difference betweene the Bezaars ftones of *Pern* and *Persia*.

Vertues approved of the Bezaars Stone

A cure of bytting by a Serpent on a gentlemans leg.

Histories of rare vertues in the Bezaars stone.

in

in a little while after, he recouered, grew to indifferent strength, and was much more lustily disposed, then any of them that had bene offended by the same disease, to the no little admiration of all them, that had knowledge of him and his sickness.

The Inhabitants of *Ormuz* (an Island that is most rich, situate vpon the red sea, and subiect to the *Persian*) after they haue purged themselves in the Spring & Autumne: vse to take ten graines of this stone, in as many spoonfull of Rose-water, for five mornings following each other, by which meanes (they say) their health is soundly preferred, and youthfull disposition maintained. Against an inueterated scurfe on the head, or body, a loathsome itch, the wilde scab, called *S. Martins mange*, and (about all) against a confirmed lacy or leprosie; there is not any remedy like to this. As can well be witnessed by a Prelate of *Langueadoc*, living at this day, who would haue flaine himselfe an hundred times, and throwne himselfe out of windowes (if hee had not bene carefully respected) onely being tormented with that disease of *S. Martin*. But by vsing this stone, which hee tooke three Months together euery morning, and good government otherwise directed to him; hee is perfectly recouered. Now let vs see how true and naturall ftones are to bee discerned, from such as are counterfeit, and meerey adulterated.

The *Moors* are exceeding skillfull in knowing them, and especially, from what parts they are brought, in the doing whereof, the *Moore* will lay one in the palme of his hand, and closing it then fast together, he will breathe or blow strongly into his hand: if hee feeles his breathing to passe through his hand, he is assured then, that the stone is falsified. A great number of them are oftentimes to be folde at *Lisbonne*, the cheefest Metropolitane City of *Portugall*, where is one of the most frequented Portes in all Christendome. And such as there buy them, content not themselves, with this order of triall made by the *Moors*: but dip a twined thred in the iuyce of a very venomous hearbe, which there they call *Balistera*. Then passing it thwart the foote, or other part of any Beaf (as of a Dog) with a Needle, hee fo

leaueth it in the wound, vntill such time as hee feeleth those accidents, which commonly seize on them that are poysoned. And when he is perceived to draw neere death; then to make him swallow three or foure graines of *Bezaars* stone, mingled with water: if it preferue his life, it is an apparant signe of the stones goodnes and perfection; but if not, it is adulterated.

The Beaf in whose body these ftones are found, in *Persia* and other parts of that Climate, as in *Comorina* (according to the writing of *Garcias d'Orta*, who had seene of them in diuers places) hath horns bending backward; but those in *Pern* haue none at all. *Theues* saith, that they haue but one, and that the skinn of the faide Beaf is kept, to be laid to the stomack of man or woman, possessed with any paine or anguish there, and to procure digestion, and that (without all question to the contrary) this skinn healeth all such diseases, although the persons bee aged and decrepit. Moreover, that he saw a stone of the *Bezar*, or *Bezar*, in the custody of the *Greekes* Patriarch of *Cayro*, which was as big as a good great Nut: if it were so, that stone was worth no meane summe of money. It were a thing miraculous, to finde a stone of such greatnesse; & yet he further saith, that an *Arabian* Captain had it giuen him, because hee was secretly converted, and became a Christian.

It is not to be thought, that this stone hath bene knowne but within some small compasse of time; because antiquity speakes of it more then five hundred yeares since. For proofe whereof, *Rafis*, an *Arabian* Phyfition maketh mention thereof, though not relating from whence it was brought, or where it is to bee found: yet he affirmeth, that it resisteth all kindes of poyson, and that hee made experiment thereof vpon a child, that innocently had eaten a venomous plant, called *Napellus*, which cauleth death immediately; and yet by giuing him a small quantity of this stone, his life was preferred. This stone hath bene so highly esteemed, and especially in those precedent times; that, as it is reported by *Abdara Narachi*, an *Arabian* Doctour in phyficke, who was then at *Corduba*, about those later yeares, when the *Sarrizans* made their vlturpation in *spaine*: he saw a *Bezaars* stone, in the hand

The variety of hornes borne by this Beaf.

Some thinke Theuet to be greatly misinformed in this matter.

The Bezaars stone knowne in times of great antiquity.

Proofe made vpon a child that had fed on a poysonous hearbe.

Stones are in some Beasts more, and in other lesse, according to their yeares.

Nicholas Monsardus a Phyfition of Scull

Of other Stones of Bezaars, described by the Portugall.

A Bezaars stone that weighed five Ducats, brought into Portugall

Countries where Goats are found that haue the Bezaars ftones

An obseruation among the Inhabitants of the Island of Ormuz.

Loathsome diseases cured by the Bezaars stone.

How the Moors distinguish the true ftones from false.

Experiment made in Lisbon for the true knowledge of the Bezaars stone



Abdara Na-  
rach, a skilfull  
Physic on of  
Arabia.

The Authors  
friendly ad-  
vertisement  
to the reader.

The admir-  
able fourag-  
ery of the Be-  
zaars stone in  
comparison of  
diuers other  
praeferuatiue.

All Bezaars  
stones are not  
alike in forme  
& proportion.

The discourse  
of a false stone  
given to *Char-  
les* the ninth, K.  
of France.

of one of the children of *Amirama* (a great and diligent oberuer of Religion) for which he gaue in exchange, a very goodly house which he had in *Corduba*, equall (well neere) to a Princes Pallace. And the said *Abdara* further saith (alleadging the forenamed *Rafis*) that this stone being worne about a mans necke, and kept so neere to the heart as may be; defendeth it and the party from all infection, & no payson can offend the body of him, that hath it thus about him.

Seeing then, that this Stone hath so many good and singular vertues in it, methinks, men (of meanes and worth) (hold fildome or neuer be without it, for a present succour in such weighty infirmities. Beside, Apothecaries of skill and iudgement, (hold euermore be well provided of them, because Phylitions continually prescribe it in their directions, which they would not do, if they knew men to be vnfurnished of it. For more assurance is to be reposed in it (next to the afflitting power of Heauen) then in Treacle or Mithridatum, the concoction of *Alkermes*, & of *Zacynth*. As is too well knowne by many barbarous Kings; gouerning in those Regions, where the Beasts are bred that engender these stones, reposing such confidence in them, and making so precious estimation of them; as they cause the expressly to bee brought from all parts. And when they are possessed of them, it is a difficult case to get any one from them: which partly is the reason, why they are so deare and rare to be had.

Heere the Reader likewise is to be admonished, that some of these stones are not pointed, or sharply cornered; but blunt, edgelesse and rounded, like to the little fingers ende, or as an Acorne. And although some are found to be great, yet commonly they are but as our ordinary Almonds, and not pointed. They haue also diuers foldes or lappings, one wrapping ouer another, like vnto Onions, all floecke and smoothe: for if you finde the otherwise compacted, they are to be reiected as false and counterfeit.

One of these stones was presented to *Charles* the ninth, King of France, hee being then at *Molins*, which he caused to be essayed vpon two persons, that had deferred ignominious death, & both of them hauing payson giuen them to drinke.

One of them was holpen by the stone, who neuertheless dyed; and the other that tooke it not, dyed also. The stone being broken, was found thicke and massiue, not diuided by Spherical robes or foldings, and was throwne into the fire: And the giuer, who expected to deriue some great recompence from his Maiesty; had nothing at all, but frowning looks of the King, and the Queene his Mother, for his reward.

### CHAP. XV.

*Concerning the generation of Pearles; where, and how they are found; from whence they are brought; and of their value and estimation.*

I Haue read many Authors, to be refused assuredly, concerning the generation of Pearles: but I could finde none of one consent, or agreeing together, and namely, such as frequent the *Indies* in these dayes, are diuers and doubtfull also in their answers. For some say, that they are engendered in Fish-shells, like to those of our Oyfters heere among vs, but much greater, and somewhat longer. And when they are desirous to conceiue (vrged thereby by nature, and at a certaine time) they open of themselves, to sucke in and draw the dew of heauen: when, if the Ayre bee cloudy or lowering, then they engender troubled Pearles; and if it be windy, they cannot conceiue, so long as the wind continueth. But how fabulous this is, I refer to others iudgement: because in one and the same shells, are found Pearles troubled, cleare, & of diuers colours and formes.

Others say, that the proper birth and production of the Oyfter, is by eggs, whereof they are produced, and that the Pearls come forth of the sand and grauelly dust, whereby they are nourished, & wherein they hide themselves: which grauell refineth it selfe, & encreaseth in them, as the graines of the Raisin in the Grape. And this sandy seed loseth it selfe, the Oyfter being in the water: but so soone as it is out of the water, it hardneth of it selfe, as we may see daily: and this is another opinion of our Pearles production.

The

Authors agree not in the generation of Pearles.

Great difference in the generation of Pearles.

Another opinion of their generation, contrary to the former.

The Egyptian Merchants report how Pearles are engendered.

Variety of opinions concerning the generation of Pearles.

The iudgement of *Charles* of Mitleen

Americus Vesputius recordeth what himselfe had seene.

Of Pearles found among rocks.

The Merchants of *Aegypt*, that at this day Traffique with them, and bring them from the Persian Sea, make men here beleue that negotiate with them: that pearls are engendered in the stomacke of a flatte Fish, round like to a Trencher-plate, and as big as a common plate, which is found on the shores of *Nilus*; and that it drinketh the dew of heauen, as wee formerly sayd of the Oyfter, all which is a meere fable. And although the Egyptians of these dayes know the matter truly, yet notwithstanding, meaning to mocke such as are ignorant in these things, they publish lies for apparant truths. *Araethnes* sayth, Pearles are engendered in Oyfters, as certaine white and solide graines are in the Flesh of *Swine*, which we use to tearme *Meazels*, & is made of a clammy slime, congealing and hardning of it selfe. Which I thinke to be very likely: For, beeing at *Paris* in the year 1566. and (in assistance with others) at the dissecting of a womans body, long troubled with a discaise in the reines, in each of the reines was found a solide substance or body, as big as a common Pearle, glittering, cleere and round, like vnto Pearles.

*Charles* the *Mitlenian* saith, Pearles are made of the bones of the Oyfter: but therein he is much deceyued, because the bones are alwayes in seruice to strengthen the body: but Oyfters haue no need of bones: and likewise Pearles are not found in all of them; and if they had bones, then they would be found in all Oyfters.

*Americus Vesputius*, in his booke of *Indian* Navigations writeth, that he obserued the opening of many, & out of some certaine Pearles, which had not attained (as yet) to their maturity and perfection, being in some pretty store or number: but yet those Pearles perished of themselves, and came to nothing. But in them that were more aged, Pearles were founde in the flesh of the Oyfter, easily parting from it, and those were the best. And they that are found in them so aged and ancient, were wrinkled and very darke; which is likely to be true, if we do well consider thereon.

It is a meere Fable, which some haue divulged, that Pearles are found among the Rocks, by reason of many fishes laying their Egges, and because they cleaue to the flesh, or to the shell; but this hap-

peneth very rarely. For, all Oyfters are not apt to procreate Pearles, but onely such as are rude, white, and pointing, like to the teeth of a Combe; which the Persians call *Cherippo*, cleere and verie smooth within: of which shelles are made Cups, Boxes, Spoones, and other very lightly things. Some are found in other kinds of Oyfters; but they are neither so great, nor so good, as these that the *Cherippo* produceth, which some haue termed mother of Pearles.

Heere we may note the variety of opinions, concerning the production of Pearles, the knowledge whereof is much concealed: for Oyfters keepe alwayes at the depths of the sea, because their shelles are great, and therefore they are so deepe in the sea. If sometimes they are founde neerer to the shores, it happeneth by tempests of the sea; also they swim heere and there, to seek their best nourishments; which when they haue found, there they stay, vntill they haue eaten all they can find. Then if they sene, or perceiue such as secke for them, they will fasten themselves so strongly to the rocks & stones, ouer-couering one another: as very hardly can they be forced thence, but oftentimes labour is bestowed in vaine, and they left there, as being imagined to be stones.

They are fished for in store of sundrie Countreyes and Regions; but the goodliest and those most common, are fished for in the Isle of *Baharem*, an Island bigge enough, and well peopled; being subiect to the Viceroy of *Ormuz*, and is neere to the Cape of *Masina*, in *Arabia Felix*, & there is no meane fishing for them. In the Isles of *Mamala* also, is continual fishing for them (they being as good there, as those of *Baharem*) and the Isle seated on the Persian Gulfe, an hundred Leagues or thereabout, from *Calicut*, and almost throughout the inner *India*. In the Isle of *Zeilan*, in the Isles called *Vicques*; and so thorow the great Empire of *Mexico*. At *Tarat*, more then in any of the forenamed Ilandes, and in the Isles of the New World, they haue bene fished for in such plentie: that the *Cacico* or Prince of the said Isle, made a present of a Casket full of Pearls, to *Gaspard de Morales* (a Spanish Commander) which weighed an hundred and ten pounds. He promised

O o o o beside

Of the Persian Oyfter called *Cherippo*.

A reason for the variety of opinions in this matter.

In what parts the Pearls, y<sup>e</sup> shew are usually fished for

A Casket of Pearles giuen to a Spanishe Capitaine.

Attribute giue  
of a Quintall  
weight of  
Pearles year-  
ly.

beside, to giue yearely a Quintall weight of Pearles, as a Tribute to the Emperor, and (among them) some were as great as small Nuts, others as big as Nutmegs; & one (about the rest) was found to weigh fixe and twenty Carrats, and another one and thirty: it had the shape of a Muske-Pearle, being very perfect and orientall.

A Merchant, being named *Peter du Port*, bought the said Pearle of *Gasper de Morales*, for eightene hundred Ducates of gold, and after he had bought it, hee could not sleepe for melancholy, and inward griefe he conceived, because he had giuen so much money for a stone: yet hee sold it againe on the next morrow (& for the same price) to *Pedriari d'Aula*, for his Wife, the Lady *Isabella Boudillia*, who also solde it to the Emperesse, *Madame Isabella*. A few named *Daniel*, bought of a country peazant of *Babarem* (no long time since) a Pearle, of the greatnesse of a Musket Bulle, for no more then the summe of eight shillings; and afterward sold it to a Lord in *Scalonia*, for three thousand Crownes. There was a present made to *Fernando Magellano*, in one of the Isles of the *Molucques*, of foure Pearles, each one of them being as big as a Pigeons Egge; and they were esteemed worth an hundred thousand Crownes, at the least.

Returning now to our former purpose, which was to describe where Pearles are found, I say, that not onely they fish for them in the fore-named places: but likewise in all other Seas, bee it eyther of the South or Ocean of *Peru*, the *Antarctique*, *Florida*, *Canaia*, *Guinea*; yea, even heere in our neerer Seas, of *England*, *Scotland* and *Denmarke*; but in some place they are better, fairer, greater and rounder, then in other. And namely in some parts of *France*, as at *Rouen*, *Dieppe* and *Rochelle*, where some are found very rare and passible. Now let vs observe, how, and in what manner their fishing is for them.

Such as are appointed for this manner of fishing, entering into their Barques; and (leaving some to tend and haue care of them, and to keepe the Oysters after they are brought to them) leape by great numbers into the Sea, remaining sometimes vnder water halfe an houres space, before they be seene againe, and so conti-

nue at the bottome: hauing throng pockets, or small twisted nettings hanging about them, wherein they put their Oysters. Which being thus taken, they ascend above water againe, and are receiued into their Ships: where hauing a while taken the ayre, and strengthened their bodies with some sustenance; they put on their wrappers againe before their faces, which commonly are thin waxed toylets, as fine as the bladders of Swine, that they may the clearer see in the water. Five or fixe times in a day, thus they throw themselves into the water, and towards night returne home with their takings, I meane such Oysters as they hope to finde Pearles in.

Vpon the Sea-shore there are a great number of slaues, as well women as men, who as often as the Oysters are brought on land, fill their Scutles and Baskets, made of Sea Rushes, carrying them to Vessels full of fresh water, wherein when the Oysters haue continued foure and twenty houres space, and feeling a contrary fauour to the Sea-water; they open of themselves, and so soone as they are open, the Pearles sunder themselves from the flesh of the Oysters. Afterward, the Merchants emptying the shells out of the vessels, finde all the Pearles in the bottome of the fresh water, and thus they gather the Pearles of *Peru*, and likewise in other places. Neuerthelesse, they are not the hundred part so good, nor so fair, as those of *Babarem* and *Manila*: And observe withall, that Pearles are not found in euery Oyster, but in some few, in other more, some breeding the greater, other smaller.

The Pearles being thus taken, sometimes they eate the Oysters, and otherwhiles they throw the away, as being wearie and ouer-glutted with them by too frequent vse. These Fishers are slaues, seruing (for this purpose) the Christian Merchants, Maronites, Iewes or Indians, which traffick in *Babarem*: and according to their taking pearled Oysters, so are they cherished and respected by their Masters euery night, which maketh euery one strive to be most beneficiall by his paines. Some times the Seas are swolne more high & boisterous, then the Fishers would haue them to be, because then it is an hinderance to their tarrying long vnder water; and then they make prouision for them-

Men & women  
slaues that at-  
tend on the  
fisherie.

In what man-  
ner the Pearls  
are separated  
from the flesh  
of the Oysters,  
& how they  
differ in good-  
nesse & great-  
nesse.

The slaues re-  
spected by  
their Masters,  
according to  
the benefit by  
their seruice.

The intellectu-  
all of the diuers  
of fishes vnder  
water to finde  
the best  
Oysters.

themselves in this manner. They haue a corde, at each end whereof they fasten a stone, which cord they binde about their backs, and so sincking downe into the Sea, by the weight of those stones, they continue firmly vnder water, and gather the Oysters at their ease: and when they would mount vp to the Shippe, lightly they cast off the stones, and swimme nimbly in their rising. Such as would meddle in fishing for these Oysters, it behooueth them to be very expert in swimming and diuing, because many drown themselves, through want of taking winde, or else are drawne into the depth of the sea, by huge and mighty Fishes, which there they met withall, and then by no means can escape drowning.

*Marcus Paulus* saw this kind of fishing in the kingdom of *Para*, which is in *India*, where it was performed in the same manner, and he sayth, that they fish not but in the moneth of Maie, and then the Peasants or Bootes are set on worke by the Merchants. The King hath his Tenths or Tithes, and certain Sorcerers or Enchanters, there called by them *Abraimins*, haue the twentieth part, and the Peazants haue their payment in money. Here you must know, that without these Enchanters, they that fish in this manner for Oysters, should bee deuoured by certaine greedie and venomous fishes, as Crocodiles, Whales, and other such like deuourers: but they coniuere them in such sort, that they escaped from them without any daunger. But when night commeth, and the fishing must be forborne till the morrow; the Enchanters release and make their coniurations to cease: onely to preuent theeues, who else (in the night time) would plunge and diue into the water, knowing they may doe it safely without perill, and so carry away the pearly Oysters, and frustrate the Merchants of their expectation.

Moreover, there is no people in all the Country, that can enchant those terrible fishes, or doe know the words belonging to this coniuration, but onely these *Abraimins*. And it is to be noted, that all such as trafficke in this fishing; doe not cause the Oysters to open themselves in fresh water; but in some Countries, they open them with little knives, or sharpe pointed bodkins. And in many other pla-

ces, as in the *Indies* lately discovered, they let their Oysters ouer a fire, and so by heat procure them to open, by which means they finde the Pearles: but then those pearles appeare of a reddish colour, and carry no chearefull water.

Also it is to be obserued, that all pearles are not whites of themselves naturally, but in some places they are found to bee red; as in the Island of *Zipangrie*, situate in the East *Indies*, according as the said *Venetian Paulus* reporteth. And yet there they haue great plentie of them, very singularly excellent, both for greatnes and roundnesse: and in those Countreies, they are of deareer value, price and estimation, than those white do carry no companion with them. Somewhat I can say of my selfe, that I haue seene seauen redde pearles, and no more, belonging vnto the late deceased Dutchesse of *Valentinis*; which had a most goodly lustre, and I was (for a while) perswaded, that they womne that colour by some artificiall means: but after I had read the Discourse of *Marcus Paulus*, then I became to be of another opinion.

Heere likewise will I insert a great secret in nature, and (in my minde) very merauilous, reported to mee by men of good credite, that haue seene the fishing for those Oysters, and found it true by their owne experience. In a certaine season of the yeare, these Oysters of pearles, doe belch and cast forth a red and blood-like moisture, in great abundance: so that many (of the best in iudgement) among those barbarous people, imagined them to suffer a fluxe of mensstruositie, as other fishes in the fame Ocean doe. These Oysters haue their passages, like to all other fishes in Seas or Riuers, so that in some places great store of them is to be found, and within a while after, a rare matter if tenne remayne there to be had, but all are fallen downe about tenne miles farther off. Sometimes, they which fish in another Country, where scarcely one is left on the morrow or next day, shall light on more then euer was there before.

The *Persians* haue moreover inuented another manner of fishing, more commodious, and of lesse charge and perill. By making of hurdles of Oiers or Palms, well knit together with strong bindings, in such manner as the fishing obserued in

All pearles be,  
not white nat-  
urally at the  
fishes: but  
some redde  
pearles haue  
excelled the  
white in price  
& estimation.

A strange  
kind of mol-  
lure issuing  
from those  
pearly oysters  
at a certaine  
season of the  
yeare.

Oysters con-  
tinue not in  
one place.

A later inven-  
tion of the  
Persians in fi-  
shing for their  
pearled Oy-  
sters.

*Marcus Pau-  
lus* has an ex-  
cellence of this  
manner of fish-  
ing for pearls.

Of fish, hunters  
whose coniura-  
tions doe  
great seruice  
in the fishing  
for pearled  
Oysters.

All Countreies  
not alike in o-  
pening the oy-  
sters, nor their  
pearles.

The admira-  
ble greatnesse  
of some pearles  
and of extra-  
ordinary price  
and value.

In our neerer  
Seas they fish  
for Pearles, &  
finde some  
store.

How and in  
what manner  
they fish for  
such Oysters  
as haue pearl  
in them.

our *Xantonge* Seas for Castlerons, vsing certaine Rakes, which rath into the Sea sands, and when they find the beds of Oysters, so force the enter into those hurds. Others walke along amongst the Rockes and Stones, which appeare aboue the water, where oftentimes, they finde some of those Oysters, so fast knit to the Rockes or Stones, as very much labour can scarcely get them off, without breaking the rocke or shell of the Oysters, and then taking from thence the Pearle, so soone as the shell is broken; for otherwise it diminieth, and doth loose the true and naturall colour.

Barbarous nations made no account of pearles in egipt.

The *Indians, Arabians, Persians* and others, in ancient times, made no more account of Pearles, then of ordures and corruptions which the Seas cleared them selues of, during the seasons of their turbulence and boyling. But now wee haue so well instructed them, in knowledge both of the worth and profite, that they can skill of the goodnesse, and value of things in such sort, as they will sell those commodities at rates deare enough. The *Egyptian* hath bene quicke witted alwayes, as hauing knowledge in good letters of longest continuance, adding his studious contemplations, to vnderstand the secrets of Nature: so that Pearles and precious Stones, at all times hath tasted of his approbation and esteeme. The slaues and basest peazants in the Isle of *Baharem*, and other adiacent partes of firme Land, neighbouring vpon the Sea; haue oftentimes found Nacres and Oysters on the shoares, being dead, and yet they made search into them, and often they found very fayre and also rich Pearles.

The wisest and long continued experience of the Egyptians.

Pliny saith, that Oysters haue a King amongst them, according as the like is affirmed of the Bees, Antes, and a guide allotted to the Cranes, and that this king is elected and chosen (by being the very fayrest and greatest) to take a carefull charge of all the rest: And that is the Oyster, which the fishers or diuers couet most to finde, being then assured, that the rest will not feare to followe. *Athenens* alleadgeth another Fable, as thus: That they doe strue to reuenge themselves on the fishers, by opening their shells so to catch holde of their fingers. But such opinions are merely frivoulous, and they

which ordinarily fish in the Oyster-Seas, make a mockerie of such reports. Beside, our *Naturalists* stand in doubt, whether Cockles, Scallops, Muscles, Oysters, and such like shell-fish (liuing in the water) haue any part of vnderstanding. And, by the same reason, if they haue the meanes of withdrawing themselves, vpon sight of the fishers comming, or from any other fish (opposite or contrary to them) endeavouring to eate and deuoure them.

There is a fish, which is very opposite to the Oyster, being reamed by the *Persians, Taruphall*, or *Tabull*, and is of the bignesse of a midling Salmon, hauing a hard skinne, yet without scales, and his finnes of an azure colour. This fish hath a little head, a sharpe nose or snout, serving for his mouth, which is full of sharp teeth: and these pearly Oysters are his delicious diet, liuing (almost) by no other kind of food. When he is desirous of feeding, he watcheth till such time as the Oysters beginne to open, as oftentimes they doe, being in the Sea: whereof making his aduantage, and thrusting in his nose, hee deuoureth the fish quickly, leaving the shell quite emptie. The fishermen of the Islands, labour diligently to catch this fish, and first of all they open her bowells, wherein they finde store of very goodlie Pearles: then feede they on the fish, because it is dainty and delicate meate. The fewer number of Pearles they finde in an Oyster, so much the greater and fayrer they are, and where they chauce on anie store, they are the clowdier and small. Some are found to be so little, that they can not bee drilled by any meanes; and therefore they call them Seede-pearles, which are purposely kept for Apothecaries, who employ them according to their owne knowledge and experience, or as they are aduised by the Physician.

The most commendable forme and shape of the pearle, is said to be that which is roundest; yet that in fashion of a Pearle or Akorne, is not much worse; and next to these is that like to a little Nutte: nor doe they reiect such as are writhed and wrinkled, nor the very smallest; but all are employed and made vse of: the best for the richest people, and the other for them of lower qualitie, because they are worne by all degrees of persons, as well men as women, in regarde they are growne to be

Taruphall, or Tabull, a fish contrary to the pearly Oyster, being reamed by them.

The Taruphall hath plenty of rich Pearles found in his belly.

Of those Pearles that carrie most commendation by their shape.

to common. No Prouince doe I know, whereunto more Pearles are brought, then into *Spaine*, and next into *France*, within some small compasse of time, which makes mee so much to maruell at them the more.

A doubt and demand, what the reason may be, that Pearles should exceed gold and silver in value and estimation.

In briefe, Pearles haue surpassed the riches of gold and silver, and of Emeralds brought from forth the *Indies*. And yet I would gladly know the reason, wherefore our graue Auncients made such estimation of Pearles; considering they knew them not to haue any medicinable vertue, and in regard also, they grew quickly olde, as we plainly perceiue, when they haue lost their lustre, clearnesse and whitenesse. For my selfe, I cannot imagine what should be the reason, except it be in regarde of their whitenesse, which is not common to other precious stones: and I perceiue, that no account is made of them, which are of another colour, although they be of the self-same substance. Some haue entrusted mee in an other reason, to wit, because they haue bene brought from the new-found world, and likewise, that in times past, they fetcht them from very farre remote Countries, which needs must vrge the more affection to them, because they come from farre hence: Or else wee make such deare estimation of them, in regarde that (many times) they cost the liues of men in fishing for them, as partly we haue before reported. The greatest Pearles are called in Latine *Vniuers*, because sildome or

newer we shall light on two, that are alike eyther in greatnesse, roundnesse, or splendour, or answerable in weight: for wee finde them alwayes separated one from another, and not ioyned together; And the lesser sort they vse to call *Marguerites*.

After that the Merchants haue them in their power, they permit them to be persecuted by diuers people, wherein the *Indians* and *Persians* are the best exercised, as being naturally enclined thereto by frequent practise. Nor do Pearles continue still in one and the same condition, for the truth is, they will fade, wither and waxe light by course of times: especially such as are caught after the full Moone. But being kept in the floure of Rice, mingled with Bay-Salt, they will recouer their former beauty and weight. But they which are caught deepest, and in the new Moone, are neuer subiect to any such inconueniences.

The flesh (as they vse to call it) or body of the Pearly Oyster, is most wholesome, and of great nourishment, excellent good against melancholy, and for such as languish, or are in a consumption, and also for Hectiques and Tificks. But the *Indians* make no vse of Pearles in their medicines, although the moderne Physicians of the *Arabs* and *Moors* doe, which hath bene learned of them by some of ours, and vsed in all cordiall medicines, being good also for the eyes, finely beaten into powder, and held as an especiall preseruatiue for the sight. O o o o

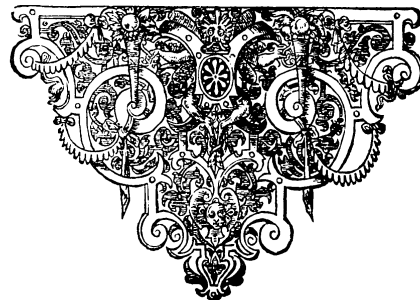
The reason why the greatest Pearles are called in Latine Vniuers.

The Indians and Persians haue the greatest skill in Pearles.

Pearles will decay & waxe light.

Pearly Oysters good for diuers diseases.

## FINIS.





# A Table of the severall Bookes and Chapters, with their particular Arguments, contained in this Second Volume.

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## THE FIRST BOOKE.



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now called France. What Lawes,  
Customes, Religion, Ceremonies,  
and other manners were used a-  
mong the people of that Nation in  
their first Originall, and howe  
(since then) they have continued.

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Of the Temperance in eating and drinking, used a-  
mong the Gaules: As also of their Mariages, and single  
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How the Gaules used to weare their haire, and what  
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Of the humanity, liberality, hospitality, and courtesie  
of the Gaules to strangers, and care for benefiting each o-  
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How the Gaules made choise of their Generalls and  
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Of the shouts, cries, and strange noises, devised and  
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and to affright or dismay their enemies. Also of their signs  
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FINIS.



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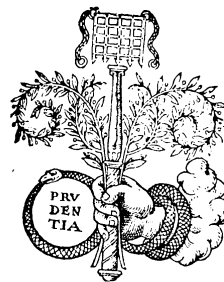
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# TREASVRIE OF AVNCIENT AND MODERNE TIMES.

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M. FRANCESCO SANSOVINO, that Famous Italian: As also, of  
those Honourable Frenchmen, Anthony du Verdier, Lord of l'auprinaz:  
*Loys Guyon, Steur de la Nauche, Counsellour vnto the King:*  
*Claudius Gruget, Parisian, &c.*



L O N D O N

Printed by WILLIAM IAGGARD, 1619.

Katherine the  
Widow to  
Duke Leo-  
pold.

The Dolphin  
of France  
brought an  
Army into  
Germany.

The Bafilians  
ioyned  
with the  
Switzers  
against the  
Duke of Au-  
stria.

War between  
the Emperor  
Maximilian,  
the Switzers  
and Grisons.

Emperor Charles the fourth, also brought an Army against them. In like manner, in the warre of them of *Basile*, against *Katherine* of Bourgogne, the widow of *Leopold*, in the year one thousand, foure hundred, and nine, the Bernians & they of *Sollemers* sent succour: the other Cantons employing themselves carefully, to accord them with the house of *Austria*. Moreover, at the time of the councill of *Basile*, when as *Lewes* the Dolphin of France brought a great Army into Germany, to breake the councill, and made warre on the *Switzers*, by the instancce & working of the Duke of *Austria*, who had procured him to come: the *Switzers* maintained and defended the city and councill, against the encountering of a strange enemy; as an example very remarkable, it being not above sixtene years, since they had coped with great troops of the French. True it is, that they all (well nere) lost their liues there: but yet they did so weaken their enemies troops, that he tooke part with the which fled fastest.

They being thus auoyded, the men of *Basile* ioyned their forces with the *Switzers*, and so made warre together on the Duke of *Austria*. In like manner, when *Charles*, Duke of Bourgogne, made himselfe so terrible, and affrighted all the world, they of *Basile* ioyned in alliance (for ten yeares) with *Strasbourg*, and other cities on the *Rhene*. Afterward, with *Sigismund*, Duke of *Austria*; *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*, and with the Cantons. In this warre they shewed themselves both faithfull & valiant, for their confederates. Finally, a great warre being moued betwene the Emperor *Maximilian*, the *Switzers* and *Grisons*: they of *Basile* remained neuters, without giuing succour to either side, nor receiued their Garrisons; but they furnished them both with victuals and munition. In this war there was a battaile giuen (almost) against the walles of *Basile*, afterward at *Dorneck*, where the *Switzers* wonne a faire victory ouer the enemies, whom they did beat backe to the gates of *Basile*. But during all this war, the citizens of *Basile* faouored equally both the one and other side. To conclude, by the diligence of *Lodouico Maria*, Duke of *Milaine*, the Ambassadors on both sides met at *Basile*, & peace

was made betwene the Emperour and the *Switzers*.

The *Switzers* allowed well of this expedient, in the men of *Basile* during this warre, and the Emperor *Maximilian* (for his part) seemed not to improoue it. But the Noble-men, who were deadly enemies to the Cantons, held *Basile* (almost) in the ranke of a foe, because the city did not then shew itselfe openly, as an enemy to the *Switzers*; and not onely the subjects to the house of *Austria*, but many more, who till then had beene citizens; with-drew themselves to the Count of *Ferrara*, and about *Montebellard*, into *Halsat*, and to *Brigow*, counties appertaining to them of *Austria*. Being in those places, they ceased not to outrage (both with words and deeds) the inhabitants of *Basile*, who being moued with such indignities; the yeare after the war ended, to wit, one thousand, five hundred and one; made a perpetuall alliance with the Cantons, and so were left in peace with their neighbours, who stood in awe of the *Switzers* succour.

## CHAP. XII.

At what time Schaffouse was receiued into the number of the Cantons; and the antiquity thereof.



*S*chaffouse, accepted the very same yeare, to be numbered among the cantons, is not of so great age and antiquity. It is seated on the River of *Rhene*, within *Germany*, and yet notwithstanding, the Bridge is in *Suetia*. In the time of the Emperor *Henry* the third, the Counts of *Nellenbourg* builded there an Abbey, which standeth yet to this day, and it is thought, that it gaue a beginning to the citie: as likewise the cities of *S. Gall*, *Lucerna*, and many more in *Germany*, haue deriued their originall from Abbeyes. The *Rhene* is also another cause of the cities encreasing, continuing so for some thousand of yeares since, beneath the city, where

The Emperor  
and the Switzers  
no way  
difficile of  
the men of  
Basile in die  
warre.

No Boates a-  
ble to passe  
the water at  
Schaffouse.

Concerning  
the name of  
schaffouse.

A great Tolle  
or Customs  
for salt.

Schaffouse at  
liberty at the  
first, just after-  
ward alienated  
by the em-  
perour.



The original  
land and town  
of Schaffouse.

Schaffouse  
subiect to  
the Dukes of  
Austria for 85  
yeares.

wherewith it is (in a manner) enclosed. It falleth downe from a very great height, with such a dreadfull noyse, and remounting vp againe into the ayre so vehemently, that it maketh there a continuall fogge or myll. And for this cause, and the vncapableness of any Boats to passe there, all such as descend downe the Lake of *Constance*, and from *Cella* on the *Rhene*, are constrained to discharge at *Schaffouse*, which hath bene conceiued by many, to giue that name to the City, to wit, of a Squiffe, or of a Boate, which the Germanes call *Skiff*, or *Schiff*, thence to be rearm'd *Schaffouse*. Neuertheless, the vulgar sort, taking vp a false etymologie of the word *Schiff*, which signifieth a Sheepe; haue grounded their opinion strongly thereon, and forged Armes also of the same nature. There is a great tolle or custome gathered in this City, especially for the passage of Salt: which appertained in ancient times, and before the foundation of the City, to two Noble Families, to wit, of *Turn*, and of *Stad*, which remaine yet to this day at *Schaffouse*.

At the beginning, the principall dominion or sway of the City, belonged to the Abbot, who elected and chose one halfe of the Magistrates (but by little and little) they exempted themselves from his gouernement, and obtained many good priuiledges and franchises of the Emperors. But *Lewes* of *Baunaria* (weakened by long warres) could not pay the Duke of *Austria*, such monies as he ought him, according to an agreement made betwene them, which caused him to alienate and sell *Schaffouse*, together with some other Townes, and so (by that meanes) it became dismembred from the Empire. After that time, *Schaffouse* remained subiect to the Dukes of *Austria*, for the space of fourescore and five yeares, euen vntill the councill of *Constance*: for then *Fredericke* of *Austria*, because hee brought Pope *John* the two and twentieth out of the councill, was banished by the Emperor *Sigismund*, who caused him

to bee so narrowly pursued, that all his goods were partly pilled, and partly confiscated to the Empire, without any other meanes of helpe.

In this warre, *Schaffouse* became reuinited to the Empire, and the citizens (hauing giuen a good summe of money, to the Emperor) obtained great priuiledges vnder Letters patents: and therein was plainly exprest, that (thence forward) their City should not any more be alienated from the Empire. But *Fredericke* the third, of the house of *Austria*, being Emperor: laboured to subiect it againe, and that the city of *Schaffouse* might remaine to his successors. And therefore hee permitted Duke *Sigismund*, to compell the citizens to sweare fidelity to him; which they refused to doe, but with exception of their priuiledges, and they would not receiue the Princes Ambassadors into the city, but vpon that condition. Contrariwise, the Ambassadors pressed them earnestly, to oblige themselves to the Prince, without any exception, and propounded certaine Articles, for the maintenance whereof, they required oath: threatening the citizens with very great harmes, if they would not yelde to that which they demanded of them.

The men of *Schaffouse*, seeing the Ambassadors persist still in their opinion: to make good their owne part, receiued the *Switzers* Ambassadors into their city, and made alliance (for some yeares) with them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, so that the Ambassadors of *Austria* returned backe, and performed iust nothing.

Before this, they of *Schaffouse* were in good amity with the *Switzers*, and from the yeare, one thousand, three hundred, forty five, made alliance (for some time) with them of *Zurich*. But because they were Subiects to the house of *Austria*, against whom, the *Switzers* had (well nere) continuall warres: they could not then entertaine firmly this amity, but were compelled, to go in war against the *Switzers*, vnder the Ensignes of the *Austrians*. But after this last alliance, they were very good and faithfull friends vnto the Cantons, and bare them company in many warres and battailes. For immediately after the alliance

Schaffouse v-  
nited to the  
empire again,  
and great pri-  
uiledges gra-  
ted thereo.

The Switzers  
Ambassadors  
receiued into  
Schaffouse, &  
alliance made  
with them.

The Switzers  
had continu-  
all warre a-  
gainst the  
house of Au-  
stria.

The Cantons made war on Sigismund of Austria, by the Popes command.

The men of Schaffouse accused by Perregin de Hewardoff.

Incurfions made on the Austrians land by them of Schaffouse.

A new alliance of Schaffouse for 25. yeares, made with the cantons.

began: the Austrians came and assaulted the Switzers, and namely them of Schaffouse.

It came to passe, that the Cantons obeying the command of Pope *Pius* made war with *Sigismund* of Austria, which being pacified, they of Austria took Arms againe, because *Mulhouse* and *Schaffouse* had ioyned themselves with the Switzers, who ledde a great Army to the Count of *Ferrara*, and into the quarters about *Montebellard*. At the same time, *Perregin de Hewardoff*, accused them of *Schaffouse* in the Imperiall chamber of *Rotwil*, and solicited so much, that they were put to banishment from the Empire. Among others, he charged *John* and *Cosmad de Fulach*, brethren & citizens of *Schaffouse*; of a noble and ancient Family, who sometimes possessed a Castle, neere vnto the downefall of *Rhene*, whence *Albert* of Austria had expelled them, but soone after they entred it againe by intelligence. In regard whereof, they & the other citizens that maintained their iust quarrell, were proscribed. In this war the Cantons sent a good Garrison vnto *Schaffouse*.

While these helps and succours lasted, the citizens made diuers courses into the lands about, appertaining to the house of Austria; as in the Mountaines of the black Forest, in *Hezog*, *Kleckow*, and other limtrophing lands of *Susba* and of *Bafle*. Finally, having laide siege before *Wallschout*, which is a Towne at the entrance into the Blacke Forest, where the Riuer of *Ar* falleth into the *Rhene*, and which was vnder the Austrian government, peace was made; wherein they of *Susba* were exempted, & stood banished from the Empire, at the pursuite and charges of *Sigismund*. Thus then the Cantons having experient in these warres, the faithfulness of them of *Schaffouse*, and knowing well withall, what commodities they received from such a city, seated in so apt a place on the confines of *Suetia*; And reciprocally, the men of *Schaffouse*, feeling themselves to be deliuered from their enemies, by the good assistance of the Switzers; they thought it very expedient, both for the one side and the other, to prolong the alliance. And accordingly, in the year 1479. they made an alliance for twenty five yeares following: wherein were comprehended, the men of *Vri* and *Usterwald*, with whom *Schaffouse*

(till then) had not any particular acquaintance.

Thenour of this alliance, is (almost) answereable to that of the ancient Cantons. For in the first place, they binde themselves to aide one another. Afterward, they establish a forme of iudgement, for reconciling or auoyding such differences, as should happen between them of *Schaffouse* and the Cantons. Then followeth in what manner debts ought to be paide, & what meanes are to be vied in such cases. Then for the punishment of homicides, or men-killers. The last Article concerneth the new & ancient alliances, to wit, the one side shall make no new alliance, without the will and content of the other: And that the ancient alliances shall alwayes be esteemed of most advantage, & to preceede all the other.

After all this, the warre of *Bourgonne* hapned, and some yeares consequently, that of *Susba*, moued by the Emperour *Maximilian*, against the Switzers. In both these warres, they of *Schaffouse* did their duty exceeding well, furnishing men and money for the weale-publike: by which meanes, they entred into the good grace of the Cantons, much more then euer they did before, and wonne great honour. Also, the year after the last warre, to wit, 1501. they made perpetuall alliance with the Switzers, and were enrolled in number of the Cantons, obtaining the 12. ranke or roomie.

### CHAP. XIII.

Of the warres of the Switzers, since such time as they came to be in number of the Cantons, in making them indue.

After that *Bafle* and *Schaffouse* were numbered with the cantons, and that they were 12. during the alliance which they had made with King *Lewes* the 12. in the year, 1503. some among them (in great number) went for him in the war of *Naples*, without leaue nevertheless, and against the Edicts of their Magistrates. As the Switzers and French might brag of small happinesse, in the first warre of

A breach of the Articles and conditions of this alliance.

The Spaniards brought in first out of the Indies into Christendome, be- flowered it on the French, at the siege of Naples.

An honorable minde in the Switzers, not to beare arms against their Alie.

The Cardinal of Sicily a war- rior and ca- pital enemy to the French.

Wars in Italy, the French and Switzers not to fight in the war of Naples.

*Naples*, vnder King *Charles* the eight: to their fortune prooue a little better in this last warre. They, who (during the first warre) were left in Garrison, in strong places and Fortresses of the Kingdome; dyed of diseases for the most part. Such as escaped in this warre, in recompence of their traualle, brought home to their owne houses, that villainous contagion of the Pockes, which afterward was termed the Spanish disease, the *Neapolitane* cull, and the French Pockes: At the last war they were ouercome in two battailes, and lost a great number of their men. The year 1507. the Cantons sent succour vnto the King, who (by their meanes) made himselfe Master of the field, which the *Gene- uoyes* had planted in a Mountaine, that commanded ouer their city, which (soon after) yeelded it selfe.

At the same time, the Emperour *Maximilian* demanded men of the Switzers, and they promised him a lenye of 6000. men, provided, that he should not leade them against the King of France, their alie: but because he would not accept this condition, the lenye remained, and was not made.

Soone after, to witte, in the year 1509. the league of alliance betweene the King of France & the Switzers, tooke ending, and the Emperour, Pope *Iulius* the 2. the Kings of France and Spaine, leagued themselves together, and made warre on the *Venetians*, wherein the Switzers serued the King of France for wages. The year following, Pope *Iulius* made alliance with the Switzers, by the meanes of *Matthew*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who immediately after the alliance concluded, led sixe thousand Switzers into Italy; vnder pretence of defending the lands of the Church, against the Duke of *Ferrara*. But his true intent was, to surprize and expell the French out of *Millane*. The Switzers hauing discovered his purpose, would not follow the Cardinall against the French, and their Lords had likewise forbidden them: so that the Pope sent them into *Suetia*, without paying them their wages, wherat they were very highly discontented.

In the year 1511. perpetuall alliance betweene the Switzers, the houses of Austria and of *Bourgonne*, was renewed. On the other side, the Ambassadors of France desired the Switzers to renew the alliance

with their King: but the most part of them were displeased, because so soone as the first alliance was expired, the King had denied them all their payes and yearly pensions.

And albeit that a very great number among them, were no found well-willers or friends to the Pope, who likewise had not payed them: yet notwithstanding, fearing lest hee should excommunicate them, they durst not alie themselves with the King of France, who then was enemy to the Pope. Heereupon, hapned a disgrace to be done them by the French, for they had taken at *Lugano*, a Herald of the Switzers, with letters from the Seignoury about him: first, they drowned him, and to despight the Switzers, the Coate of Armes, which the Heraulds and Officers to the Cantons vse to weare, they solde at open port-sale, or out-cry, as we commonly call it.

The Switzers, in the very strongest of winter, led their Army ouer the Alpes, where hauing burned some Villages, they returned backe againe, without performing any other memorable deed. But the year following, Pope *Iulius* (who had lost a great battaile at *Rassenna*, at encountering there with the French) called them to helpe him, and therefore they sent into Italy, an Army of twenty thousand men. They being ioyned with the *Venetians* (then reconciled to the Pope) tooke at their arriual *Cremona* and *Parua*, driuing the French out of the whole Dukedome of *Millane*, so that nothing remained to them, but only the Caille of *Millane*. In regard of these worthy exploits, the Pope gaue the Switzers the title, of *Defenders of the Church*; enriching their Standards with diuers Images, and publicly gaue to the whole Nation of the Switzers, two great Standards, which they call, *Paner*, that is, *The Sword and Bonnet*, as a noted mark of liberty. *Maximilian Sforza*, re-established in his paternall domination by the Switzers succour: made alliance with them, and gaue to the Cantons *Lugano*, *Lacurina*, *Mendrisi*, and the Vale of *Madia*.

He gaue also to the *Grisons*, their confederates, the Vale *Telina* or *Falturina*. Likewise *Charles*, Duke of *Sauoye*, whose predecessors had particular alliance (long time before) with some of the Cantons:

The Switzers offended with the King of France, about their payes & pensions.

Great wrong done to an Officer of Armes.

The Switzers reuenged the French in very notable manner, and called, Defenders of the Church.

The Sword & Bonnet, signes of liberty.

Great gifts bestowed on the Cantons.

made alliance with all the Switzers, for 25 yeares after following.

In the same year, the King of France solicited the Switzers, to become againe allied with them: but because hee would not let free the Cattle of *Millaine*, and some discouery was made beside, that his Ambassadors laboured to corrupt some particulars by gifts, and to buy their voyces for faire money layde downe; they were commaunded to depart out of the Leagued countries; and so the warre was renewed again. For the King sent a great Army into *Italy*, vnder the conduct of the Lords of *Triualse* and *Trimouille*, who besieged *Maximilian Sforza* in *Nouara*. Hee was then accompanied with foure thousand Switzers, to whose ayde, eight thousand more were sent. Their vantage being arriued at *Nouara*, and they within being ioyned with them, they gaue the battell to the French, vanquishing & driving them out of *Italy*. *Guichardin* the Italian, an Historian much renowned, writes that the *Switzers* won such honor by this victory, as many haue made no difficulty in equalling this happy successe of theirs, with (almost) all the braue exploits of the Greekes and Romanes. Notwithstanding, the field was decreed enough bought by them, because fourteen hundred *Switzers* were there slaine, and the most part of them by the Cannon, before that they could come to handie strokes. Which made the people of *Suetia* to murmur in many places, and all blame fell on them that tooke part with the French: so that diuers withdrew themselves from *Suetia* for a time onely, and two only had their heads smitten off in those mutinies and commotions: for the rest, all was well pacified, without any effusion of blood.

After this victory of the *Switzers*, the Emperor *Maximilian*, quitting the amity and alliance of the King: aduised the *Switzers*, to enter France by *Bourgogne*, with an army of six thousand men; where (wel-neere) sixtene thousand other voluntary ioyned themselves, together with some troupe of horse belonging to the Emperor, vnder the conduct of the

Prince of *Wirtemberg*. There they besieged *Dijon*, the capital City of all *Bourgogne*. But the Lorde of *Trimouille*, an olde Capitaine, being not of strength to defend well the place, agreed with the Switzers, on conditions, that the King should acquit whatsoever he pretended to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, and paye them (at certaine appointed times) fixe hundred thousand Crowns for assurance whereof, he gaue them foure Lordes of marke, as hostages, with whom the Switzers departed thence immediately.

Nowe, although it was a matter most palpable and notorious to all men, that this composition warranted the kingdom because that *Dijon* being taken, the *Switzers* might haue run vp so farre as to the gates of *Paris*, or ioyne themselves there with the English; and beside that king *Lerres* hadde not a sufficient Army to make head against them; yet notwithstanding, he would not ratifie his composition. For he would not admit (by any means) that his rights to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, should be so much as talk of. The Switzers seeing themselves thus handled, and highly offended with such flye trickes: threatened to kill the Hostages, except the confirmation might be brought within a certaine time. Neuerthelesse, the winter grew extreme vpon them, and yet they resolu'd to re-enter France in the month of *November*: But the King (en this Ambassadors, who laboured for this Amity) to make a perpetual peace with the Switzers. In the meane while, they cou'd no way ioyne, because the conditions which the King propounded, were very vnreasonable: which was the cause that the time spent it selfe in dayes and deliberations, in meere talke and fruitious disputes, whereby the enterprize of marching into France, was quite broken. Concerning the rest of these meetings and assemblies, they were thus considered on, that in the month of *December*, the same year, they of *Appenzel* were added to the Cantons number, and held the thirteenth place.

CHAP

The King of France is desired to be leagued with the Cantons.

The victory of the Switzers ouer the French at *Nouara*, very famous.

An Arme of Switzer, by count. 1 of the Emperor, entered into France through *Bourgogne*.

\*Dijon.

Means made to get the Switzers gone out of France.

The King of France refused the famous composition proposed by the French.

Much trouble and dwelling done.

Appenzel added to the Cantons.

## CHAP. XIII.

Of the Originall of Appenzell: how it tooke that name. The Lawes, Customes, & manner of government there obserued.

A description of the situation of Appenzell, and the villages thereto belonging.



*Appenzel* is the name both of a Country, and of a Village. The country is situated somewhat about *S. Gall*, betweene the high Mountains, and on the Frontiers of the *Grisons* country. The inhabitants lue (scatteredly) in Villages, and among the number of them, there are eight chiefe and principal, which haue euery one their Temple or parish church. The maine head of all is the village of *Appenzell*, whereof all the rest of the country beareth name.



This Country was sometimes vnder the government of the Abbots of *Saint Gall*, and because they alwaies vsed to dwell in the chiefe town or village, where they builded a very strong Castle, named *Clawx*: the village was therefore call'd *Appenzel*, which in Latine is, *Abbas Cella*: that is to say, *The Chamber or dwelling of the Abbot*.

The people of *Appenzel* aimed at liberty, first by armes, and after peace made, they bought liberty for themselves & their children, by means of a great sum of money, which they paid to the Abbot. They had wars which continued seven yeares, against *Cuno de Stouffen*, Abbot of *S. Gall*; to whom the townes about the Lake of *Constance*, and belonging to *Frederick D.* of *Austria*, the bilhoppe of *Constance*, & many Counts & Gentlemen gaue succour. Yet they of *Appenzel* would not yeeld themselves for all this, but being ayded by the Citizens of *S. Gall*, who, at the beginning, were partakers with the Abbot, but afterward ioined with them of *Appenzel*, won som battels, tooke fixe Townes, and more then sixty Cattles, part whereof were quite ruined. In this war, they leagued themselves with the Switzers, who were enemies vnto the

The Warre made against the Abbot of *S. Gall*.

house of *Austria*. Some say, that they allyed themselves with *Suits* and *Clariss* only; but others doe maintaine, that it was with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderwald*. This Warre tooke ending in the year, 1408, and by means of the Emperour *Hubert*, agreement was made betwene them of *Appenzel* and their enemies, in the City of *Constance*.

This being done, the men of *Appenzel* framed a forme of government to themselves, which yet they hold vnto this day. For till then, each village had her ensigne, and her estates apart, or by it selfe. Now there was but one Ensigne, one assembly of their estates, and one Councell, composed of the most honest people, and the notablest persons in all the Villages throughout the country. Then three yeares after the peace was made, the Abbot of *Saint Gall* attempted a new suite against them: but then they made alliance with *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, & *Clariss*, which so offended the Abbots of *Saint Gall*, as, about the year one thousand foure hundred twenty five, *Hermie Manfildorff* (then Abbot) preuailed so far, that they of *Appenzel* were proscribed by the Emperour, and excommunicated by the Pope. Banishment was no great hurt, or inconvenience to them in any manner whatsoever, because the country (being round engirt with Mountaines, and not Trafficking almost with any bodie) no inuasion could bee made vpon them. As concerning the excommunication sent from the Pope, they resolu'd in an assembly of all the country, not any way to care for it. And therefore they expelled all the priests (that obserued the command of the Pope) out of their Country, and would not permit them to administer the Sacraments: amongst all which they killed but one.

The Abbot of *Saint Gall*, perceiving that this course did him not any service; and that (on the other side) the men of *Appenzel* ranne verie fiercely vpon such, as durst teare them to bee excommunicate, and ruined the Castles of manie Gentlemen. Finally, by helpe of the Bilhoppe of *Constance*, and the Noblemen of *Swabia*, hee accus'd them before the Electours of the Empire, imploring they helpe and aide in this extremitie. The Electours sent to the Switzers, and to

their league with the Switzers.

Their forme & manner of their order and government, first by themselves, and afterwards in due fashion.

People are banished and excommunicated because they maintain their countries liberty.

The Abbot of *S. Gall* appealeth to the Electors.



The Switzers  
would not  
war on their  
neighbours.

the Cities of *Suaba*, that they should bring them of *Appenzell* vnder obedience. But the *Switzers* would not make any war on their neighbours and fellow citizens: but rather laboured to make peace, which was agreed on foure yeares after this excommunication, the men of *Appenzell* hauing bene (before) ouercome in two encounters, by the Count of *Toggenbourg*.

Warre made  
vpon the No-  
ble-men by  
them of Ap-  
penzell.

This peace lasted not long, for the Gentlemen, neighbours to *Appenzell*, about the Lake of *Constance*, assembled a great number of horsemen, wherewith to invade them of *Appenzell*. But they disappointed their hope, and got before them; possessing themselves of *Rineck*, & of the Vale of *Rheynse*, in the year, 1445. The Lords of *Hagenwill*, who helde that country in pawne or pledge: caused them of *Appenzell* to be censured with banishment, by the Imperiall Chamber established at *Rotwil*. But gaining nothing by the bargain, they sold them their right, for the summe of fixe thousand crowns, and tooke off the censure. In the yeare, 1452. they made perpetuall alliance with seauen of the Cantons, and (after that time) ioyned themselves with the *Switzers*, in the warres against the Dukes of *Austria*, of *Bourgonne*, and the league of *Suaba*, wherein they shewed themselves both faithfull and valiant. Afterward, in the yeare, 1513. they were receiued into the number of the Cantons.

When anger  
helps not, pa-  
tience must  
preuaile.

Appenzell re-  
ceiued into  
the Cantons.

## CHAP. XV.

Concerning the alliance made betwene the five last Cantons; And a breuete of their Articles, binding them together in confederacy.



ALL the latter cantons, except *Basle*, long time before their receiuing into this ranke, were allied to the other ancient Cantons, and then afterward, at sundry times they were receiued and numbred with the cantons,

according as wee haue noted already.

Now those Cantons doe hold this right about their confederates, that they deliberate, and giue aduice in their dayes of consultation, for all occasions concerning (in common) the common wealth of the *Switzers*. They haue a thore or part, in all commodities and discommodities of the comminality. They gouerne (in equall authority) all the Bawicks by them obtained, and partake equally and publicly, all booties gotten in warre. For the rest, the Articles of alliance of the old Cantons, and latter with the first, are almost alike.

The first and principall Article, concerneth mutuall succour or assistance, wherein there are diuersity of clauses. The Cantons which shall be called, ought to succour their associate or companion, without any fraud or delay. If a Canton be so suddenly engirt by the enemy, as he cannot call the other, neither by Letters nor Ambassadors; yet shall not they forbear (for all that) from giuing succour, and in as speedy manner, as if they had receiued expresse aduertisement. If the latter Cantons doe conceiue, that a wrong is done vnto them; yet notwithstanding, they shall moue no warre against any person, without the will and consent of the olde Cantons. If their enemies will debate their cause in iustice, and accept the *Switzers* for their Iudges, or others of equall and indifferent judgement: the Canton may not attempt to pursue his right by Armes. Every one of the Cantons, at their owne charge and expences, shall come to succour the other, and send such numbers of men as they would haue, and according as they shall see it commodious, wherewith the other Canton must content it selfe. In like manner, the limits are prescribed, wherein the ancient Cantones stand bound to send helpe to the new: And the limits are the confines of the Cantons, as they then stand. There is likewise mention made, concerning charges and expences, at the besieging and battering of Townes and Castles. And the Lawes agreed vpon at *Stans*, touching the partage of booties, which also are hereine confirmed.

The second Article declareth, what kinde

What rights  
and priuile-  
ges belong  
to the Can-  
tons.

Articles of al-  
liance with  
the latter cantons;  
with the for-  
mer.

Of differen-  
ces betwene  
two Cantons  
or many.

kinde of couric is to be obscured, if a difference do happen betwene two Cantons or many: But wee shall speake in our second Booke, what forme of iudgement is in the case to be kept. Moreover, there is mention made, concerning actions in cases of iniuries betwene particulars, and what Iudges they are to take note of in that kind. Then for the exacting of names: Concerning commerce, and free Trafficke, and what bargaining ought to stand free for buyers, as well on one part as the other. That no Canton shall receiue the citizens and subiects of another Canton: till they be first left at liberty, by them vnder whose dominion they were before. That the new Cantons shall not make alliance with any whosoever, without consent of the olde Cantons. If war is moued betwene the old Cantons, the latter shall remaine as newters, and labour onely to agree the parties. Each Canton shall keepe his or her ancient priuileges rights, and customes in their true integrity.

Behold the principall conditions of the latter alliances, wher namely it is decreed that the new Cantons shal not moue any warre, without aduice of the old, neyther refuse that which is right, nor any honest condition of the country; and other such like things, concerning warre, are established fully. And because that the most part of the latter Cantons, are vpon the limits and euen out (as it were) of *Suetia*; they ordained, that no one shoulde attempt to make any warre, except it were for some matter of very great importace: and so much the rather, because it is very hard to conduct and maintaine an army in those quarters.

## CHAP. XVI.

Here we are to speake of the Switzers wars in Italy, when the French undertooke to recouer the Dukedome of *Milaine*, &c.

The death of  
Lewis the 12.  
K. of France,  
after whome  
succeeded  
Frances de  
Valois.

IN the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, five hundred, & sixtience, King *Lewis* the twelfth dyed. He had newly fought by

his Ambassadors, the amity and alliance of the *Switzers*. Neuerthelesse, in the meane time, he made great preparation for war, pretending to recouer the dukedome of *Milaine*. *Frances de Valois*, his kinsman, and his sonne in law, came after him (as successeor, to his crown; who following the deliberation of his father, had also his minde and eye fixt on the *Attila lanes*. The *Switzers* (on the other side) allied with the Emperour *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, *Sforza* Duke of *Milaine*, and with Pope *Leo* the tenth: undertook to defend *Attila* against the French. Wherefore, after they vnderstood the King of France his preparation they sent (at their first leuy) six thousand men to the Duke of *Milaine*. Afterward, the tenth of Iune, they made another leuy of 13000. men, which they sent also to ioine with the first.

King *Frances* passed ouer the Alpes in the meane while, by vnaccustomd waies, shunning the Garrisons of the *Switzers*, which were vpon the vsuall passages, and entred into *Italy*, with an Armie verie potent, of French and Germanes. This was the reason that the Cantons sent twelue thousand men more therether, so that the campe of *Switzers* onely, consisted of one and thirty thousand men. Now, although the Kings troopes were well provided and resolued, yet they would not hazard any thing, nor set vpon so great an Army of *Switzers*; it being such indeed as hardly (at any one time) had so manie euer before bene in the field. Hereupon by their Deputies, they began to treat on peace with the Colonels of the *Switzers*: who likewise (for their part) were not far off from it in disposition, because they considered, that their confederated princes did not march on roundlie with them.

For first of al, their wages was not paid them, according to promise. Moreover the Emperour had not sent his companies of horsemen, as he stood bound to do by the confederacy. And contrarywise, he had not prohibited the Lance-Knights (which hee might haue done in regard of his authority) from going in seruice with the King: but suffered them (by troopes) to depart from Germany, and enter into France. Finally, although the forces of the Pope and King of *Spain* were neere

The Switzers  
attempts to  
guard Milain  
against the  
French.

The Camp of  
Switzers, was  
31000. men in  
number, and  
neuer so many  
of them  
seene before  
in the field at  
one time.

Reasons indu-  
cing the Swit-  
zers to listen  
to peace when  
it was offered.

yet

yet notwithstanding, they could hardlie be perswaded to passe the *Pan*, and ioyne themselves with the *Switzers*. Beside, there were messengers going and coming betweene the French and them, & from them to the French. Wherefore, the *Switzers* seeing themselves without money, and forsaken of their Confortes: made peace in the village of *Galleras*, with the Deputies to the King of France, vnder honest conditions. Which having bene confirmed by some Cantons, immediately twelue thousand *Switzers* took their way to *Coma*, and returned home to their country, without tarrying for the rest, who likewise prepared to depart the next morning. But the Duke of *Millaine* would not accept the conditions of this peace; and the Cardinall of *Sion*, (a great and perpetuall enemy to the French) laboured by oblique meanes, to break & frustrate all.

It came to passe, that by cunning tricks and plottes, the thirteenth day of September, the *Switzers* of the Guard to the Duke of *Millaine*, and some others beside offended with the King, in the night time brake in vpon the French, sending worde instantly to aduertise their companions, in what danger they were, and intreated their present succour. The other, imagining that it would be a great shame vnto them, to forsake their troopes in such a neede, and being made to beleue with all, that the French had begunne this broyle, went with all their troopes to assist them. The fight was very sharp on all sides; but the night parted them. In this change was slaine *Frances*, the Lorde of *Bourbon*, the Lord of *Imbercourt*, also the Count of *Sancerre*, the Prince of *Talmond*, sonne to the Lorde of *Trimouille*, the Lords of *Bussy d'Amboise*, and manie other: which made some to holde opinion, that the *Switzers* were Masters in this conflict, and a brute ran thorow *Italy*, that they remained conquerours. But the very same night, the King having mounted his Artillerie on their carriages, levelled the battalions of the Gascoignes and Germaines, re-assembling the horse-men vnder their Regiments, and sending *Bertolomeo d'Aluiana* with the Armie of Venetians: very early in the Morning, he gaue battaile to the *Switzers*, whom he vanquished, after they had lost manie

of their men.

The *Switzers* seeing the victory in a contrary hand, withdrew them-selves to *Millaine*; yet in such sort, that their retreatate fauoured not of flight. For, they brought backe the Artillery which came out of *Millaine*, and marched in ranke of battaile, hauing their wounded Men in the midst among them, and going but a very softly pace: yet in all the French Army, not a man, cyther Horse or Foot, durst pursue them. On the morrow, hauing left the Duke of *Millaine* fiftene hundred men, to strengthen his garrison in the Castle, they returned into *Switz*, by the way of *Coma*. But, by reason of their foile, the French recovered the dukedom of *Millaine*.

The Emperour *Maximilian* contested hardly to take it from them againe, & the yeare following, he ledde into Italy (to effect that hope) an army of Germans and *Switzers*: but he could doe nothing, and so was glad to come backe again immediately. As for the King of France, hauing well felt how deare a price this victorie cost him: he neuer ceased till hee hadde made peace and alliance with the *Switzers* in the end. Perpetuall peace, betweene the French and the *Switzers*, was made in the yeare one thousand, five hundred, and eightene, the last day of Nouember: and the alliance was confirmed three yeares after, to wit, in Anno one thousand, five hundred, twentie and one. The Articles both of the peace and alliance, are set downe in their due place, heereafter following.

## CHAP. XVII.

A Discourse, concerning the Alliance of the *Switzers*, with the King of France.



That very time, all the Cantons, Zurich onely excepted, made Alliance with the King of France. And, although they of Zurich were ear-

The retreatate of the *Switzers* backe to *Millaine*.

The Duke of *Millaine* recovered by the French.

Perpetuall peace betweene the *Switzers* and the French.

Certaine reasons why the King of Zurich refused to be allied with the King of France.

The allegations of *Huldreich Zuinglius*, being then a principal minister at Zurich, in his ordinary preaching and Sermons, ceased not to turne the people, from taking wages to goe in warre seruices. Shewing by arguments & remonstrances of great weight, that it was not lawfull for a Christian man, to set himselfe to sale for a price of money, and goe shed the blood of such as are (oftentimes) innocents, and neuer did him any manner of wrong. He sayd, they ought to follow the manners of the ancient *Switzers*, who (by their manhood) had planted liberty in their country. All which while, they wholly estranged themselves from such course of liuing; their lues wer maintained by their trauell; neuer binding themselves vnto any Prince, neither hadde they any freedome that was to be sold.

The men of Zurich were peacefully minded, and little giuen to warre.

Taxation imposed vpon the new league.

neffly solicited by the rest, to ioyne in this league with them: yet for all that, they could neuer bring them to the point of yielding to this alliance. In the first place, the yeares going before, *Mathew*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who came verie often to Zurich: by his Orations and perswasive speeches, had wholly estranged them from the French. On the other side, *Huldreich Zuinglius*, being then a principal minister at Zurich, in his ordinary preaching and Sermons, ceased not to turne the people, from taking wages to goe in warre seruices. Shewing by arguments & remonstrances of great weight, that it was not lawfull for a Christian man, to set himselfe to sale for a price of money, and goe shed the blood of such as are (oftentimes) innocents, and neuer did him any manner of wrong. He sayd, they ought to follow the manners of the ancient *Switzers*, who (by their manhood) had planted liberty in their country. All which while, they wholly estranged themselves from such course of liuing; their lues wer maintained by their trauell; neuer binding themselves vnto any Prince, neither hadde they any freedome that was to be sold.

And as hee had words verie readie at command, so he approved by great store of sound reasons and arguments, that such alliances did but enervate & meerely prostitute the liberty of the *Switzers* to forraigne Kings and Princes. So that the men of Zurich, being (otherwise) people of peace, and little addicted to martial affaires, were much moued with his speeches, and abhorred this new League. On the other side, the Captaines that hadde bene in the warres in the times of King *Charles* the eight, and *Lewes* the eleventh, dissuaded them from the league, as being farre vnlike to the alliances with former Kings. For, in precedent times, after that the *Switzers* had well vnderstood & comprehended the occasion of the war; they made choise of such Captaines and soldiers as they should send to the king, according to their promise. But in the Newe League, the Cantons neither chose Captaines nor Soldiers, neither cared what became of all, what the occasions of the warre were, nor whether they were iust, or no. But, if the King were to deale with any people, he chose such Captains

of the *Switzers* as himselfe pleased, and caused them to come whether he thought good. By which meanes, the Cantons had not any power ouer their Men for warre, except they might counter-mand them, when any warre was moued in the country.

Moreouer, many saide, that this newe League was contrary to the ancient and perpetuall alliances of the *Switzers*. For, in the first Article they stand bounde, to guard all the Prouinces of France, against all enemies whatsoeuer they are. True it is, that the first alliances were exempted, but immediately is added, that if the ancient allies begin to make warre vpon the French, the Cantons ought to send succour to the King, against the other: whether on enuie (as it seemeth) that if any one of the Cantons, or of the Confederates, could not haue reason (in friendly manner) of the King of France, and would pursue his right by Armes; the other Cantons are bound to warre on him, according to the new League, and contrarie to the promises of the ancient alliances.

Moreouer, it is not any long time, since the *Switzers* denied their troopes to the Emperour *Maximilian*, alleading (for their excuse, because he would haue had them serue at his Coronation) that they were occasioned (for many reasons) to keepe their men of warre (as then) at home in their owne country. Therefore it appeared to them verie vnfitting, that they should then allye themselves with the King, who would make a Leuie of them, so soone as the alliance was concluded.

They conceyued also, that it would be farre off from their ancient grauity and magnanimitie, if they should league them selves so strictly with the King of France; of whom (but a yeare and an half before) they had written vnto the Electors of the Empire; that it was no way expedient that he should govern the affaires of Germany, so that if he should be elected Emperour, they were not minded to giue him obedience. And, as concerning the commodities of the alliance, which many did make lowd proclamations of: there were others of opinion, that the profite would fall into some particular purses, and especially of such, as enriched themselves by the pensions of France; but the Com-

Articles concerning the ancient and perpetuall Alliances of the *Switzers*.

The *Switzers* denied their troopes to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and vpon what cause.

The *Switzers* denied obedience to the King of France, because hee was chosen Emperour.

12000. *Switzers* part home to their country, without the rest of their companie.

A hot & fierce fight betweene the *Switzers* & the French wherein the *Switzers* were ouerthrowne in the end.

Read the lorde du Bellay, in the first booke of this Memoires.

Arguments  
very confi-  
dently al-  
leged by the  
Switzers, a-  
gainst ioyning  
in League  
with the King  
of France.

monwealt of the *Switzers* would be no way benefited by the bargain, as very easily was to be proved.

For in the first place, the country had no neede of any strange horsemen or infantry, having worke enough to doe in nourishing their owne breed for that employment. Moreover, the hope of helpe, and money from *France*, robbed the *Switzers* of all their true force and courage. In following the example of their predecessors, they were best to let their hope leane and rest vpon God, to serue and honour him in sincerity of heart, and vprightnesse of conscience. That not onely hope in God would faile and diminish by such a League, but also it was to be feared, that it would very strongly break and corrupt their ancient manners, cause all husbandry to cease, giue ouer honest trades and exercises, and engender nothing but idleness. And then is easily known what followeth; dissolusion in diet and apparrell, drunkennesse, whoredomes, adulteries, thefts, and blasphemies. For these are the fruites of warre, and the Arts that are learned in the armies of strange Princes.

The fruites of  
war inforrain  
Princes serui-  
ces.

For a full conclusion, the euent and successe of precedent alliances, haue both instructed and guarded many (especiallie the men of *Zurich*) to weigh well & consider on nouell combinations. For, albeit that some fewe did sufficient seruice to the nation, as that which was made against the Duke of *Bourgonne*; yet notwithstanding, the most part of those alliances, brought it into great extremities. Because in such straunge warres they lost many of their people: or els in those countries, they were rudely hurried and agitated, by factions and seditions. For these reasons, and diuers other considerations; the inhabitants of *Zurich* could not (as then) be induced to ally themselves with the king of *France*.

But the other confederates, who were not of any such opinion, maintaine what they did, by reasons enow. First, they declared, and would prouoe it, that euery voyage in war was not condemned by the word of God: but that many holie persons had made wars; wherein they were ayded and succoured by others, as in like manner they had assisted their Allies. Secondly, that the war of the *Switzers* was not mercenary nor vendible, because

Arguments  
for alliance of  
the *Switzers*  
with the King  
of France, against  
those formerly  
alleged by  
the of *Zurich*.

they went to the seruice of a King onely, (with whom they were ioynd by an honest alliance) with the will and consent of their Lords.

Thirdly, that if the King should moue a warre, which all men knew to be vnjust; then it remained in the power of the Lords of the Leagues, to deny him succour. But if the occasion were doubtfull and vncertaine, the souldier had nothing to doe to make any curious inquisition thereof: it only appertained to the King and his Councell, to render a reason for it. Fourthly, that the *Switzers* Country was greatly peopled, but narrow, hard, & barren in many places, and could not furnish so many men with nourishment: wherefore the commodity was not to be condemned, which the King had offered voluntarily.

To these we will adde, that the *Switzers* ought to consider, with what neighbors they were enclosed, from wherof enuyed them, and others pyred into their Liberties: so that it was both well and wisely done, to fortifie themselves with strange succour against them, and that trust and hope in God, did not prohibite the vse of humane assistance. Also, this was a means to traine vp the *Switzers* in martiall discipline, which is necessary for all Commonwealths: and in regard wherof, warlike people haue euermore bene highly respected. Finally, although that some alliances haue discommodited the Countrey; yet notwithstanding, the *Switzers* haue sped well in the more part, especiallie, in those which they had with the kings *Leues* the eleuenth, *Charles* the eight, and *Leues* the twelfth. And therefore they must needs expect a happy issue of this which they contracted with a King powerfull & fortunate.

This was the discourse then made concerning alliance with the *French* as I learned of my predecessors, which liued in those times. The selfesame question hath bene often and seriously debated & handled, euery in my time, by men well grounded in the affaires of State, to whome (as yet) I referre the further knowledge of the case.

of

The *Switzers*  
countrie  
bordered  
with  
the  
King  
of  
France

Martiall  
discipline  
was  
reputed  
as  
the  
best  
of  
the  
Common-  
weales.



## Of them that are Allyed and Leagued with the CANTONS.

And first, The Abbot of Saint Gall. CHAP. XVIII.



Another  
Discourse  
of the  
Author, con-  
cerning the  
alliances in  
particular ma-  
nner.

Hereto wee haue  
shewne what the  
Cantons & con-  
federates are, mak-  
ing vp a whole  
body of the *Switzers*  
Common-  
wealth, and what  
hath bene the e-

state and condition of euery one of them before they were leagued. Also, for what causes, at what times, and with what conditions they assembled themselves in a body polittike. Now we will discourse of the affiliates of this Commonwealth, according to the same order: and we will heere shew, wherefore, when, and vpon what conditions they allyed themselves with the Cantons. And because the Abbot, and the City of Saint *Gall* do holde the first ranke, wee purpose to begin with them.



The City of S.  
Gallhouse  
was at first  
gouerned by  
a Gentleman  
of Scotland.

*Gallus*, of whom the city of Saint *Gall* hath taken name, was a Gentleman of Scotland, and Disciple or Scholler to an Abbot, named *Colombinus*, with whome hee came into France, and thence trans-

ported himselfe into Germany, to a place called *Tuggen*, neere to the River named *Limagus*, at the mouth of the Lake of *Zurich*. There he preached the Gospel with great zeale and affection, to the people of the Countrey, then bewitched with diuers kindes of Idolatry. Hee continued (soone after) at *Bregenz*, at the mouth opening of the Lake of *Constance*: next, at *Arbonna*, and in diuers other places of

*Swetia*, for the space of sixteene years, or thereabout. *Conzo* Duke of *Sabia*, hauing called him to bee Bythoppe of *Constance*, he would not accept that charge: but counselled the Duke to giue it to one of his schollers, named *John*, whome hee thought to be more fit for the place. As for himselfe, about the yeare six hundred and thirty, he retired into the Mountaines, about the Lake of *Constance*, into a very solitary place; and in the very same plot or square of ground, where the Citie and Abbey of *S. Gall* now standen: hee builded a little Cell or house, wherein he spent the rest of his dayes, with some of his schollers, in the studie and meditation of holy matters.

After the death of *S. Gall*, his schollers liked well to liue in that place, and according to his manner of life: neuertheless, without making profession then of any certaine rule or order. But the Kinges of France, and the Dukes of *Sabia*, taking delight in their deuotion, did them many kinde Offices: where by the number of these religious men encreased, & (by little and little) the small silly house of Saint *Gall*, became conuerted into an Abbey. For foure score yeares after the death of *S. Gall*, they requested Counte *Bernard*, Gouvernor of the countrey for the Kinges of France, that hee would giue them an Abbot. He sent them a Priest, named *Omer*, bred and brought vp in a Colledge, called *Caire* of the *Grisons*, and towards *Pepin*, Prince of France, so me to *Charles Martell* who following the aduice of his father, established this Priest the first Abbot of Saint *Gall*, and then (first of all) the Monkes made profession of the rule of *S. Benet*.

Al-

*Gallus* refused  
to be Bythop-  
pe of *Constance*,  
and preferred  
one of his  
schollers to it.

The death of  
*S. Gall* & the  
cell where he  
lived, and  
his little house  
becoming  
an Abbey.

*Omer* a priest  
the first Ab-  
bot of *S. Gall*.

After that time, the abbey became verie rich and powerfull, so that the Abbot of that place, was sette in number of the Princes. And in ancient times, he was vnder protection of the Emperours, who tooke the Gentlemen of *Suaba* to be Governors of this abbey. Afterward, warre being kindled betweene the *Abbot*, and them of *Appenzel*: the Monkes well perceived that their Conuent stood in neede of some good Protectours, because the Townemen or Citizens of *S. Gall*, who were (as within the abbey) ioyned with them of *Appenzel*, who were also fauored by many seruants of the *Abbot*.

For this cause *Gaspard Landberg*, then the two and fiftieth *Abbot* (by the aduice and counsell of the Monkes) requested the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suites*, and *Glaris*, to receiue him into their alliance: establishing them patrons, fathers, & defenders of his freedom, & of all his goods, possessions, vances, and priuiledges. This right is perpetuall, and at all times, and as often as a new *Abbot* is to be elected, hee promisseth this accord, and that at the places of his Seigneury, shall alwayes lye open to these foure Cantons, and they to haue free access thither. And if difference shall happen between him and any other, he shall commit it (continually) vnto the hearing of the foure Cantons, and be iudged by them.

The successour to *Landberg*, named *Huldreich*, and fir-named *Le noux*, added to this first alliance, that the foure Cantons should send (one after another) one of their Councell, that should remayne two yeares with the *Abbot*, to bee Captaine of all his country. He gaue assistance in pleadings and iudgements, & the moiety of all fines remained to the Switzers. Moreover, it was ordained in this alliance, that in all warres the *Abbots* subiects should goe to the succour of the 4. Cantons.

As concerning that which *Abbot Huldreich* renewed, and the League also, ioyning himselfe more strictly vnto the foure Cantons, the cause was thus. Sometime before, the Citizens of *Saint Gall*, they of *Appenzel*, and the subiects of the *Abbot*, had conspired together, and ruined the abbey of *Rosach*, which the *Abbot* had newly builded. So that the foure Cantons hauing sent for the other Catons to their assistance, defeated the *Abbot* in his rites,

and reprooued his aduersaries very stoutly. This association endureth yet to this day, and although al the Cantons are not at agreement with the *Abbot*, as concerning matter of Religion; yet notwithstanding, they send him a Captaine, who manageth and gouerneth ciuill causes, conseruing (in this regard) the rights and priuiledges of the *Abbot*.

## CHAP. XIX.

Of the Towne or City of S. Gall.



THE Citie of *Saint Gall*, oweth her originall and encreasing to the Abbey, and hath bene enfranchised by the Emperours, who vnted it to the Empire, and gaue it many priuiledges and immunities. In the time of the Emperour *Arnould*, the citie began first to be enclosed with walles: as fearing the courtes and surprizals of the *Hungarians*, and both it and the Conuent were vnder the Empires protection. The citie was subiect vnto the Abbey in many things: meane while, the citizens had their rites, which they augmented by their industry, & by means of the Emperours liberalities.



Now, when the number of citizens, and the riches of the Abbey beganne to increase: many debates and contentions also tooke Original, betweene the *Abbot* and the citizens. Oftentimes, the Townes round about it, and the Imperial chaimber, would set them at agreement again. Sometime likewise, they were glad to satisfie the *Abbots* demands with money, and encreased their liberties, by buying their rights of him. But when they of *Appenzel* moued warre against *Abbot Cano de Stauffen*, the men of *S. Gall* beganne to take part with the *Abbot*, and got nothing for their labour but blowes, which caused them (soone after) to make alliance vwith them of *Appenzel*. This warre being ended, and some other after, *Abbot Landberg*, being made a fellow-Bourgeisse with

Counsailes of alliance kept, though not in Religion all alike.

The Abbey began and continued the city of S. Gall.

Wealth and estate are the first causes of strifes & contentions.

with foure Cantons: the citizens of *S. Gall*, to maintain themselves by the like expedient, entred perpetual alliance with *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*. This alliance was sworne on the Eue of *S. Iohn Baptill*, in the yeare, 1434. And they of *Saint Gall* made a publicke banquet for the Ambassadors of the Cantons, whereto were present about fiftene hundred men. Before this alliance, they were leagued with some Cantons for certaine yeares: as with *Zurich*, *Constance*, and *Schaffhouse*, in the yeares, 1312. and 1347. And at other times often with *Zurich* and *Constance*. Afterward, with *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, *Suits*, & *Vnderwald*, in the yeare 1319. But I haue purposely omitted those alliances made for so short times, containing my selfe onely with this last mentioned, which continueth to this day

## CHAP. XX.

Of the Leagued Grisons.



It is generally agreed on that the people of the Grisons are very ancient. For some ages before the birth of our Saviour Iesus Christ, the Tuscans being driuen from their houses by the *Gauls* they possessed the Alpes, vnder conduct of their captain, named *Rhatius*, for whose sake they called themselves *Rhatians*. Heretofore this country extended it selfe greatly in length & largenes, so that the Romane Emperours made two *Rhatian* Provinces, named the first & second *Rhatia*: which comprehended not onely the Alpine regions, but also a great part of *Suaba* & *Buaria*. Now it is well knowne, that this first *Rhatia* beginneth at 4 foure of *Rheme*, & taketh a sufficient great quarter of the Alpes, and all the valleyes on both the sides. Almost all the people there are (to this day) called *Grisons*; and in former times they were reamed *Gris*: as likewise the *Almans* gaue them the same name, & call them betide, *Straw punder*, that is to say, *Leagued Grisons*. For, in regard that these *Rhatians* are Leagued, not onely with the Switzers, but also among themselves, and that of verie long

time, we call them *Leagued Grisons*, & sometimes the Switzers names them simply, *Punder*, that is, *Confederates*.

Wee are to obserue three leagues of the Grisons. The first tooke name of her antiquity, and of the situation of the country: for they called it, *The High League*, or *high Grisons*. It containeth nineteene Communities or Fellowshippes, among whom (heretofore) the *Abbot of Dissentiff*, and the Baron of *Rhatia*, & the Count of *Misauk* held the chiefeest ranke: but the families of the 2.



latter are expired. Neuerthelesse, among them in common, they which possesse the Castle of the ancient Barons of *Rhatia*, are called Lords of *Rhatia*, a title which (some short while after) the Lordes of *Morbree* took; and after them, they which are named *Planters*. They of *Taufsch*, *Linimer*, and *Mafaxeral* are the principall people of this league.

The second is called, *The league of Gods house*. I thinke it to be so termed, because the byshop of *Caire* is comprized in this league. It also comprehendeth nineteene Communities, two whereof doe speake the Germane Language; the other, vnto the *Rhatian* or *Grision*, which is their nother tongue, & cometh neere to the Italian. The principall people of this league are the city of *Caire*, which is the bishops See. Also they of *Pregant* and of *Engadin*, out of which countries run two renowned riuers, to wit, *Esch* and *Imn*.

The third league hath ten Communities, and is called, *The League of ten Iurisdiccions*. Therein are comprized them of *Ruchenberg*, and of *Tunelch*. The former two leagues had (at the beginning) amity and alliance a certaine time, vwith the Cantons neerest to them. For, in the yeare, 1419. the byshop, the Chapter, & the citie of *Caire*, made Alliance vwith them of *Zurich* for one and fiftie yeeres. Also, they were sometimes allyed vwith them of *Glaris*. And the Grisons of the high league, wer long time confederated with them of *Vri*. Then after, with them of Gods house they made a perpetual alliance vwith feauen of the Cantons. But the thirde League is not comprized in this alliance, and yet notwithstanding in

Three fruerall Leagues of the Grisons.

1. The High League, or high Grisons.

2. The league of gods house or of the Halpittall.

3. The league of ten iurisdiccions.

Seuerall alliances, & at feuerall times.

The Abbot of S. Gall desires to be receiued into the number of 4. Cantons, and to bee ordered by them.

Landberg the Abbot being dead, Huldreich renewed the League, succeeded after him.

Abbot Huldreich renewed the league with the four Cantons, and more strictly.

1500 men present at vint banquet.

Concerning the antiquity of the Grisons being sometime called Rhatians, of the captain Rhatius.

Distinction of names giuen to the people of Rhatia.

entertaine this amity and societie with the confederates, euen as firmly and faithfully, as if they stood tolemlly bound thereto.

First then, in the year 1497. the high league, more properly called, *The Grison league*, made perpetuall alliance with seauen Cantons: and the year following, the league of *Gods-house* ioyned it selfe with them, by this occasion following. Some yeares before, the league of *Gods-House* had had certaine great differences, with the dwellers in the county of *Tyrol*. In the end, by the will of the Emperour *Maximilian*, it was decreed: that the parties should chuse an equal number of Iudges, to take knowledge of their variance, and that *Thomas*, Bishop of *Constance*, should be Arbitrator above all the Iudges. But while the Councellers to the King delayed to end this discord, the Bishop of *Constance* dyed: and in his stead, *Maximilian* subrogated *Fredericke*, Bishop of *Augsburg*. But the Kings counsellors taking no knowledge of this other Arbitrator, prolonged (from day to day) the decision of the suite, as before they had done: all this while molesting the *Grisons*, and charging them still with nouell impositions.

They perceiving no cessation, deputed two of each league, and sent to *Innsbruck*, insisting, that this difference should end, according to the order of the Emperour *Maximilian*. Which the counsellors pretended not to know, albeit diuers of them, and (among the rest) the chancellor was present when the decree was set downe. Yet notwithstanding, because the Deputies should not be sent backe without answer: they assigned a day at *Revelin*, in Lent the next year ensuing. In the meane while, they of *Austria* planted Garrisons vpon the Frontiers, and strong Artillery in diuers places, making (vnder hand) their preparation for warre. For they had appointed that day expressly, because they would set vpon them at vnawares, & vnto overthrow the *Grisons*, now way standing on their guard: where in the Bishop of *Caire* lent his helping hand to them of *Austria*. But the league of *Gods-House*, hauing discovered the enemies intent: sent men to the cantons, who kept then a day at *Zurich*, and gaue them to vnderstand this eminent danger.

The Ambassadors declared, that beside the olde quarrels, new differences were moued, betwene them of *Austria* and the Switzers, so that there grew an appearance of warre: therefore for the profit & security both of the Switzers & *Grisons*, it seemed good, that they should be allied together. For by that means, the *Grisons* should easily expell the enemy out of their country: although they gaue them but little ayde, or almost none at all. On the other side, the Switzers should haue a Bulwarke to back them, and so might the more strongly make head against the enemy. The Cantons, who had bin well affected to the *Grisons* before, and knew those Mountaine-bred men, to be a warlike disposed people, and how beneficiall this alliance would be both to the one and other: concluded and established a perpetuity of lone with the *Grisons*, in the year 1498. and the Moneth of December, and the Articles of the alliance are these that follow.

*The Articles of alliance, betwene the Switzers and the Grisons.*

1. First, that they shall be friends, & giue mutual succour one to another.
2. The second Article concerneth the agreeing of differences, which may happen betwene confederates.
3. The third is, that no man shall giue or sell away, those actions that he hath against his debtor, or the answerer, or surety for him.
4. The fourth concerneth retailles, according to one anothers trading: And to be freely in the Markets, without standing bound to pay any new tributes.
5. That neither the one nor other side, shall make any new alliance, wherein these Articles shall be comprised, but with exceptions: And that in times of warre, the one side shall not make peace, except the other be therein comprehended also.

These are the Articles and principall points of the alliance. But the year following, the warre of *Snabs* happened, wherein the *Grisons* valiantly defended their Frontiers, against the men of *Austria*. And by the ayde of their people, many times in like manner, and by the assistance of the Switzers, diuers braue batailles

were

were wonne against the enemy. Yet after these victories hapning on either side, peace was (at length) made in the city of *Basle*, with the Emperour *Maximilian*; in which peace, the *Grisons* are also comprised. By this means, the beginning of the alliance was wholefome and happy to both parties, and afterward, in many wars where the Switzers were present, vnder wages of strange Princes their confederates: the *Grisons* alwayes marched as kinde companions with them.

It came to passe, that in the year one thousand, six hundred, thirty and one: *John Laques de Medici*, who afterward was Marquesse of *Maringano*, getting v. surped possession of the Castle of *Mus*, vpon the Lake of *Como*, and hauing taken *Clauenna* from the *Grisons*, forraging the country thereof: many Cantons, according to their league of alliance, sent succour to the *Grisons*: by means whereof, the enemy was overcome at last, and driuen far off. In our time, the *Grisons* were allied with the French, and with the cantons of *Swetia*, and went to warre together for the King: yet in such fort neuer thelesse, that they fend oftentimes a regiment separated of the Switzers, & which hath his Colonell & Captaine in chiefe.

CHAP. XXI.

*The Alliance of the Valaisians, or people of Valais.*

THE name of *Valaisians*, or them of *Valois*, comprehendes three distinct people, enclosed within the most high Mountaines, and dwelling in the Valley, from the fource of *Rheine*, so farre as the Lake \* *Lemanus*. They were anciently called *Fiberines*, *Sedusians*, or *Sequians*, some say, *Seluisians*, and *Veragrians*. At this day, the *Fiberines* and *Sedusians*, are called the high *Valaisians*, and are diuided into seuen Diocesses, or Wards of ten Parishes. The *Veragrians*, or lowe *Valaisians*, are subiects to the other: but the Bishop of *Sion* is Prince of all the country, hauing the souerainty both temporall and spirituall, and he is called Count, or Governour of *Valois*. We haue descri-

bed in another Tract, apart by it selfe, not onely this Valley, but likewise all the most remarkable things of the *Valaisians*.



Five Wards or Diocesses of the *Valaisians*, made first alliance with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, in the year 1417. They were then in warre against a Bishop, named *William de Raron*, and his

Father *Guiscard*, whom they had (by a popular tumult) forced from their houses. The Bernians gaue assistance to the Bishop and his Father, who were of their Bourgeses: And for this cause the *Valaisians* desiring to haue succour elsewhere: allied themselves with the fore-named 3. Cantons. Now fearing lest this might be an occasion of breeding quarrell betwene the Bernians, and the three Cantons allied with the *Valaisians*: the other cantons, who were as neuters to the business, laboured so earnestly, that the difference was pacified, and the Lords of *Raron* re-established in their goods. Before this alliance, the *Valaisians* had made one (for the space of ten years) with them of *Berne*, in the year 1250. Again, after this warre, they contracted another alliance (for certaine time) with the Bernians. But in the year 1475, they made a league defensive and offensive. And in the same year when we wrote this History (to wit, 1575.) an hundred years being expired, after the beginning of this league: they renewed and confirmed it on eyther part, by magnificent Ambassadors. Two yeares before they were league with the Bernians, they made a certaine agreement with them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*.

To conclude, in our time, vpon great differences moued, concerning matters of Religion, Ceremonies, life and manners of the Clergy, whereof reformation was required, *Swetia* being diuided into contrary parties; *Adrian*, Bishop of *Sion*, and seuen Wards of the *Valaisians*, in the year 1533. made alliance with seauen Cantons, in the Towne of *Fribourg*, which Cantons made profession of the Roman Religion, as namely, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, *Fribourg*, and *Sollemre*. In this Alliance (ouer & beside that which is vsed in the other) it

A a 2 was

Alliance of the Grisons with the Switzers, and vpon what occasions.

A great difference betwene the league of Gods-house, and them of Tyrol.

The Grisons depute two of each league for ending their cause.

Cunning, and fit for such to vieas desire to oppress the peoples liberty.

An offer of alliance betwene the Switzers and Grisons.

A perpetuall league betwene the Grisons.

Peace made in the city of Basle, for the Switzers and Grisons.

John Laques de Medici, Marquesse of Marignano.

The Grisons allied with the French.

For friendship and assistance.

Agreeing of controversies.

Satisfying debts.

Forced and trading.

Forced to answer and bring of payes.

New troubles happened by the warre of Snabs.

A description of Valais or Valois.

\* A Lake of the Allobroges by Geneva and Lausanna.

The Bishop of Sion is Count and Governour of Valais or Valois.

Guillaume de Raron and Guiscard his Father.

Contracted alliances of the Valaisians with the Bernians.

Differences about the ceremonies, iusts, and manners of the Clergy.

was especially agreed, that they should aide one another, to maintaine the vied and approued Religion, to wit, that of the Romane Church, against all them that would depriue or violence it.

## CHAP. XXII.

Of Rotuill, or Rotuill.



Some haue imagined, that *Tagaxatum*, whereof *Protolomy* speaketh in his Geography, was *Rotuill* or *Rotuill*, which *Glaucanus* calleth *Erythropolis*, hauing changed the *Aleman* or *Germane* word, into a Greek word: but they much deceive themselves. For *Protolomy* placeth *Tagaxatum* in the country of the *Grisons*, and *Rotuile* is situated beyond *Danubius* in Germany, on the left side of the River *Niera*, and very neere to the Spring-head of both those Floods or Rivers. This city is sufficiently renowned among the Imperials, for therein is a chamber of the Empire, which is vulgarly called *Hofgricht*, whereunto all the round neighbouring countries resort, for causes of appeale. Such as are contumacious, and fayne of their appearance there; are sent (by sentence of the Iudges) into banishment from the Empire. It is said, that this chamber was established by the Emperor *Conrad* the third, and that it is 424. yeares since.



The first alliance that they of *Rotuile* made with the Switzers, was in the time of the Emperor *Fredericke* the third, in the year 1463. This alliance was renewed diuers times betweene them. At last, in the year 1517. they contracted perpetuall alliance with all the Cantons of the Switzers. During the warre of *Swabs*, they of *Rotuile* (engirt with enemies on all sides) shewed themselves alwayes faithfull to the Switzers; offering them amiably and liberally all their riches and men: which the Switzers could not accept, but onely desired them, to defend their city against the enemy. Now in regard that *Rotuile* is situated

along the limits of Swetia, and that succour cannot bee brought to one another, but with danger, considering, they must passe through other mens lands: the alliance speaketh exprefly, that they must be carefull for drawing any war vpon them, or vpon any of their confederates.

And first of all; It is said, that they may not make war with any wholoener, without the knowledge and consent of the Cantons. They shall giue no succour to any person out of Swetia, without the will and consent of the Cantons. Moreover, if they would haue reason by Arms, for any injury or out-rage done vnto the; they must attempt nothing, but by aduice of the Cantons. If their enemies will vndergoe iudgement, such as the Cantons shall thinke to be honest and equall: the men of *Rotuile* must also consent thereto. If warre chance to bee moued among the cantons; they of *Rotuile* are to follow that part, which the most part of voyces do allow. The cantons are to conferue (with all their power) the Imperiall chamber of *Rotuile*, which (in the mean while) shall vie no authority against the Switzers, or any of them. And if any stranger shall cite or summon thither a Switzer; they are to make knowne, and he likewise, how farre he is to bee defended by priuiledge. In breefe, they are not to molest any Switzer in that iurisdiction.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Of Mulhouse.

*Mulhouse* is a Towne in the county of *Ferrara*, or (as some do hold opinion) in the Territory of *Basile*. It is thought that in ancient times it was called *Arabinum*. For in the Guide or Director of wayes, appointed by *Antonius Augustus*; this place is set betweene *Augusta Rauraca* (which is *Basile*) and *Prunzim*, which some do thinke to be called at this day, *Ensteym*; then Mount *Brisfas*, *Heluetum*, and *Strasbourg* are named. In times of antiquity, *Mulhouse* was in number of the Imperiall townes: but the Bishop of *Strasbourg* was Gouvernor thereof, also of the Towne



Rotuile is situated about the middle of Swetia.

A breuete of the Articles of alliance betweene them and the Cantons.

The Imperiall Chamber of Rotuile, to be perpetually continued.

The situation and nomination of Mulhouse.

Mulhouse one of the Imperiall Townes.

Towne of *Colmar*. It came to passe, that warre happened betweene *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*, and the Bishop of *Strasbourg*, wherein *Mulhouse* was taken from the Bishop, & the Castle ruined. After which time, *Mulhouse* was againe re-obtained, and numbred among the Imperiall Cities and Townes.

Her first alliance with the Switzers, was made about the year 1464. For in regard that the neighboring Gentlemen molested the Towne, and narrowly watched all occasions to assault it: the citizens made alliance with them of *Berne*, for fifteene yeares, as also with *Fribourg* and *Soleurre*. and by meanes of the *Bernians* intercession, the other seuen Cantons tooke the Towne into their protection. Which proued so displeasing to the Noble-men, that these priuate enunities conuerted themselves (soone after) into open warre: which caused the Switzers immediately, to send and plant Garrisons in *Mulhouse*. Afterward, all the Cantons brought their troopes into the field, and came with great assistance to releue *Mulhouse*.

In the end, hauing besiedged the towne of *Mulhouse*, appertaining to the house of *Austria*: they compelled the Gentlemen, to come to some equall conditions of peace. Afterward, they of *Mulhouse* were receiued for fellow-Bourgeses with them of *Basile*, and thereby more strictly vnitied to the Switzers. Nine yeares after, the 19. day of Ianuary, they made alliance with all the thirteene cantons. The conditions were all alike to the alliance of *Rotuile*, as well in regard of warres, as leagues with strangers.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Of Bienna.



*Bienna* is at the end of a very pleasant Lake, abounding with plenty of fish & round engirt (on all sides) with goodly Vineyards. It is vnder the government of the Bishop of *Basile*; and yet it enioyeth lawes and regi-

ment a part by it felie, as also liberall franchises and priuiledges.



The first alliance of the *Bienna*, was made with the men of *Berne*, in the year 1303. to ridde the country of certaine robbers and theues, which wandred there in so great numbers, as almost no way had any security for passage. In this alliance, they of *Strasbourg*, *Basile*, *Fribourg* and *Soleurre* were also comprized. Three yeares after, in regard of some great differences, which they had with their neighbours: they made a particular alliance with the *Bernians*. Their third alliance was made in Anno 1352. and fifteen yeares after, because *John de Viana*, Bishop of *Basile*, (a man of turbulent spirit) would not suffer any of his neighbours to liue in quiet: they of *Bienna*, desirous to provide for their owne ease and tranquility, ioyned themselves more strictly with the men of *Berne*, by giuing each to other the right of fellow-Bourgeses. The Bishop very angry at this vnion, mustred together some troopes of horse, and (at vnawares) ranne vpon them of *Bienna*, and clapt vp in prison the Authors of this association.

When the men of *Berna* heard of this deede, they came to succour their fellow Bourgeses, tooke (by force) the Castle, which the Byshop had in *Bienna*, set the prisoners at liberty, and made warre vpon the Byshoppe, as also on them of *Soleurre*, his associates. In this warre, they tooke and ruined many places, which were in subiection to the byshop.

## CHAP. XXV.

Of Geneva.



*Geneua* is the last and vtmost Citie of the *Allobroges*, of which (amongst other of Antiquity.) *Cesar* hath made mention in his Commentaries.

Aa 3

It

John de Viana Bishop of Basile, a man troublesome to his neighbours.

Julius Cesar in comment. lib. 5

Opinions concerning the name of Rotuill, or Rotuill, which is an Imperiall Towne or City.

The first alliance of them of Rotuile with the cantons.

Alliance made with Bienna for thirteene yeares, and after.

Alliance with all the thirteene Cantons.

The situation and estate of Bienna.